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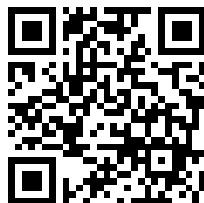


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# **MODERN PHILOLOGY**



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# Modern Philology

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## CORNEILLE'S *CINNA* AND THE CONSPIRATION *DES DAMES*

Lanson's theory that the life of the times suggested to Corneille the choice of the subjects of his tragedies; that it vivified in his mind the nucleus of their plots, so that he perceived in a few indifferent lines from a Latin historian all the possibilities of a powerful tragedy, is again exemplified in the genesis of his *Cinna ou la Clémence d'Auguste*. In a preceding study<sup>1</sup> I have tried to point out that Corneille's choice of the *Cid* theme was not accidental. The war with Spain, the suggestion of M. de Châlon, the moral problem of Anne of Austria, placed between her mother country, Spain, and her adoptive country, France—all this constituted the initial incentive to the production of the *Cid*. Again *Cinna* illustrates how Corneille drew his inspiration from actual events of his day and of his surroundings, how he transposed them into the realm of the historic and the heroic.

This connection between certain events of Corneille's own life and his tragedies, apparently so abstract and so remote from reality, gives us a glimpse of the process of creation in Corneille: Contemporary political events or the incidents of his own life powerfully draw his attention to a certain moral problem. Then begins what can be called a process of intellectualization. The moral problem—patriotism or magnanimity, or conflicts of love and duty—seems to

<sup>1</sup> *The Purpose of Corneille's "Cid."* Minneapolis, 1921.  
[MODERN PHILOLOGY, August, 1922] 1



be mentally discussed, weighed, analyzed, and, at last, solved according to the laws of the *Souverain Bien*, a solution which will be enforced by an indomitable Will. It is this subterranean work of intellectualization which makes his tragedies not mere dramatizations of historical events, but the narrations of intellectual conflicts. At the same time, or at a later stage—for the ways of the artist are mysterious—he chooses a story from classical antiquity or from medieval times which presents sufficient analogy with the events and the moral problems furnished by his own experience. This story he brings on the stage; but it serves as a mold into which he imprisons his moral reflections, his impressions from contemporary life, his philosophical conceptions. That is why he sees history with modern eyes, why he animates his heroes with the moral tenets and the ideals of his own period. In a sense, he transposes the events of his times and of his surroundings into the realm of the heroic; he magnifies the experiences of his own existence by projecting them, in historic disguise and in more grandiose dimensions, into his dramatic conceptions.

Besides there was contemporary example for his blending of the actual and the historical. It had been a very general practice in oratory, panegyrics, and lyrics to compare a contemporary event or a contemporary personage to a classical event or a classical hero. Every conqueror saw the analogy pointed out between his deeds and those of Alexander or Scipio or Cyrus; many political situations of the time were linked up with an analogous situation in history. How fond the seventeenth-century authors were of mixing classical history with contemporary fact is evident from the numerous *Romans à clef* of the time. The *Grand Cyrus*, to cite the best-known example, under the pretext of telling the story of the conquests of an Asiatic conqueror, alluded to the victories of Condé and to the life of the court. Some of this mingling of a half-classical and a half-modern spirit is found in Corneille's works. He, too, conceived history as a sublime school for the high-born souls of his time, where they could glean memorable examples of exalted and heroic life. And, when he stages a theme from antiquity or from the Middle Ages, this preoccupation with his own period remains visible in his tragedies.

His heroes, to be sure, are no true portraits, as has been claimed, for instance, in regard to De Retz, Richelieu, and Bussy-Rabutin;

they are more ideal, more philosophically reflective; less slaves of petty ambitions than even the strong rulers and daring *frondeurs* of the seventeenth century. Yet they show some traits of the *honnête homme* and of the courtly nobleman of the period, because they are the magnified image of what is best in them; they are the idealized projection of their higher qualities. In the hero—especially of his classical tragedies—there appears also some antique stoicism; some traits which the seventeenth century attributed to the Roman, as exemplified in Balzac's *Le Romain*; who "estime plus un jour employé à la Vertu qu'une longue vie délicieuse; un moment de Gloire qu'un siècle de Volupté."

Now, these two characteristics are explained by the way Corneille approached his subject. The seventeenth-century elements are due to his sensitiveness to the suggestions of his environment; the classical elements to his search for analogy and parallels with contemporary problems in the history of antiquity, as much as to the influence of stoic philosophy, which was so potent in the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries.

*Cinna ou la Clémence d'Auguste* was written in 1640 and produced by the end of the same year. To understand the genesis of this play, it is necessary to turn to the local history of Corneille's native city, Rouen. The years 1639 and 1640 were for his compatriots very disturbed and even tragic. For two decades the people of Normandy had suffered from excessive taxes, hunger, and the plague. Many revolts had flamed up in various parts of the country, fostered by English intrigue and complicated by religious strife. The poor had fled to the woods and formed an army, pathetically called *Armée de la Souffrance*. The mysterious Jean-Nu-Pieds was its chief. Manifestos in verse and prose incited the people to open revolt against the oppression of Richelieu and against the *intendants* and *commissaires du Roy* who were detailed to receive the taxes. The two *intendants* in Rouen were Paris and Pascal, the latter of whom was the father of the author of the *Pensées*. When, in 1639, new taxes were imposed, the revolt spread at once over Normandy.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Floquet, *Histoire du Parlement de Rouen*; Ch. Normand, *La Bourgeoisie française du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*; Floquet's edition of the *Diaire du Chancelier Séguier*; A. Heron, *Documents concernant la Normandie*; MSS 18937 and 18938 F.F. Biblioth. Nat.; pamphlets published at the time (a collection in the Library of the University of Minnesota); etc.

The houses of the *commissaires du Roy* were destroyed; some of the tax-collectors were killed, while the *Armée de la Souffrance* marched throughout the country, plundering and burning. The contemporary *Mémoires* draw a pitiful picture of the distress which prevailed in upper Normandy:

Ce n'estoit que misère et calamitez, povreté, impotz, empruntz, sur le povre monde. C'est une horreur et une misère, que d'entendre les povres gens des champs, qui abandonnent leurs maisons et se retirent dans les bois, ne pouvant plus subvenir à la volonté du roy.<sup>1</sup>

On August 29, 1639, the revolt burst out in Rouen. The house of Hugot, general "tax-receiver," was burned and the Hôtel de Luxembourg pillaged. The inhabitants of the suburbs rose. Le Tellier de Tourneville, the detested *receveur des gabelles*, was besieged for three days in his house, but escaped in disguise, while sixteen of the defenders were killed. The Parlement of Normandy tried in vain to stop the revolt. Soon the streets were filled with barricades, and the fighting went on until the tax-collectors and their partisans had fled. Richelieu realized the seriousness of the situation in Normandy and sent against the rebels a strong army, led by the Chancellor Séguier. By the end of December, 1639, it reached Rouen. The Archbishop François de Harlay met Séguier at the gates of the city to implore his mercy, but the Chancellor answered that he had been sent to Rouen "not to deliberate but to execute the orders of the King." Then the Archbishop wrote to Cardinal Richelieu:

Si je suis si malheureux que vous bouchiez vos oreilles à ces tendresses, et que mes péchés empêchent que j'obtienne la mesme Grâce qu'ont obtenue mes Prédecesseurs; au moins, Monseigneur, qu'il passe pour dernière Grâce, que j'estimeray la plus grande de toutes, qu'à l'exemple de nostre Maistre, il soit permis au Pasteur de souffrir pour son Troupeau, puisque il a pleu à Dieu de nous donner non seulement de croire en Luy, mais de souffrir pour Luy. Ce n'est ny l'intérêt, ny la vanité, ny la peur qui tire de ma plume ceste remonstration, mais le devoir, et pour la Religion, et pour l'Estat, et pour vostre Service.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Journal manuscrit de l'abbé de la Rue. Cf. Floquet, Histoire du Parlement, IV, 592.*

<sup>2</sup> *Lettre du religieuxissime archevêque de Rouen, primat de Normandie à l'Eminentissime Cardinal Duc de Richelieu. Mercure de Gaillon. Soc. Rouennaise de Bibliophiles, 1876.*



On December 31, the troops of the King entered Rouen, and on New Year's Day Séguier rode through the gates. Again he was received by a number of delegates pleading for leniency, but he answered that "le Roy vouloit venger son auctorité blessée, laquelle il avoit plu à Dieu luy mettre en main. Ceux qui avoient manqué se devoient asseurer que le Roy estoit resolu d'en faire un exemple proportionné à leur témérité." And the rigorous punishment, foreshadowed in the words of Séguier, fell heavily upon all classes of the Rouen population. The public bodies, the law-courts, the city council, and the Parlement itself were accused of being accomplices in the revolt. The Parlement, the *Cour des Aides*, the *Bureau des finances*, and the authorities of the town hall were revoked. The burgomaster, Godard du Becquet, was dismissed. The privileges of the city were abolished, the city hall closed, and the suspended authorities brought to Paris to be judged by the Upper Court. Hundreds of the terror-stricken inhabitants of Rouen, led by their priests, threw themselves on their knees before Séguier, begging forgiveness. Five leaders of the rebellion were executed without any form of trial. All the suspects of Rouen were arrested, and for three weeks the counselors of state worked without ceasing on the trials of the rebels. Some were condemned to death, others banished to the galleys, a number were flogged in public and chased from the city, till the prisons were empty. The city of Rouen was condemned to a fine of one million and eighty-five thousand livres.

During this reign of terror Corneille wrote his *Cinna ou la Clémence d'Auguste*. In the midst of the distress of his city, and while many of his friends were being banished, he sang the praise of forgiveness and mercy, and pointed to the example of the great emperor Augustus, who pardoned the conspirators whom he held in his power. The very atmosphere of that year of blood and persecution must have suggested his subject to him.

The connection between the harsh suppression of the revolt in Rouen and the theme of Corneille's play did not escape the attention of his biographers. Ed. Fournier in the introductory study *Notes sur la vie de Corneille* preceding his play *Corneille à la Butte Saint Roch*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Part of the text reproduced in Marty-Laveaux, III, 361.

was the first to call attention to the connection of the theme of *Cinna* with the history of Rouen in 1639. He narrates part of the events and concludes:

En sa qualité d'avocat aux sièges généraux de l'amirauté, Corneille faisait partie du Parlement; il comptait parmi les proscrits, des amis, des parents peut-être, et devait avoir à cœur de calmer les ressentiments de Richelieu. Est-ce à dire que nos ne voyions dans *Cinna* qu'un éloquent plaidoyer? Dieu nous en garde. A coup sur, Corneille voulait avant tout faire une belle tragédie; mais rencontrant dans Sénèque le magnifique exemple de clémence qu'il a si bien mis en scène, ne peut-il point, par un retour bien naturel sur son temps, avoir souhaité pour sa ville natale un souverain aussi magnanime qu'Auguste? S'il a eu cette idée, la Rome antique s'est tout à coup animée à ses yeux, et l'émotion que lui avaient causée les troubles dont il venait d'être témoin, fut la source de cette inspiration passionnée avec laquelle il peignit en contemporain, en spectateur fidèle, les agitations qui accompagnaient l'établissement de l'empire.

Marty-Laveaux adopts the thesis of Fournier, but adds that Corneille's appeal for mercy had no effect. "La tragédie eut donc un grand succès; mais l'éloquente et indirecte supplique qui ... s'y trouvait contenue, fut loin d'en avoir autant. Aucun des Rouennais proscrits ne fut rappelé et les rigueurs ordonnées suivirent leur cours."<sup>1</sup> Marty-Laveaux's comment is based on an error of date. *Cinna* was represented after *Horace*, probably by the end of 1640. Months before this date, on January 28, 1640, the suppression of the revolt in Rouen was ended. The executions and banishment of the plunderers were accomplished facts before *Cinna* was, probably, even written. In that case, Corneille's supposed plea for the rebels would have come before Richelieu months after their execution. Besides, nearly every one of the executed or banished rebels was of the lowest classes of the population.<sup>2</sup> Corneille, on the other hand, belonged to the nobility (after 1637) and was consequently not obliged to pay the crushing taxes which started the revolt. Besides this, he was a confirmed partisan of the Court<sup>3</sup> and the friend of one of Richelieu's tax-receivers, Pascal, the father. And—as Picot

<sup>1</sup> Marty-Laveaux, III, 364.

<sup>2</sup> Lists of their names in the *Diaire du Chancelier Séguier*, pp. 112, 179, 183, 211, 218.

<sup>3</sup> During the Fronde he replaced temporarily *le sieur Bauldry* as *Procureur des Etats de Normandie*. The writ mentions that it was necessary to nominate "quelque personne capable, et dont la fidélité et affection sont connues."

remarks<sup>1</sup>—would Corneille have dared to give so openly a lesson of humanity and mercy to Richelieu? It is also beyond all doubt that exactly at the time that Corneille is supposed to have criticized the political cruelty of Richelieu, he was anxiously striving to merit the favor of the powerful cardinal. When, in 1641, he published his *Horace*, he dedicated this play to him and the *Dédicace* even surpasses the ordinary submissive style of such productions. Would Richelieu have consented to receive, in 1641, a *Dédicace* from a poet who had openly criticized his political conduct a few months earlier, at the end of 1640?

The thesis of M. Fournier has also been attacked sharply by the painstaking biographer of Corneille, M. Taschereau:<sup>2</sup>

Par le plus charmant rapprochement, il nous montre Corneille faisant *Cinna*, comme il aurait fait un placet impromptu pour obtenir de Richelieu la grâce de quelques mutins normands. Voilà comme avec un homme d'esprit, de grands effets doivent toujours avoir tenu à de toutes petites causes. ... D'après la correspondance de Chapelain, qui ne permet pas de doute à cet égard, *Cinna* n'a été représenté que fort avant dans l'année 1640. Or les émeutes des environs de Rouen, les jugements du parlement de Normandie, les mesures édictées à la suite, étaient *du commencement de 1639* (?); une tragédie-placet, glorifiant la clémence et n'arrivant que longtemps après les rigoureuses exécutions consommées, ne pouvait plus avoir ni à propos, ni efficacité, et ne devenait plus, nécessairement, qu'une fort inutile et fort périlleuse épigramme. Il n'y a donc à cette fable aucune vraisemblance et c'est ce qui aura séduit M. Ed. Fournier, mais aussi ce qui devait avertir et prémunir sa victime (Marty-Laveaux).

Sound criticism and error are strangely mixed in these statements. Taschereau, no doubt, judges rightly in saying that Corneille would not have dared to criticize openly the cruelty of the powerful Cardinal. On the contrary, he was at that time endeavoring to merit and keep his good graces. And he was indeed too respectful of authority to embark upon an adventure which might have landed him in the Bastille. Since the *Cid*-quarrel he had scrupulously avoided anything which might cause him further trouble. Did he not write to Boisrobert on December 23, 1637: "Je suis un peu plus de ce monde qu'Héliodore, qui aime mieux perdre son évêché que son livre, et j'aime

<sup>1</sup> *Bibliographie Cornélienne*, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Histoire de la vie et des ouvrages de P. Corneille*, third edition, I, 18.

mieux les bonnes grâces de mon maître que toutes les réputations de la terre: je me tairai donc, non point par mépris mais par respect" ?<sup>1</sup>

It is also true that the executions of the lower-class rebels were finished in January, 1640, not *two* years, as M. Taschereau says, but almost a year before the representation of the *Cinna*, and that, if the play had been a plea for mercy for them, it would have come too late. But M. Taschereau loses sight of the fact that the Parlement of Rouen and the city authorities were suppressed and banished by Richelieu and that *Cinna* was more closely related to their case than to the fate of some poor plunderers, the more so because Corneille himself was through their banishment reduced to the impossibility of exercising his functions of *avocat à la table de marbre*. And since the full power and independence of the Parlement was not restored till March, 1641, *Cinna*, played at the end of 1640, was still timely.

The Parlement and the other civil authorities of Rouen were accused of serious delinquencies, of complicity in the revolt and of misuse of authority even with the intention of shielding the murderers of the king's agents. Séguier's *Mémoire touchant la Révolte de Rouen*<sup>2</sup> formulates a regular act of accusation. It gives the following reasons, among other, for the interdiction of the Parlement (p. 382):

Au lieu que le Parlement devoit faire justice exemplaire de toutes ces séditions, lorsqu'ils ont informé du pillage qui avait esté fait dans les bureaux du roy ils n'ont trouvé preuves contre aucun et n'ont pas mesme fait le procès à Estienne Poncet, designé par les tesmoins, quoy qu'il soit prisonnier dans leurs prisons; et quand ils ont informé de ce qu'il s'est passé es maisons des bourgeois, ils ont trouvé preuves entières, et néantmoins n'ont point voulu juger quatre personnes, auxquels le procès est fait, entre lesquels est Gorin, chef des séditieux, de l'exécution duquel ils eussent appris l'origine de la sédition et ceux qui estoient complices. Toutes les informations qui ont esté faictes, de l'ordonnance du Parlement semblent avoir esté faictes pour excuser la sédition et l'imputer aux commis dont les bureaux ont esté pillez, d'autant que les bureaux ont esté pillez parce que les commis s'en estoient allez, et avaient emportez les meubles sans payer leurs debtes.

And yet no magistrates were tried before the military court presided over by Séguier. Some of the judges were inclined to leniency and believed that the revolt had been exaggerated by

<sup>1</sup> Marty-Laveaux, X, 432.

<sup>2</sup> *Manuscripts de Colbert*, Vol. XLVI; *Diaire du Chancelier Séguier*, p. 378.

interested persons at the capital. François de Verthamont, the author of the *Diaire du Chancelier Séguier* says (p. 226):

M. Le Tellier, l'un des commissaires, m'a dict que le motif des advis de douceur que M. Talon et luy ont pris, a esté principalement sur ce que, dans la confrontation des tesmoins, ilz ont veu, à leur maintien, que c'estoit gentz appostez par les partizants, lesquelz, à Paris, avaient mis en avant des faictz estranges, mesmes contre les principaux de la ville; et, cependant, lors des preuves, il s'y en estoit trouvé fort peu; en sorte qu'il disoit en avoir ceste sorte de gentz en horreur; et l'ayant pressé, si donc on ne leur ferait point cognoistre le tort qu'ilz ont d'avoir excité si légèrement la cholère du roy, il m'a dict que ce n'est pas le temps.

On February 11, 1640, Séguier and his troops had left Rouen. Committees of trustworthy citizens were put in charge of the city and made responsible for the public order. In May, 1640, the members of the Parlement of Normandy were already allowed to return to their country homes near Rouen, although the entrance of the city itself was still refused to them. Shortly *after* the representation of *Cinna*, in January, 1641, the Parlement was partly re-established in its functions and, by *lettres-patentes* of March 31, 1641, Rouen recovered its self-government and all its privileges. The conduct of Richelieu was thus far from being as unmerciful as believed by M. Fournier and Marty-Laveaux.

Now, in view of the fact that these inhabitants in whom Corneille was primarily interested—the members of the Parlement, the officials of the town and of the law courts, his friends and colleagues—were treated with as much leniency as the case allowed, and in view of the fact that Corneille was at that time anxiously striving to keep the good graces of the Cardinal, it seems impossible that *Cinna* was intended as a criticism of the Cardinal's conduct. On the contrary, the play was, in a sense, a praise, a panegyric of the greatness of soul which the Cardinal had shown to the official world of Rouen.

It is only when one assumes that Corneille desired to *contrast* the clemency of Augustus with the harshness of Richelieu that *Cinna* can be considered as a criticism of the Cardinal's politics. But nothing in the play is conducive to such an interpretation. Augustus, whose conduct had a symbolic bearing upon Richelieu's attitude, plays a lofty rôle, and, by alluding to Richelieu with this character, Corneille indirectly praised his mercifulness.

In order to complete the chain of historical evidence about the genesis of *Cinna*, and to substantiate what was said above—that *Cinna* was intended as a panegyric of the Cardinal—I shall try here to point out that Corneille did not take his subject-matter at random, but alluded with the clemency of Augustus to an episode of Richelieu's own life, well known at the epoch, and of which he could not have been ignorant.

The episode belongs to the conspiracy known as the *Conspiration des Dames*. It is not necessary for the present purpose to narrate the starting-point of the intrigue which centered around Richelieu and Gaston d'Orléans, the weak and irresponsible brother of Louis XIII. It is sufficient to recall that the King and Richelieu approved of the projected marriage of Gaston—who was the heir to the throne, since Anne of Austria had no children at that date—with the rich Mlle de Montpensier. For various reasons, a powerful coalition was formed against this marriage. Most of the participators had ambitions of their own which they tried to realize by fostering a marriage of *Monsieur*, the brother of the King, with a person of their choice. Gaston d'Orléans was absolutely under the power of the Maréchal Ornano, who had great obligations to Richelieu, but was brought into line against him by the beautiful Princesse de Condé. With the eighteen-year-old Gaston sided the natural sons of Henry IV—the Grand Prieur de France, Alexandre de Bourbon, and the Duke of Vendôme, César de Bourbon—the Duke of Longueville, the Count of Soissons, the Duc d'Elbeuf, the Duc d'Epemon, the Marquis de la Valette, the Comte de Candale, the Abbé Scaglia, Ambassador of Savoie, Mylord Montaigne, De Marsillac, Louvigny, Le Cogneux, De Puy-Laurens, La Louvière, Chaudebonne, and other noblemen of lesser rank and importance.<sup>1</sup> But the real soul of the conspiracy was Madame de Chevreuse, the arch-intriguer, who held complete sway over the young, brilliant, and ambitious Henry de Talleyrand, Comte de Chalais.

The conspirators were united in their opposition against the projected marriage of Gaston d'Orléans with Mlle de Montpensier. Many entered it with divers ends in view. Foreign intrigue was carried on through the Abbé de Scaglia and through Madame de

<sup>1</sup> Anquetil, *L'Intrigue de Cabinet sous Henri IV et Louis XIII*, II, 193; Père Daniel, *Histoire de France*, Vol. XIII, and various historians.

Chevreuse. Spain, England, and Holland welcomed any effort to break down the influence of Richelieu, and promised aid in case of revolt. The first step of the revolt would have been to kill Richelieu. It is said also that they contemplated the marriage of Queen Anne of Austria with Gaston, the brother of the King, but some *Mémoires* of the time call this an invention of Richelieu to frighten the King and to force him to act. Anne of Austria always emphatically denied such plans.<sup>1</sup> When some of these projects became known to Richelieu, he secured the consent of the King to arrest Count Ornano, tutor of Gaston; and this action incited some young noblemen to vengeance. The Grand Prieur Alexandre de Bourbon, the Comte de Chalais, the Duke of Longueville, and other young conspirators under the direction of Madame de Chevreuse evolved a plan, according to which Gaston should feign a reconciliation with Richelieu. The conspirators were to go to the Cardinal's *Maison de Campagne* at Fleury<sup>2</sup> under the pretext of being delayed during a hunting party. They would ask him to entertain them at dinner, and, during the meal, a quarrel was to be started by the guests, who were armed with hidden poignards. Chalais was to deal the first blow and the others were to assist in finishing the wounded Cardinal.

Chalais told the whole story to Achille d'Etampes, Commandeur de Valançay, whom he believed to be antagonistic to Richelieu. But instead of helping them with their project, Valançay told him that he should go to the Cardinal and reveal the whole conspiracy, otherwise he himself would reveal the secret. Chalais was then forced to acquaint the Cardinal with the project. He stipulated that no one should be persecuted for having taken part in it. Richelieu assured him of his gratitude and gave him his word that for *this* affair no one of the conspirators would be punished. Bassompierre narrates as follows the subsequent defeat of the conspirators.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires de Larochefoucauld*, p. 339; *Mémoires de Fontenay-Mareuil*, Collection Petitot, LI, 23. M. W. Freer, *The Married Life of Anne of Austria*, 1912, p. 116, says: "The archives of Simancas furnish proof positive of her assent and of her knowledge of the negotiation then proceeding for her future union with M. d'Orléans."

<sup>2</sup> Northwest of the Forest of Fontainebleau, in the direction of Barbizon.

<sup>3</sup> *Mémoires de Bassompierre*, Collection Petitot, XXI, 51. The attempt to murder the Cardinal at Fleury happened in May, 1626, between May 4, date of the arrest of Ornano, and May 23, when the court came back to Paris. See also, Père Daniel, *Histoire de France*, 1756, XIII, 494-96.



1626—Peu de jours après il courut un bruit que l'on avait tenu un conseil dont il y avait neuf personnes, l'une desquelles l'avait décelé, auquel il avait été résolu que l'on iroit tuer M. le Cardinal dans Fleury. Il s'est dit que ce fut M. de Chalais lequel s'en étant confié au commandeur de Valençai, ledit commandeur lui reprocha sa trahison, étant domestique du Roi, d'oser entreprendre sur son premier ministre; qu'il l'en devoit avertir, et qu'en cas qu'il ne le voulut faire, que lui-même le déclareroit; dont Chalais intimidé y consentit; et que tous deux partirent à l'heure même, pour aller porter ce même avis au Roi; ce qu'ils firent; et le roi, à onze heures du soir, envoya commander à trente de ses gendarmes et autant de cheval-legers d'aller à l'heure même à Fleury. La Reine-mère pareillement y dépêcha toute sa noblesse. Il arriva, comme Chalais avait dit, que sur les trois heures du matin les officiers de Monsieur arrivèrent à Fleury, envoyés pour luy apprêter son dîner. M. le Cardinal leur ceda le logis, et s'en vint à Fontainebleau, et vint droit à la chambre de Monsieur qui se levait, et fût assez étonné de le voir. Il fit reproche à Monsieur de ne lui avoir pas voulu faire l'honneur de lui commander de lui donner à dîner; ce qu'il eut fait le mieux qu'il eut pu, et qu'il avait à la même heure résigné la maison à ses gens. ... On ne se pouvait imaginer d'où étoit venue la déclaration de ce conseil, jusques à ce que, la cour étant revenue à Paris, Chalais confessa à la Reine et à Madame de Chevreuse que la crainte d'être décelé par le commandeur de Valençai, auquel il s'étoit confié, et la menace qu'il fit d'avertir M. le Cardinal l'avait porté à cela; mais qu'à l'avenir il serait fidèle, et leur donnait cette libre reconnaissance de sa faute, qu'il leur faisait pour marque de sa sincérité.<sup>1</sup>

On this occasion Richelieu made a great display of clemency.<sup>2</sup> He asked Louis XIII to be indulgent to the conspirators who had only

<sup>1</sup> "Chalais devoit porter le premier coup, et fuir en Hollande, jusqu'à ce qu'on eut obtenu du roi son pardon. ... Louis, fatigué de la tyrannie du prélat ne seroit pas fâché qu'on l'eut débarassé et s'en appaiseroit aisément. ... Sous prétexte de vouloir dîner à Limours, dit-il au prelat, Monsieur enverra ses officiers, qui s'empareront de la maison; quand il sera arrivé lui-même, on élèvera une querelle, dont on profitera pour consommer l'entreprise. Richelieu eut peine à croire à ce projet; mais il n'en douta plus, quand il vit arriver, dès le matin, l'espèce de garnison annoncée. Aussitôt le Cardinal monte en carrosse, court à Fontainebleau, où étoit Gaston, pénètre jusqu'à lui, se présente hardiment, et lui dit que, dans le dessein où étoit son altesse royale de prendre un divertissement dans sa maison, il auroit été flatté qu'elle lui eut accordé la satisfaction d'en faire les honneurs; mais que, puisqu'elle veut y être libre il la lui cède."—Anquetil, *op. cit.*, pp. 193 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The measures which Richelieu soon took against the plotters were not a direct punishment for the attempt to murder him but for conspiring against the state and the King. On June 14, 1626, the two half-brothers of Louis XIII, the Duke of Vendôme, and the Grand Prieur were imprisoned. Chalais soon came again under the fatal influence of Madame de Chevreuse. He was accused by the Count de Louvigny because of love-rivalry, it is said, of having the intention of murdering the King and of having sponsored a new conspiracy for an insurrection which was to receive aid from England and the Huguenots. He was arrested on July 8, and executed on August 10, 1626. Gaston d'Orléans turned in his customary cowardly way against Chalais and against Ornano. He received a few tax-paying provinces and married Mlle de Montpensier on August 5. Ornano died in prison.

desired to take *his* life, without having plotted against the King and against France. He added, however, that the law ought to be applied with the utmost vigor to those who conspired against the state. This magnanimity and abnegation—whether real or assumed—made a great impression upon the King. No one was persecuted directly for the plot against Richelieu's life and the promise to Chalais was fulfilled. Yet, various members of the conspiracy were soon arrested, not for plotting against Richelieu but for attacking the state. Chalais himself fell soon again under the domination of Madame de Chevreuse and ended his life on the scaffold.<sup>1</sup>

The analogy between these incidents of Richelieu's life and the theme of *Cinna* is evident. The Cardinal had mercifully forgiven those who desired to kill him, like Augustus in a similar circumstance. It can hardly be doubted that Corneille was acquainted with these facts. Among his early protectors was one of the conspirators, who benefited by Richelieu's clemency, the Duke of Longueville.<sup>2</sup> That he knew him personally is proved by the *Dédicace* of *Clitandre* where it is said that he read to him the play, when half-finished. "C'est le même [Clitandre] qui par vos commandements, vous fut conter, il y a quelque temps, une partie de ses aventures, autant qu'en pouvaient contenir deux actes de ce poème, encore tout informes et qui n'étaient qu'à peine ébauchés."<sup>3</sup>

The Count Ornano who played a prominent rôle in the *Conspiration des Dames* gave, in 1620, a prize to Corneille. The poet had also seen Madame de Chevreuse, since, in 1618, she presided as the wife of the favorite of Louis XIII, Charles Albert de Luynes—together with her husband—over another distribution of prizes at the College of Jesuits at Rouen. He must have followed with interest their adventures in the political life of the times.

In writing *Cinna* as an indirect praise of the Cardinal, Corneille was no doubt aware of the great amount of favorable interpretation which he gave to Richelieu's conduct. Yet, Richelieu himself

<sup>1</sup> Emile Roca, *Le Règne de Richelieu*, pp. 164–65. Numerous historians have treated of the trial of Chalais. Cf. Monod, *Bibliographie de l'Histoire de France*.

<sup>2</sup> Later the Duke of Longueville became governor of Normandy. He married in 1642 Anne Geneviève, the sister of Condé, the celebrated Madame de Longueville, who played a leading rôle during the *Fronde*.

<sup>3</sup> Marty-Laveaux, p. 250.

always stressed his own mercifulness and clemency. He himself willingly hinted of comparisons between his conduct and that of Roman heroes. He says in his *Mémoires* about the conspiracies against his life:

Et, pource qu'ils savoient bien qu'ils ne pourroient jamais venir à bout de ces malheureux desseins tandis que le cardinal vivroit, ils étoient résolus de le perdre. Ceux qui conspirèrent *contre César* dilibérèrent quant et quant de se *défaire de Marc-Antoine* qu'ils savoient être homme de coeur et lui être fidèle: leur cruauté n'alla pas jusque là, mais ils se contentèrent de l'amuser cependant qu'ils exécutoient leur exécration dessein, dont mal leur prit, car *Antoine vengea la mort de César*. Ceux-ci qui croioient bien ne pouvoir amuser le cardinal, qui avoit l'oeil trop ouvert pour se laisser endormir, firent complot de s'en défaire, soit en le disgraciant, soit en usant de violence en son endroit [XXIII, 49].

In another passage of his *Mémoires* (XXIII, 114) he declares that he asked the King to forgive those who conspired against his own life:

La conspiration étoit si générale, que le connétable de Lesdiguières, étant au lit de la mort, dit à Bullion qu'il avertit le cardinal, qu'il avoit su une grande entreprise sur sa personne; qu'il avoit attendu jusque là d'en mander les particularités, parce que Bullion lui avait promis de retourner après qu'il aurait reçu un courrier de Monsieur, et un autre de M. Le Comte qu'il attendoit. L'affaire alloit, en effet, à tuer le cardinal, pour venir à bout de leurs mauvais desseins, estimant être le seul qui y apportoit obstacle. Mais le cardinal, ayant pour maxime, que tous les hommes, en tant que créatures, sont sujets à faillir, et que leur malignité bien souvent n'est pas si opiniâtre qu'elle ne puisse être corrigée, conseilla au Roi de n'étendre pas généralement la punition sur tous les coupables, et d'essayer de les rectifier et ramener au droit chemin par bienfaits.

In 1626, the very year of the *Conspiration des Dames*, he proposed to the *Assemblée des Notables*, composed of deputies, of the clergy, the nobility, and the Parlements, to modify and to lighten the penalties for conspirators. Modern historians have thrown doubt upon his motives. They accuse him of parading his clemency for political reasons. But the intricacies of Richelieu's politics were not so visible at the time. It is only after his death that documents have revealed more or less the complicated methods of his diplomacy. His ostentation of clemency was accepted as a fact by his partisans at the time and for the present purpose it is sufficient

to point out that Corneille knew that nothing would please the Cardinal more than a delicate if transparent allusion to his mercifulness.<sup>1</sup>

The analogy between the conduct of Richelieu at the time of the *Conspiration des Dames* and the clemency of Augustus was so apparent that Corneille, when his attention was drawn to the theme of mercy by the events of 1639-40 in Rouen, must have remembered it. The historical fact again became animated in his mind by reference to and comparison with reality. His choice of the *Cinna* subject was not a mere accident; it was due to his reaction to his environment. By the end of 1640 he made the eulogy of the Cardinal's magnanimity not without the hope, perhaps, of seeing the Parlement and the civil authorities of his native city soon fully re-established since, at that date, Richelieu had already shown more than leniency to them, by foregoing their trial and allowing them to return to their country homes near Rouen.

Corneille found the subject of *Cinna* in Seneca (*De Clementia* ix) and in Montaigne's *Essais* (chap. xxiii). He chose it because of its almost symbolical bearing upon the political events in his native city and upon an episode of the life of Richelieu, whom at that time he was anxious to please. In his treatment of the story he has followed rather closely his sources; yet he has added one character, that of Emilie who incites the conspirators to vengeance. She is the most obstinate enemy of Augustus and her love is the prize which she holds out for his death. While it is quite clear that Corneille needed Emilie to strengthen the motivation of his play, it must yet be noticed how closely her rôle in the *Cinna* resembles the one played by Madame de Chevreuse in the *Conspiration des Dames*.<sup>2</sup> According to Richelieu, "elle faisoit plus de mal que personne."<sup>3</sup> It was

<sup>1</sup> *Les Intrigues du Cabinet sous Henri IV et Louis XIII*, by Anquetil, II, 193, says: "[The Assembly of Notables] discuta tout selon le desir du Cardinal, excepté un article, sur lequel on jugea qu'il ne serait pas fâché d'être contredit. Richelieu proposa de modérer les peines établies contre les criminels d'état, et de les réduire à la seule privation de leurs charges, après la seconde désobéissance; mais l'assemblée, sans égard aux remontrances du ministre, pria le roi de tenir en vigueur les anciennes ordonnances. On pense que dans cette ostentation d'indulgence, le prélat eut deux choses en vue: la première de faire croire que c'étoit malgré lui qu'il avait laissé périr Chalais, victime de la rigueur des lois; la seconde, d'épouvanter ceux qui voudroient courir les mêmes risques en leur montrant le glaive de la justice toujours levé sur leurs têtes."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dorchain, *Pierre Corneille*.

<sup>3</sup> *Mémoires*, III, 105.

for love of her that De Chalais engaged himself so deeply in the conspiracies against Richelieu. The *Mémoires* of the Cardinal depict her rôle further:

Chalais l'avoit accusée pour être celle qui avoit dessein d'empêcher ce mariage [de Gaston]. ... Elle faisoit l'union de tous les princes et des huguenots mesmes par Madame de Rohan; et étoit *la principale* qui avoit porté Monsieur [Gaston] d'aller, depuis la prise du Colonel [Ornano] ... à Fleury où étoit le Cardinal *pour lui faire un mauvais parti* [XLV, 105].

Chalais accused her during the course of the hearings of having been the soul of the conspiracy and of having openly incited him and others to stab Richelieu:

Le dessein de madame de Chevreuse qu'elle ne découvrait pas à la Reine, étoit, à ce que dit Monsieur (Gaston) à Nantes, afin que, le Roi venant à mourir, la Reine put épouser Monsieur. ... Ladite dame de Chevreuse avoit une telle passion à cela, qu'autrefois, par le grand-prieur, par Chalais, et maintenant par elle-même, elle incitait Monsieur à user de violence contre le cardinal, ayant, comme dit Chalais à son interrogatoire, accoutumé avec Monsieur et les siens de lui dire: "Ne vous souviendrez-vous jamais du colonel?" (d'Ornano, in prison) pour donner à entendre: ne vous déferez-vous jamais du cardinal? [*Op. cit.*, p. 107.]

When de Chalais tried to make his peace with Richelieu,

Mme de Chevreuse lui en fit tant de reproches et le pressa si fort que rien n'étant quasi impossible à une femme aussi belle et avec autant d'esprit que celle là, il n'y put résister, et il aima mieux manquer au cardinal de Richelieu et à lui même qu'à elle, de sorte qu'ayant aussitôt fait changer Monsieur il le rendit plus révolté que jamais.<sup>1</sup>

Cinna in the tragedy is a conspirator for love's sake exactly like De Chalais; Enfilie uses her lover to attempt the murder of Augustus, like Madame de Chevreuse; Augustus forgives the conspirators like Richelieu forgave—or pretended to forgive—those who desired to take his life at Fleury. No doubt Corneille perceived these analogies between the historical episode narrated by Seneca and Montaigne and the political events of his own time. His Romans were in a

(sic!)

<sup>1</sup> Fontenay-Mareuil, *Mémoires*, p. 24; La Rochefoucauld, *Mémoires*, p. 339: "Chalais étoit maître de la garde-robe; sa personne et son esprit étoient agréables et il avoit un attachement extraordinaire pour Mme de Chevreuse." Fontenay-Mareuil, *Mémoires*, Collection Petitot, LI, 23: "M. de Chalais étoit jeune, bien fait, fort adroit à toute sorte d'exercices, mais surtout d'agréable compagnie, ce qui le rendoit bien venu parmi les femmes qui le perdirent enfin."

measure seventeenth-century personages, his play a mixture of idealized antiquity and idealized actuality.

The characters are transposed and magnified: Emilie is an ideal Roman virgin, with some traits of the seventeenth-century lady-conspirator; Cinna is impelled more by a point of honor in love than by personal hostility against Augustus; the emperor's magnanimity is of a nature which Richelieu would have liked to see ascribed to him and which, merited or not, he ostentatiously displayed.

Through the study of these connections, one realizes once more that Corneille's work was not exclusively the result of abstract reflection or of his interest in history. If his heroes are not cold and hieratic like figures on historical frescoes, but live and struggle, love and act like living beings, it is because some of the flame of his own life and of his own feeling glows in them; because they were for him no historical abstractions solely, but animated by reference to reality.

GUSTAVE L. VAN ROOSBROECK

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA





## FIELDING'S INDEBTEDNESS TO JAMES RALPH

That Henry Fielding in the period immediately following his return from Leyden in 1729 was associated with James Ralph is well known. As Professor Cross points out<sup>1</sup>, in 1730 Fielding's comedy *The Temple Beau* appeared with a prologue by Ralph. In 1736 Fielding is said to have been assisted by Ralph in the management of the Little Theatre in the Haymarket.<sup>2</sup> And in 1739 Ralph became Fielding's assistant editor on the *Champion*.<sup>3</sup>

In addition, Professor Cross says that association with Ralph "taught Fielding the ways of Grub Street, of which he soon began to make good use in verse and on the stage."<sup>4</sup> As evidence of this influence he cites only Fielding's facetious poem to Sir Robert Walpole, published in the *Miscellanies*.

I believe it can be shown that Ralph's influence is to be further traced in Fielding's early work, at least in the two comedies which in the year 1730 followed *The Temple Beau* (performed January 26; published February 2); namely, *The Author's Farce*; and *The Pleasures of the Town* (performed March 30; published March 31) and *Tom Thumb. A Tragedy* (performed April 24; published April 24-25[?]).<sup>5</sup> These two farces obviously mark a departure from the artificial comedy which had been the model for *Love in Several Masques* (1728) and *The Temple Beau* (1730), and suggest a new interest in literary burlesque. I believe Ralph was in part responsible for this change.

The basis of my judgment is a book of Ralph's published in 1728 under the title:

THE TOUCH-STONE: OR, Historical, Critical, Political, Philosophical, and Theological ESSAYS On the reigning Diversions of the Town. Design'd for the Improvement of all AUTHORS, SPECTATORS, and ACTORS of OPERAS, PLAYS, and MASQUERADES. In which every thing antique or modern, relating to MUSICK, POETRY, DANCING, PANTOMIMES, CHORUSSES, CAT-CALLS, AUDIENCES, JUDGES, CRITICKS, BALLS, RIDOTTOS, ASSEMBLIES, NEW ORATORY, CIRCUS,

<sup>1</sup> Cross, W. L., *The History of Henry Fielding* (Yale University Press, 1918), I, 76-77.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 250.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 290-91.

BEAR-GARDENS, GLADIATORS, PRIZE-FIGHTERS, ITALIAN STROLERS, MOUNTED-BANK STAGES, COCK-PITS, PUPPET-SHEWS, FAIRS, and PUBLICK AUCTIONS, is occasionally handled. By a Person of some Taste and some Quality. With a PREFACE, giving an Account of the AUTHOR and the WORK. . . . LONDON: Printed, and sold by the Booksellers of *London* and *Westminster*. MDCCXXVIII.

The work was reissued in 1731, with a new title-page only, as:

THE TASTE of the TOWN: OR, A GUIDE TO ALL PUBLICK DIVERSIONS. VIZ.

- I. Of MUSICK, OPERAS AND PLAYS. Their Original, Progress, and Improvement, and the Stage-Entertainment fully vindicated from the Exceptions of Old *Pryn*, the Reverend Mr. *Collier*, Mr. *Bedford* and Mr. *Law*.
- II. Of POETRY, Sacred and Profane. A Project for introducing Scripture-Stories upon our Stage, and acting them on *Sundays* and *Holy-Days* after Divine Service, as is customary in most polite Parts of Europe.
- III. Of DANCING, Religious and Dramatical. Reflections on their Exercise, Public and Private, with the learned Bishop *Potter's* Sentiments thereon.
- IV. Of the MIMES, PANTOMIMES and CHORUSES of the *Antients*; and of the Imitation of them in our *Modern Entertainments* after Plays.
- V. Of AUDIENCES, at our Theatrical Representations, their due Behaviour, and of Cat-Calls and other indecent Practices, concluding with Remarks on our Pretenders to Criticism.
- VI. Of MASQUERADES; Ecclesiastical, Political, Civil and Military: Their Antiquity, Use and Abuse. Also of *Ridottos*, *Assemblies* and *Henley's* Oratory.
- VII. Of the ATHLETIC SPORTS of the *Antients*: Their *Circus* compared with our *Bear-Garden*, and their Gladiators with our *Prize-Fighters*, Of *Cock-Fighting*, *Puppet-Shews*, *Mountebanks* and *Auctions*.

LONDON: Printed, and sold by the Booksellers of *London* and *Westminster*. MDCCXXXI.

This volume, a half-serious, half-jesting disquisition, was designed, in the words of its author,

to animadvert upon the Standard Entertainments of the present Age, in Comparison with those of Antiquity . . . in Hopes that those who have Power and Capacity may one Day fix our publick Entertainments upon a Basis as lasting, as beneficial to Mankind.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Touchstone*, p. 236.

Inspired, ostensibly, by the unqualified condemnation of the stage by other critics, Ralph in his Preface states his own aims as follows:

My Manner of Criticizing, as observ'd in these ESSAYS, differs widely from anything that has yet appear'd under that Name: Both Censure and Panegyrick are introduc'd after a Method entirely new. I could never give into the slovenly, canting Reflections of Pryn, the arbitrary malicious Learning of Collier, the enthusiastick insipid Arguments of L——w, or the severe tho' justifiable Rules of Rymer and Dennis. I hope my Animadversions upon all polite Entertainments, will be allow'd more agreeably just, if not so deeply Learned . . . I shall . . . point out to the World, what I judge perfect, and what wants Amendment in these Amusements; at the same time proposing the most probable Remedies.<sup>1</sup>

Written in the year in which *The Beggar's Opera* had just given a fatal challenge to the supremacy of Italian opera, the book naturally discusses in its first chapter, "Musick, Operas and Plays." On this subject the author writes in his Preface:

The OPERAS therefore being look'd upon as the Center of the Beau Monde, I begin with them; in an historical Manner trace them to their first Rise: I make manifest their Beauties; how shocking the Italian Performance and Language are to some English Ears; shew what is wanting, what superfluous, and what Alterations or Additions are requisite to suit them to all Capacities, and adapt them to the Taste of this Nation in general.<sup>2</sup>

These "Alterations or Additions" he alludes to in an amusing passage following his defence of the musical quality of Italian opera:

I am sensible, that their being perform'd in a foreign Tongue disgusts many of my Countrymen, who (tho' great *Philharmonicks*) yet being *True Britons*, and staunch *Protestants*, to shew their love to their Country, and their Zeal for their Religion, are prepossess'd against Singing as well as Praying in an unknown Dialect.

To mitigate such antipathies he suggests the use, as subjects for opera, of native tales:

Some of our most noted domestick *Fables*, which must please an *English* Audience, and at the same time make a beautiful Appearance on the Stage: These shall be principally borrow'd from a Subject which can boast an inexhaustible Fund of Models for Theatrical Entertainments, particularly OPERAS; viz. *Knight-Errantry*, which has in all Ages produc'd so many

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xvi-xvii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xix.

valuable Volumes of Romances, Memoirs, Novels and Ballads, either written or oral.<sup>1</sup>

Compare this passage from Ralph's essay with the following from the Preface to the first edition of Fielding's *Tom Thumb*:

It is with great concern that I have observed several of our [the Grub-street] Tragical Writers, to celebrate in their immortal Lines the Actions of Heroes recorded in the Historians and Poets, such as Homer or Virgil, or Livy or Plutarch, the Propagation of whose Works is so apparently against the Interest of our Society; when the Romances, Novels, and Histories, *vulgo* call'd Story-Books, of our own People, furnish such abundant and proper Themes for their Pens; such are Tom Tram, Hickathrift, etc.<sup>2</sup>

Returning to Ralph's exposition of this same thesis, we discover the dramatic possibilities of these domestic fables as follows:

A late eminent ingenious Author propos'd to the then Master of the OPERA-STAGE, *Whittington and his Cat*; and went so far in the Design, as to procure a Puss or two, who could pur tolerably in Time and Tune: But the Inconveniencies arising from the Number of Vermin requisite to be destroy'd, in order to keep up to the Truth of the Story, blasted that Project.<sup>3</sup>

Many worthy Patriots amongst us (through the Prejudice of their Infant-Education) would doat upon the Representation of *Valentine and Orson*; . . . . .

The Generality of this Nation would likewise imbibe a Fondness for the *Seven Champions of Christendom*, even from their Nursery; but the Ac—— my not being able to furnish so many Heroes at a Time, we must drop that Design: Though I must say, our own *St. George's Part* would equip us with Characters and Incidents for a very beautiful *Drama*; in which the whole History of the G——r might be properly and naturally introduc'd; with a little Episode thrown in about the O——r of the T——le; then tack to their Tails a large Troop of K——ts of the B——h, with their Es——res, by way of a Grand Chorus: And this Scene would be truly great, and worthy of a *Brittish* Audience.

But I fear we should find some Difficulty in meeting with a proper Dragon; unless the Af——n Company could procure us a sucking one, . . . . or that *Doctor Faustus* could be prevail'd upon to part with his artificial one, which really roars out a good tuneable Bass: Then if Sign<sup>r</sup> B——chi would condescend to sing the Part of *St. George's Horse*, with

<sup>1</sup> *Touchstone*, pp. 21-22; cf. p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> *The Tragedy of Tragedies*, ed. J. T. Hillhouse (Yale University Press, 1918), p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> "The Famous History of Whittington, Lord Mayor of London" Ashton describes as a spectacular attraction at Smithfield Fair a few years earlier. *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne* (London, 1911), p. 193.

*S*—no upon his Back; and Sign<sup>r</sup> *Pal*—ni allow himself to be clapp'd into the Dragon's Belly: I believe this Plan would surprize us not only with a noble Scene of Recitative, but furnish us with an Opportunity of throwing in the newest and finest *Duet* that ever was heard, viz. betwixt the *Horse* and the *Dragon*. . . .

*Robbin Hood* and *Little John* cannot fail of charming the *Brittish Nation*, being undoubtedly a Domestick Matter of Fact; but as no Singer in Europe can top the Part of *Little John* but *Ber*—dt, we must suspend that Performance till his Return, to bless our Eyes.

The *London 'Prentice* would infallibly gain the Hearts of the City, besides the valuable Incident of a *Lion-Scene*; as the *Abbot of Canterbury* would procure the Favour of the Clergy; and then the whole Audience (in Imitation of that polite agreeable Custom practic'd at *Paris*) might join the Stage; every body beating Time, and singing, *Derry down, down, down, &c.*

*Tom Thumb* would be a beautiful Foundation to build a pretty little Pastoral on; his Length too being adequate to that of a Summer's Evening, the *Belles* and *Beaus* might arrive Time enough from either Park, and enjoy the whole of his Affair: Nay, it would admit of some very new Scenes, as surprizing as true: Witness the Accident of the Pudding, which would be something as uncommon as ever appear'd on any Stage, not excepting even a *Dutch Tragedy*—N.B. Cu—ni in *Breeches* would make a delightful *Tom Thumb*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Touchstone*, pp. 22–26. Our knowledge of Ralph up to this time is almost entirely derived from the autobiography of Benjamin Franklin in whose company he left Philadelphia (where he had been a merchant's clerk) arriving in London, December 24, 1724. Franklin remained eighteen months, leaving for America July 23, 1726. The chronology of events within that period is vague. For some time Franklin and Ralph lived intimately together in lodgings in Little Britain, at Franklin's expense, attending plays and other entertainments. Later, financially desperate, having failed to get employment as actor or hackney writer, Ralph retired to a village, which Franklin thought was in Berkshire, where he taught boys reading and writing—taking the name of Franklin, meanwhile, for disguise, and writing an epic poem. Some time before Franklin's departure for America Ralph returned to London, quarrelled with Franklin, and left him for good.

This event may have occurred early in 1726. If so, what did Ralph do between that time and his meeting with Fielding in London in January, 1730? Among other things he published three volumes of verse: *The Tempest: or, the Terrors of Death* (1727) may have been the "epic poem" mentioned by Franklin; it is a dull poem, somewhat tinged with romantic melancholy. *Miscellaneous Poems, By Several Hands . . . Publish'd by Mr. Ralph* (1729), is a curious collection of verses which the *D.N.B.* says are probably for the most part by Ralph; it contains among other things verses in imitation of *Il Penseroso* and the *Fairy Queen*. *Zeuma: or, The Love of Liberty* (1729) is a romantic tale in verse, with the scene laid among the Indians of Peru; a preface summarizes the history of the discovery of America and the Spanish explorations.

I think there are some grounds for suspecting that at this time Ralph travelled somewhat upon the continent, and particularly in Holland. The facetious Preface to *The Touchstone* (1728) may well be a whimsical compound of fact and fiction. In it the author describes his travels devoted chiefly to the study of "the Fundamentals of the publick Amusements most follow'd." The book contains allusions striking and numerous to Dutch places and practices. The following references may be noted: Holland (p. 39), Amsterdam (p. xiv), Dutch tragedy (p. 26), Scripture dramas in Holland (pp. 52–

How much real liking for "low" literature is covertly expressed here and in Ralph's mordant contempt for whatever is of the reigning mode—whether the classical canons of the critics or the artificial taste of the town—it is perhaps difficult to decide. Admittedly he is never more than half-serious in what he says, yet I cannot but feel that at some period of exile from London he himself had found interest and entertainment in "a well-executed puppet-shew" which at moderate expense, he says, provided innocent amusement "of infinite advantage to most country towns."<sup>1</sup> Certain it is that his own early verses exhibit an undeniably romantic strain.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the fact that he was newly come to London from America would account for a sharpness of impression and an adventurous taste. Conceivably he was one of those transition types, sensitive to conflicting influences, critical of whatever prevailed. That his interest in the theatrical state of England and the continent was catholic and keen is apparent from the diversity of his information. That he was versed in the canons of the Ancients is equally clear. This diversity of interest together with his satirical temper would obviously commend Ralph to Fielding: and the critical ardor of his associate might easily have directed Fielding's more creative gifts.

Omitting Ralph's account of the spectacular possibilities of *Chevy Chace* (reminiscent, of course, of Addison) and his grotesque outline of a dramatization of *The Children in the Wood*, I pause on his mention of *Tom Thumb*. Sufficient has been quoted, I think, to show how Fielding might well have derived from him notions of a burlesque of contemporary opera and tragedy, of the use of a nursery rhyme, and, specifically, of the choice of *Tom Thumb* as the vehicle of this burlesque.

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53), French strollers in "one of the Hans Towns" and the attitude of "a High-Dutch Audience" on the occasion (p. 61), the closing of the Dutch theaters on Sunday nights (pp. 74-75), the Dutch method of recruiting actors from the crowd (p. 69), the maintenance of hospitals by the revenues of the theaters "in several Towns in Holland" (p. 76), the observation that "the Germans are noted for their long Stride, Turkey-cock Strut, and dancing in the Ox-Stile; as the Low-Dutch are for their awkward Imitation of the French a-la-Clumsie" (p. 112), a "Low-Dutch Commentator" (p. 131), a music house in Amsterdam (p. 203). Was a common interest in Dutch life one of the factors in the acquaintance of Fielding and Ralph? In any case Ralph seems to have been a literary dissenter of some interest, worthy of further study.

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 30-31.

<sup>2</sup> See biographical note, p. 5.



In his discussion of the source of *Tom Thumb* in the Introduction to his recent edition of *The Tragedy of Tragedies*,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hillhouse points to *The Rehearsal* as Fielding's model for the burlesque of contemporary dramatic conventions. For the use of the editor instead of the author and critic, he holds *The Dunciad* responsible. For the use of a nursery rhyme for the burlesque, a device described as "common at this time," he thinks Fielding is indebted to "an anonymous pamphlet of twenty-five pages in octavo, entitled *A Comment upon the History of Tom Thumb*," published first in 1711, "generally attributed to William Wagstaffe (1695–1725), and included in his collected works (1725)."<sup>2</sup>

In my review of Mr. Hillhouse's work<sup>3</sup> I suggested that Fielding was more likely to have used what seems to be a later, and perhaps an enlarged, version of this anonymous pamphlet, appearing in 1729 under the title:

Thomas Redivivus; or, a compleat History of the Life and marvellous Actions of Tom Thumb. In three Tomes. Interspersed with that ingenious comment of the late Dr. Wagstaffs' and annotations by several Hands. To which is prefix'd historical and critical Remarks on the Life and Writings of the Author. Folio, 1729.<sup>4</sup>

This anonymous piece of burlesque editing, together with Ralph's suggestion of a burlesque play, both making use of the story of *Tom Thumb* as a vehicle for their satire, seems to account for the theme and the motive of Fielding's farce. But I believe that the suggestion derived from Ralph's facetious essay is the more significant as the initial inspiration for the earlier version of Fielding's *Tom Thumb* in which the satire is conveyed by character, dialogue, and incident, and not by annotations.

It will be recalled that though not exactly a "little pastoral," Fielding's burlesque was originally very short, consisting of two brief acts, and serving as an afterpiece. Though "the Accident of the Pudding" does not find a place in the action of the play, it does

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 3–9.

<sup>2</sup> This pamphlet was evidently a burlesque of Addison's essays on *Cherry Chase* (*Spectator*, Nos. 70 and 74).

<sup>3</sup> *Jour. Eng. Ger. Phil.*, XVIII (1919), 464–67.

<sup>4</sup> Ritson, *Pieces of Ancient Poetry* (London, 1791), p. 98; also a contemporary notice in *Monthly Chronicle, For the Year MDCCXXIX*, II (Feb. 1729), 46. In my review, previously cited, I raised certain questions bearing upon the authorship of this work.

receive pointed reference in the dialogue in the Queen's speech to Grizzle:

Sure the King forgets,  
When in a Pudding, by his Mother put,  
The Bastard, by a Tinker, on a stall  
Was drop'd. . . . O, good Lord Grizzle! can I bear  
To see him, from a Pudding, mount the Throne?

And finally the part of the little hero was played by a woman, on some occasions at least.<sup>1</sup>

A number of minor points of similarity between Fielding's play and Ralph's essays can be pointed out. Any one or two of these, it might be claimed, represent nothing more than similar selection from a common environment by like-minded authors well versed in the critical jargon of the day. But the number of such resemblances seems to indicate association rather than mere coincidence, especially since we know that at least from the date of the writing of the Prologue to *The Temple Beau* Fielding and Ralph were more or less intimately connected. My conviction is that the plays were written after a fairly recent perusal of Ralph's book.

Recalling Ralph's plea for a use of "domestick Fables" as more pleasing to "True Britons" than foreign subjects, themes already used to good effect in "Romances, Memoirs, Novel and Ballads," we may compare with it, in addition to the passage already quoted from Fielding's Preface, the following lines from the Prologue to *Tom Thumb*:

Since then, to laugh, to Tragedies you come,  
What Hero is so proper as Tom Thumb?  
Tom Thumb! whose very Name must Mirth incite,  
And fill each merry Briton with Delight.  
Britons, awake!—Let Greece and Rome no more  
Their Heroes send to our Heroick Shore.  
Let home-bred Subjects grace the modern Muse,  
And Grub-Street from her Self, her Heroes chuse:  
Her Story-Books immortalize in Fame  
Hickathrift, Jack the Giant-Killer, and Tom Tram.

It should be noted, in passing, that in his Preface Ralph describes his family, "The Princock's," as allied "to every Man in Europe; from L——s of B——n to Tom Tram."

<sup>1</sup> Hillhouse, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

In his discussion, in chapter ii, of dramatic poetry, Ralph charges the poets with writing "merry Tragedies, or sad Comedies . . . . [a] Disease . . . . in a Manner *Epidemick* amongst that Tribe."<sup>1</sup> Compare this charge with the lines just quoted, and likewise with these others in the Prologue to *Tom Thumb*:

With Mirth and Laughter to delight the Mind  
The modern Tragedy was first design'd:  
"Twas this made Farce with Tragedy unite,  
And Taught each Scribler in the Town to Write.

In his Preface to the first edition Fielding writes again of this mirthful tragedy:

And here I congratulate my Cotemporary Writers, for their having enlarged the Sphere of Tragedy: The ancient Tragedy seems to have had only two effects on the Audience, *viz.* It either awakened Terror and Compassion, or composed those and all other uneasy Sensations, by lulling the Audience in an agreeable Slumber. But to provoke the Mirth and Laughter of the Spectators, to join the Sock to the Buskin, is a Praise only due to Modern Tragedy.<sup>2</sup>

Ralph in another passage to be compared with this last one from Fielding's Prologue refers to the contemporary poets' "mistaken Notions in Choice of Subjects for the Stage," and to "their strange Mismanagement in relation to the Effects of a *Stage-Play*, in giving us TRAGEDIES to make us laugh, and COMEDIES to make us cry."<sup>3</sup>

The "Terror and Compassion" which Fielding notes as the emotions proper to classical tragedy are paralleled by Ralph's commendation of *The Children in the Wood* as a story "capable of giving us a vast deal of the *Pathetic*, the *Wonderful* and the *Terrible*."<sup>4</sup> The "bloody catastrophe" to which Fielding refers in his Preface,<sup>5</sup> Ralph discusses as among the dramatic possibilities of the ballad of *Chevy Chase*.<sup>6</sup>

The satire on the physical grandeur of the conventional tragic hero Ralph conveys in this wise:

TRAGEDY borrows vast Advantages from the additional Ornaments of Feathers and high Heels; and it is impossible, but that the two Foot and a Half of Plumes and Buskin must go a great Length in giving an

<sup>1</sup> *Touchstone*, p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Hillhouse, op. cit.*, p. 51.

<sup>5</sup> *Hillhouse, op. cit.*, p. 82.

<sup>3</sup> *Touchstone*, p. 49.

<sup>6</sup> *Touchstone*, p. 26.

Audience a just Notion of a Hero. . . . In Rome, commenc'd once a famous Dispute betwixt two eminent *Tragedians*, which best represented Agamemnon; he that step'd loftily and on tip-toes, or, he who appear'd pensive, as if concern'd for the Safety of his People; but the tall Man carry'd it.<sup>1</sup>

Fielding is, of course, satirizing this same convention in his small hero, "little Tom Thumb," and in his defence of his hero's size in the Preface: Mr. Dennis, finding the tragedy incompatible with the precepts of Aristotle which require "a just Greatness," inquires, "What Greatness can be in a Fellow, whom History relateth to have been no higher than a Span?" The author replies:

This Gentleman seemeth to think, with Sergeant *Kite*, that the Greatness of a Man's Soul is in proportion to that of his Body, . . . if I understand *Aristotle* right, he speaketh only of the Greatness of the Action, and not of the Person.<sup>2</sup>

In his essays Ralph gives satiric consideration to other conventions of the tragedy of the time, the importance of a retinue for a hero, of spectacles which "make the thinnest Plot appear full of Business," such as "a Wedding, a Funeral, a Christening, a Feast, or some such Spectacle, which must be manag'd by a Multitude," which provides "a well-dispos'd Succession of Crowds in every Scene." The importance of battles, with trumpets and drums, and "handsome, noisy Skirmishes on the Stage," he emphasizes. He refers more than once to the interest aroused by the appearance of giants and dwarfs.<sup>3</sup> To all these precepts and suggestions as to the matter of tragedy, Fielding in his farce gives ample illustration.

In his satirical strictures on the form of drama and opera, Ralph reviles tragic diction as "nonsense, gilded Fustian, and pompous Bombast."<sup>4</sup> Like Fielding, he has much to say of Longinus and the true sublime, too often neglected by "those Novices in polite Literature, who are ignorant of the true Art of *Dramatick Poetry*."<sup>5</sup> Fielding in his Preface places "the Sublime of Longinus" in opposition to "the Profound of Scriblerus."

<sup>1</sup> *Touchstone*, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> *Hillhouse*, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> *Touchstone*, pp. xxii, 80, 105, 106.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62; see also pp. 39, 49, 59, 63.

The other critics mentioned by Ralph are all in the list of those whom Fielding treats: Aristotle, Horace, Dryden, Dennis, Rymer, Rapin, Scaliger. He cites, too, the practice of Corneille and Molière. Upon the formal theories and artificial standards of contemporary critics Ralph animadverts in Fielding's own spirit. He says:

I look upon our present Race of Criticks to be either formal, deep finish'd Blockheads by Nature, or those, who from tolerable natural Parts, are made so by Art, wrong understood, and Talents misapply'd. . . .

The Criticks of the second Class come into the World with tolerable natural Parts, and a Disposition for Instruction; but in Place of being improv'd by Learning, they are sowr'd with Pedantry, and puff'd up with Pride. . . . They immediately establish critical Rules, by which the world must be guided; the old Laws are refin'd upon, new made, and stated Limits fix'd, over which no enterprising Genius must leap, tho' of ever so great Advantage to the Republick of Letters; . . .

There is another Branch of this flourishing Tree. . . . These Gentlemen, at the Expence of much Labour and Birch, are whipp'd at School into bad Translations, false *Latin*, and dull Themes; from thence they run the Gantlope through all the pedantick Forms of an University-Education: There they grow familiar with the Title-Pages of antient and modern Authors. . . . Their Mouths are fill'd with the Fable, the Moral, Catastrophe, Unity, Probability, Poetick, Justice, true Sublime, Bombast, Simplicity, Magnificence, and all the critical Jargon, which is learn'd in a quarter of an Hour, and serves to talk of one's whole Life after.<sup>1</sup>

An audience's enjoyment of what it cannot understand is satirized by Ralph as one great attraction of Italian opera, and of the hack writer who "must be held wise, who is unintelligible."<sup>2</sup> Fielding asserts "that the greatest Perfection of the Language of Tragedy is, that it is not to be understood."<sup>3</sup>

In *Tom Thumb*, then, I believe Fielding shows the influence of Ralph in his design of satirizing through a burlesque tragedy the artificial conventions of the stage of the day; in his choice of a nursery rhyme, and specifically of *Tom Thumb*, for the purpose; and to some extent in many of the details in the working out of his design, as in his satire on "merry Tragedy," on the emotions of "Terror and Compassion" and on the "bloody Catastrophe" proper to

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 159-61; see also pp. xxi, 18, 38, 39, 162.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xxiii, 12.

<sup>3</sup> Hillhouse, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

tragedy, on the tall hero, on the sublime of Longinus, on the rule-bound pedantry and stupidity of contemporary critics, on spectacular incidents and bombastic diction.

Less than a month before *Tom Thumb*, Fielding had brought out another play, also a literary satire and burlesque: *The Author's Farce; with a Puppet-Show called the Pleasures of the Town*, performed first at the Haymarket on March 30, 1730.<sup>1</sup> Obviously written at about the same time, we should expect to find in this play marks of the same influence we have noted in *Tom Thumb*. And I think we are not disappointed.

In the first place, the "Puppet-Show," which is the play within the play in this farce, though frequently performed separately, shows an interest on Fielding's part in that type of popular entertainment which Ralph had treated with considerable spirit in chapter vii of his book, as follows:

The Mechanical Genius of the *English* is obvious to every body in many Cases, but in none more properly, than in the Contrivance and Conduct of our PUPPET-SHEWS: The Improvement of which is certainly owing to us, if not the invention; . . . .

I confess, I cannot view a well-executed PUPPET-SHEW, without extravagant Emotions of Pleasure: . . . .

These portable Stages are of infinite Advantage to most Country Towns, where *Play-houses* cannot be maintain'd; and in my Mind, superior to any Company of Strollers: The Amusement is innocent and instructive, the Expence is moderate, and the whole Equipage easily carry'd about; as I have seen some Couples of Kings and Queens, with a suitable Retinue of Courtiers and Guards, very well accomodated in a single Band-box, with Room for *Punch* and his Family, in the same Machine. The Plans of their little Pieces do not barely aim at Morality, but enforce even Religion: And, it is impossible to view their Representation of *Bateman's* Ghost, *Doctor Faustus's* Death, or Mother *Shipton's* Tragical End, but that the bravest Body alive must be terribly afraid of going to the D——l.<sup>2</sup>

In another place Ralph treats of these entertainments, again with a playful appreciation of their ingenuity:

There is one thing more I must observe, to the Shame of the Masters of our THEATERS in general; which is, that the only just Remains of a true

<sup>1</sup> Cross, *op. cit.*, I, 80. This fuller form of the title is that of Chalmer's editions (New York, 1813).

<sup>2</sup> *Touchstone*, pp. 228–29.



CHORUS appear in the artful Management of our *Puppet-Shews*; and, indeed, the entire Performance of these small, itinerant, wooden Actors, is a kind of Grand CHORUS in Miniature; Especially their Prompter answers exactly to the Character and Business of the *Corypheus* with the Antients; whose Office it is to explain to the audience, the most intricate Parts of what they see and hear, or to tell what is to come; to make wise Reflexions on what is past, or what may be; to enter into moral Dialogues pertinent to the Subject with his little Play-Fellows; nay, he generally talks as much to the Purpose as any of them; his Behaviour (with the Humours of *Punch*, and the MUSICK, DANCING and MACHINES, which are beautifully and prudently scatter'd up and down thro' the Whole) exactly discharges the Duty of an antique CHORUS.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, both Fielding and Ralph refer by implication to the puppet-show character of the stage of the time. Ralph says:

Those Domestick Matters of Fact always prove the Favourites of the People; which induc'd me to believe, that they might appear with equal Success on the Stage of the great PUPPET-SHEW in the H—y—m—t.<sup>2</sup>

Fielding in the *Author's Farce* makes Bookweight ask incredulously, "A puppet-show in a play-house?" And Luckless, the author, replies, "Ay, why, what have been all the playhouses a long while but puppet-shows?"<sup>3</sup>

The characters of Fielding's puppet show are the personifications of the types of popular entertainment which Ralph had discussed: Don Tragedio, Sir Farcical Comic, Dr. Orator, Signior Opera, Monsieur Pantomime, and Mrs. Novel. To these are added (also included in Ralph's essays) Jack Pudding, Punch and his wife, and Count Heidegger (as Count Ugly), the manager of the Masquerade in the Haymarket whom Fielding had already celebrated in verse in 1728. Be it observed, too, that Dr. Orator, who plays so conspicuous a rôle, is the same Henley whose "Oratory" Ralph mentions in his title-page to the 1731 issue of his book, and discusses in chapter vi. One is tempted to wonder, very cautiously, whether the cat of Fielding's Epilogue is in any way descended from Ralph's "Puss or two, who could pur tolerably in Time or Tune," said to have been procured for a performance of *Whittington and his Cat*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 229.

<sup>3</sup> *The Works of Henry Fielding*, ed. Chalmers (New York, 1813), I, 319.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 22.

In this play, too, occurs mention of the "merry Tragedy" which we have seen appear in Ralph's essay and in the Preface and Prologue to *Tom Thumb*. Don Tragedio says:

Is Nonsense, of me then forgetful grown,  
And must the Signior [Opera] be preferr'd alone?  
Is it for this, for this, ye gods, that I  
Have in one scene made some folks laugh, some cry?  
For this does my low blust'ring language creep,  
At once to wake you, and to make you sleep?<sup>1</sup>

Unintelligibility, too, is extolled. Dr. Orator says:

What has understanding to do? My hearers would be diverted, and they are so! which could not be if understanding were necessary, because very few of them have any.<sup>2</sup>

Certain other incidental points of similarity reinforce the impression of specific, and of recent, influence. In advocating the use of familiar tales, Ralph says (the italics are my own):

This amusing Variety of the Choice of Subjects for our Operas, will allow a greater *Latitude in Composition* than we have yet known.<sup>3</sup>

In the *Author's Farce* Luckless says:

I have introduced, indeed, several other characters, not entirely necessary to the main design; for I was assured by a very eminent critic, that, *in the way of writing, great latitude might be allowed*; and that a writer of puppet-shows might take as much more liberty than a writer of operas, as an opera-writer might be allowed beyond a writer of plays.<sup>4</sup>

In speaking of the fairs as one source of popular entertainment, Ralph writes:

Nay, my Old Friend *Bartholomew's Wings* are close clipp'd; his Liberties retrench'd, and Priviledges invaded. . . . We live in Hopes, the Losses there sustain'd will be made up to us t'other side the *Thames*, and that *Southwark* may be what *May* and *Bartholomew Fairs* have been.<sup>5</sup>

Very similarly Fielding writes in the *Author's Farce*:

My lord mayor has shortened the time of Bartholomew-fair in Smithfield, and so they are resolved to keep it all the year round at the other end of the town.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Works of Henry Fielding*, I, 341; cf. above, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 335.

<sup>3</sup> *Touchstone*, p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> *The Works of Henry Fielding*, I, 324. Ralph uses again these terms *Variety* and *Latitude*: "There being as great Variety and Latitude in the Dances as in the passions themselves." *Touchstone*, p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> *Touchstone*, p. 230.

<sup>6</sup> *The Works of Henry Fielding*, I, 331-32.

Finally in speaking of the ephemeral entertainments which he will not discuss, Ralph says:

Our natural Philosophers will sneer at my total Neglect of *Mary of Godliman*, and the whole Rabbit-scene. *What! not a page of his Book set aside, to inspect the Affairs of the wonderful Rabbit-Woman?*<sup>1</sup>

This imposture occurred in 1726; Hogarth's print, "Cunicularii, or, the Wise men of Godliman in Consultation," was published December 26, 1726. London was much stirred by the story during 1726 and 1727;<sup>2</sup> hence it was fresh in Ralph's mind as one of the follies of the town at the time he was writing his book. But would it have been so fresh in Fielding's mind in 1730 if he had not been recently reminded of it? In his Epilogue to the *Author's Farce* the cat, now changed to a woman, says:

Gallants, you seem to think this transformation,  
As strange as was the rabbit's procreation;  
That 'tis as odd a cat should take the habit  
Of breeding us, as we should breed a rabbit.<sup>3</sup>

In the *Author's Farce*, then, Fielding seems to show Ralph's influence in his use of a puppet show, in his reference to the puppet-show-like qualities of the stage of the day, in his personification of the various types of entertainment Ralph discusses, in his mention of mirth-provoking tragedy, unintelligibility, "latitude" in writing, the strictures upon Bartholomew Fair, and the "rabbit-woman."

Though Ralph's book had come out in 1728, the chances are that Fielding did not read it until January, 1730. He left London early in 1728, presumably soon after the performance of *Love in Several Masques* on February 16 of that year.<sup>4</sup> He has already enrolled in the university at Leyden by March 16.<sup>5</sup> He was in England for the university vacation from the middle of August to the middle of October, 1728, but apparently went to Salisbury.<sup>6</sup> University records indicate that he left Leyden for good before February, 1730.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Touchstone*, pp. 235-36.

<sup>2</sup> Trall, *Social England* (London, 1896), V, 48; Wheatley, *Hogarth's London* (New York, 1909), pp. 36-37.

<sup>3</sup> *The Works of Henry Fielding*, I, no page.

<sup>4</sup> Cross, *op. cit.*, I, 61.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

Concerning the events of this period Professor Cross says:

From his subsequent movements it is clear that he came home in the summer of 1729, and did not go back to Leyden at the end of the vacation. . . . Thus thrown upon his own resources, his choice of a career lay, he used to tell his friends, between being a hackney-writer or a hackney-coachman. He chose the former and took the plunge at the opening of the new year.<sup>1</sup>

Fielding probably did not come to London earlier than the opening of the theatrical season in the fall of 1729. If Professor Cross's statement is founded on evidence which makes it *literally* true that Fielding came up to London "at the beginning of the new year," then it means that in the month of January, 1730, Fielding wrote *The Temple Beau*, "fell in with James Ralph" "at this juncture," to quote Professor Cross again, secured his prologue for the comedy, and conceivably heard of and read Ralph's book. Thus it would have been fresh in his mind from recent reading, and, presumably, from conversation with its author, at the time when Fielding began work on his two comedies of literary satire which followed *The Temple Beau* in March and April of the same year.

WELLESLEY COLLEGE

HELEN SARD HUGHES

<sup>1</sup> Cross, p. 72.

## THE SOURCES OF *ILLE ET GALERON*

Much as has been written upon the sources of the *Ille et Galeron* of Gautier d'Arras, there is room for additional work. Along what line it can be most profitably directed, I hope to point out in this article.

The sources of the *Ille* may be conveniently divided into two groups: (1) written literary sources and (2) contemporary historical events or court gossip. The written sources have been extensively discussed by Paris,<sup>1</sup> Foerster,<sup>2</sup> and Matzke,<sup>3</sup> and I shall merely sum up their conclusions with my own deductions added.

Gautier himself gives his source as an *estore*<sup>4</sup> and claims to have followed it faithfully. But scholars are inclined to accept two works as written sources, the *Chronique de Nantes*<sup>5</sup> and Marie de France's *Lai d'Eliduc*.<sup>6</sup>

Ferdinand Lot<sup>7</sup> argues that "le commencement, les 1500<sup>1</sup> premiers vers environ, repose sur un fondement historique très défiguré, réel cependant." He then relates from the *Chronique de Nantes* the inci-

<sup>1</sup> Gaston Paris, *La Poésie du moyen-âge*, 2<sup>e</sup> série (Paris, 1895), pp. 109-30; *Histoire littéraire*, XXX (1888), 9, 600; *La Littérature française au moyen-âge* (1888), p. 113; *Romania* XXI (1892), 275-81; *Journal des savants* (1901), p. 706.

<sup>2</sup> Wendelin Foerster, in the introduction to *Ille und Galeron* von Walter von Arras, Rom. Bibl. 7, Halle, 1891.

<sup>3</sup> J. E. Matzke, "The Source and Composition of *Ille et Galeron*," *Modern Philology*, IV (1907), 471-88; "The Lay of Eliduc and the Legend of the Husband with Two Wives," *Ibid.*, V (1907), 211-39.

° P(aris) 6590 "Ne en l'estore plus n'en aut;  
Ne plus n'i a, ne plus n'i mist  
Gautier d'Arras," etc.

W(ollaton) 5803 "Ne en l'estorie plus n'en ot,  
Ne plus n'en a, ne plus n'i mist  
Galters d'Arras," etc.

<sup>4</sup> René Merlet, *Chronique de Nantes*, "Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire," XLX, Paris, 1896.

<sup>5</sup> Karl Warnke, *Die Lais der Marie de France*, Bibl. Norm. III, Halle, 1900.

<sup>7</sup> Ferdinand Lot, "Une source historique d'*Ille et Galeron*," *Romania*, XXV (1896), 585-88.

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dent of the assassination in 981 of Hoël, count of Nantes, by Galuron, emissary of Conan, count of Rennes, and concludes:

En somme, les comtes de Nantes et de Rennes et leurs vassaux ont été l'objet, au X<sup>e</sup> siècle, de récits épiques en langue française tout comme ceux des autres provinces. Le début d'*Ille et Galeron* me paraît en avoir conservé un souvenir lointain. Galuron, héros d'un de ces récits, aura dû à sa célébrité même d'être gratifié du rôle bien différent d'Eliduc.<sup>1</sup>

Lot's opinion has been quite universally accepted.

It is not so with the question of Marie's *Eliduc* as principal source. On this subject there are two main schools, the French, which follows G. Paris' opinion that a lost *lai* of Eliduc served as common source for Marie's poem and Gautier's;<sup>2</sup> and the German school, headed by W. Foerster,<sup>3</sup> which maintains that *Ille et Galeron* is based directly on Marie's *Eliduc* and is intended to be a moral re-working of the theme.

Gaston Paris<sup>4</sup> bases his opinion on the fact that the episode of the injured eye, upon which hinges the whole action of the *Ille*, is absent from the *Eliduc*. Paris is undoubtedly right if we can accept at full value Gautier's statement about his *estore*. If he is faithfully following it, Marie's *Eliduc* cannot be the direct source. And if we do not admit Gautier's statement, we do not exclude the possibility that he had another source either in common with or different from the *Eliduc*. But Foerster's view has great plausibility. The two poems have great similarity of plot and incidents, though the motive for leaving court seems at first thought to be quite different. *Eliduc* leaves court through loss of favor, and, tired of idleness at home, goes abroad to find military activity. *Ille* loses an eye (in a tournament in P., in a war in W.) and will not return through a mingled pride and humility. He seeks military service abroad to re-establish his prestige and self-respect. The loss of the eye is a symbol of loss of prestige at court, and according to the Ovidian love casuistry as expounded in the Courts of Love<sup>5</sup> a symbol of the loss of ability to love. The loss of prestige in each case brings about the temporary

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 588.

<sup>2</sup> *La Littérature française au moyen-âge*, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> Foerster, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> *Romania*, XXI, 278.

<sup>5</sup> Andreas Capellanus, *De Amore*, ed. E. Trojel, Havniae, 1892.

separation of husband and wife and leads to the introduction of the second woman. The other important incident which makes possible the hero's second marriage is quite different in the two poems. Galeron's accomplished vow after recovery from the perils of child-birth replaces the shipwreck and resuscitation of Guilliadun; the realistic replaces the miraculous and magical, and civilized morality is strictly observed.

Without going more fully into this question, I give a tabular comparison of the similarities, and also, that it may be seen that the *Ille* is not merely an expanded copy of the *Eliduc*, of the differences as well. Matzke did this to some extent in his articles, but since he was bent upon upholding G. Paris' theory, he did not draw the fullest possible conclusions from the material.

## ELIDUC

ILLE ET GALERON<sup>1</sup>

- |                                                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                                                        |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Source stated as a <i>lai</i> , verses 1-4                                                                            | Poem called a <i>lai</i> (W. 73). Doubtful whether reference to <i>lai</i> in P. 929 is to source.                                                                     |
| 2. Eliduc is hero                                                                                                        | Ille, the hero, is son of Eliduc (P. 134)                                                                                                                              |
| 3. The wives are Guildeluëc and Guilliadun                                                                               | The wives are Galeron and Ganor (epic alliteration)                                                                                                                    |
| 4. Eliduc is vassal of the king of Bretagne                                                                              | Ille is vassal of the duke of Bretagne                                                                                                                                 |
| 5. Eliduc is seneschal of the king of Bretagne                                                                           | Ille is seneschal of the duke of Bretagne                                                                                                                              |
| 6. Eliduc leaves for a foreign country                                                                                   | Ille leaves for a foreign country                                                                                                                                      |
| 7. He goes to Lougres in Britain (Alliteration and similarity of spelling)                                               | He goes to Langres (MS Lengres) in Burgundy on way to Rome                                                                                                             |
| 8. Eliduc offers his services to an aged king who has a daughter as sole heir and is being attacked by a rejected suitor | Ille offers his services to an old emperor who has a daughter as sole heir and is being attacked (2001-5238). In the second war this enemy is a rejected suitor (5403) |
| 9. Eliduc defeats the enemy and is made guardian of the land                                                             | Ille defeats the enemy and is made seneschal                                                                                                                           |
| 10. King's daughter falls in love with Eliduc                                                                            | Emperor's daughter falls in love with Ille                                                                                                                             |

<sup>1</sup> I omit mention of *Ille et Galeron* to vs. 927 (Paris), as this part must have had another source, as Lot suggested.

*ELIDUC*

11. Report that lands at home are laid waste
12. Eliduc informs king that he must return home
13. King offers part of his inheritance
14. Eliduc promises to return with aid in case of need
15. Eliduc goes to take leave of Guilliadun
16. She faints in his arms
17. When she comes to, he promises to return if she sends for him
18. He kisses her on leaving
19. He is received at home with great joy
20. He pacifies the land
21. He returns to the land of the second woman
22. He marries Guilliadun (at his home)
23. Guildeluëc enters a convent (at end of story)

The principal differences are as follows:

*ELIDUC*

1. Length 1,184 lines
2. Hero already married. Banished from court through slander of enemies
3. Liege lord is *king* of Bretagne
4. Wife's family not mentioned
5. Hero does not wish inactive life at home
6. Hero goes to Britain
7. Goes with 10 knights
8. Guildeluëc stays at home and governs estates
9. Enemy is rejected suitor

*ILLE ET GALERON*

- Report that lands at home are laid waste
- Ille informs emperor that he must return home
- Emperor offers part of his possessions
- Ille promises to return in case of need
- Ille goes to take leave of Ganor
- She faints in his arms
- When she comes to, he promises to return if he hears that she is in danger
- He kisses her on leaving
- He is received at home with great joy
- He pacifies the land
- He returns to the land of the second woman
- He marries Ganor (at Rome)
- Galeron enters a convent (before Ille thinks of loving Ganor)

*ILLE ET GALERON*

- Length { Paris MS 6,592 lines  
Wollaton MS 5,835 lines
- Treats of courtship and marriage of Ille and Galeron. Hero successful over enemies (after childhood banishment)
- Liege lord is *duke* of Bretagne
- Ille marries duke's sister
- Hero loses eye in tournament (or war) and leaves through pride and humility
- Hero goes to Rome
- Goes alone and incognito
- Galeron searches for her husband
- Enemy is seemingly political in first campaign, but is suitor in second



## ELIDUC

10. Eliduc binds himself for one year.

11. Accepts advances of princess, conceals fact that he is married

12. Is offered third of kingdom

13. Eliduc summoned home by his lord to help him

14. Eliduc sad at leaving Guilliadun, kisses her while she is in faint. Refuses to take her merely because he cannot honorably. Promises to return *at her request*. They exchange love tokens on parting

15. Eliduc sad at home. Wishes to end war and return to Britain as soon as possible. No children of first marriage mentioned

16. Eliduc goes to Britain to abduct Guilliadun

17. Guilliadun leaves home when sent for by Eliduc to come to his ship

18. She learns of his marriage through incident in storm at sea

19. Trance of Guilliadun. Brought to by Guildeluëc through red flower. Agreement of wife to enter convent makes second marriage possible

20. Eliduc desires second marriage

21. Eliduc abducts Guilliadun

22. No fighting on Eliduc's second visit to Britain

23. Eliduc does not gain in rank

24. No children of second marriage mentioned

25. Eliduc and Guilliadun go to convent to end their days

26. Ages and lapses of time left indefinite

## ILLE ET GALERON

Ille binds himself for an unlimited time

Declines advances of princess. Tells of his lost wife. Consents to marry only when messengers have scoured country in vain for Galeron

Is offered half of empire and Ganor, and all after emperor's death

Ille returns because of recovery of Galeron

Ille sad for Ganor, but would not give up Galeron for her. Promises to return *if he hears she needs protection*. Kisses her on parting *through pity only*

Ille happy as duke of Bretagne. Wife has three children, but makes vow to become nun and therefore can no longer be his wife

Ille goes to Rome on hearing of a Greek invasion

Ganor comes to Bretagne to ask Ille's aid against the Greeks

Ganor has known of Ille's marriage since his first visit to Rome

Fear of death in childbirth causes vow to go to convent which makes second marriage possible

Ille becomes ill over loss of Galeron

Ille rescues Ganor from abductors

Ille defeats Greeks and drives them from Italy on second visit

Ille becomes emperor

Four children by Ganor

Ille and Ganor left at height of their happiness

Ages and lapses of time definite

The close similarity of plot and incidents, with the connection of the name *Ille*, *le fil Eliduc*, points definitely to the *lai* of Eliduc as the chief source of the *Ille*. I do not think that the two poems come from a common original. No poem has been found which contains more than a general similarity of plot, nor which contains the shipwreck and resuscitation scenes in addition to the incidents common to the *Ille* and the *Eliduc*. The differences are partly substitutions of realistic elements for the fantastic, partly the result of using certain elements of the *Eliduc lai* twice in order to expand the poem to a suitable length, and partly from the use of contemporary historical and other source material.

Moreover, Marie states in the prologue of her *Eliduc* that she is giving the *cunte et toute la raisun* of a very ancient Breton *lai* that it may not be forgotten. Gautier says that he is following his *estore* closely.<sup>1</sup> If we believe both Marie and Gautier, the poems cannot have a common source and Paris' theory is untenable. Gautier in all probability knows the *lais* of Marie, for in lines 929 ff.,<sup>2</sup> he objects to the popularity of the *lais* which smack of unreality, and Marie's collection is the only one known to have been in existence early enough for him to have used.

If Marie's *Eliduc* is not Gautier's source, it (i.e., the *estore*) must be a re-working of her poem made by another contemporary poet, for it was only in the latter third of the twelfth century that it became the style to revise the old tales thus. It is much easier to believe that Gautier made an adaptation of Marie's *Eliduc* than that he copied a contemporary, unless he were translating from the Latin. In that case, he would probably have boasted of the fact, as in the *Eracle*,<sup>3</sup> where he says that he is going to tell a story *en romanz*<sup>4</sup> and later, introducing Part III, he states

5148 Signeur, nous lisons en latin

<sup>1</sup> This has always been the interpretation. But his lines taken literally mean merely that he ends where his source ends i.e., he does not add anything to the ending.

<sup>2</sup> P. 929

"Li lais ne fust pas si en cours,  
Nel prisaissent tot li baron.  
Grant cose est d'Ille a Galeron:  
N'i a fantome ne alonge,  
Ne ja n'i troverés mençonge.  
Tex lais i a, qui les entent,  
Se li sanlent tot ensement  
Con s'eüst dormi et songié."

<sup>3</sup> Oeuvres de Gautier d'Arras, Tome I, published by E. Löseth, Paris, 1890.

<sup>4</sup> Vs. 103. I hesitate to use this, as it is questionable whether the reading should not be *et romanz*.

In addition to these two important written sources, there is evidence of probable influence in (1) the proper names, (2) the Ovidian love psychology, and (3) the features of style and versification. Those of Gautier's proper names which do not occur in the *Eliduc* and the *Chronique de Nantes* may possibly be taken from Wace's *Brut* and *Rou*, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, the *Enéas*, *Troie*, *Thèbes*, *Tristan* and the earlier *Chansons de Geste*, including especially the *Roland* and the *Antioche*. The itineraries are the regular routes for trade and pilgrimage from France to the Orient. The love psychology, derived from Ovid,<sup>1</sup> developed by the Provençal poets and popularized in the north of France in the *Enéas*, is in full flower here. The source of Gautier's versification and style is probably directly in Wace, indirectly in the *Chansons de Geste* and the Provençal love lyrics.<sup>2</sup>

These are the obvious and more easily demonstrable sources, but we may well ask ourselves whether the origin of many episodes over which scholars puzzle and wrangle may not profitably be sought in the milieu of the poet.

In 1842, Massmann<sup>3</sup> first called attention to similarities in Gautier's two poems between incidents in the lives of Eleanor of Poitou and Louis VII and of Beatrice of Burgundy and Frederick Barbarossa. Later critics were inclined to scoff at Massmann, but a careful study of the known facts in the lives of these persons with the more accurate historical information which we now have available, tends to justify Massmann in his conviction and to convince us that if these lives were not drawn upon either consciously or unconsciously, the similarities form a striking series of coincidences.

Now what was Gautier's milieu? He was court poet of (1) Thibaut of Blois, who was husband of Alix, second daughter of King Louis VII; he wrote (2) for Marie, sister of Alix and wife of Count Henri I of Champagne, brother of Thibaut; (3) for Baudouin V of Hainaut, brother-in-law<sup>4</sup> of Philip of Flanders, regent of France;

<sup>1</sup> See Willibad Schroetter, *Ovid und die Troubadours*, Halle, 1908.

<sup>2</sup> See F. M. Warren, "Some Features of Style in Early French Narrative Poetry," *Modern Philology*, III, 179-209 (October, 1905), and 513-39 (April, 1906); IV, 655-75 (April, 1907).

<sup>3</sup> H. F. Massmann, *Eraclius, Deutsches und französisches Gedicht des 12. Jhts, etc.*, Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1842.

<sup>4</sup> We are not sure whether the patron was Baudouin V or his father Baudouin IV. See my article "The New Manuscript of *Ille et Galeron*," *Modern Philology*, XVIII (March, 1921), 607-8.

and (4) for Beatrice of Burgundy, second wife of Frederick Barbarossa. From his connection with all these patrons, Gautier had excellent facilities for keeping up with the popular form of poetry and the latest scandal of the great. Is it not probable that he made use of a considerable amount of court gossip, and also of facts taken from the lives of those to whom he dedicated his poems?

Both Alix and Marie were true daughters of the famous Eleanor of Poitou. Granddaughter of William IX, the first troubador, Eleanor brought her southern literature and her poets to the court of France when she married Louis VII in 1137.<sup>1</sup> She established and presided over the so-called "Courts of Love." Since Eleanor encouraged in every way the poets and troubadors, it is not surprising that the incidents of her fervent prayers for the birth of a male heir,<sup>2</sup> her alleged adultery,<sup>3</sup> and her attempted abduction by Thibaut V of Blois and Geoffrey Plantagenet<sup>4</sup> after her divorce from Louis<sup>5</sup> should be touched upon and developed in literature. The allusions to Eleanor, more open in the *Eracle*, are rather veiled in the *Ille*. The most obvious is that of the attempted abductions of Galeron (P. 1539-71) and Ganor (P. 6125-6530).<sup>6</sup>

Much more evident are the incidents which correspond with events in the lives of Thibaut, the patron, and Barbarossa, husband of the patroness. The *Ille* was begun for Beatrice and finished for Thibaut.<sup>7</sup> What more natural for Gautier than to laud in thinly disguised language the exploits of his patroness' imperial husband or those of the Grand Seneschal of France?

Thibaut was Grand Seneschal of France, Ille of Bretagne and later of Rome; both were twice married and had seven children. Thibaut's grandmother became a nun because of grief over the death of a daughter and a sister also took the veil; Ille's first wife, because of a vow, became a nun after the birth of a daughter.

<sup>1</sup> Alfred Richard, *Histoire des Comtes de Poitou*, 778-1204, Vol. II (Paris, 1903).

<sup>2</sup> Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des Ducs et des Comtes de Champagne*, II (Paris, 1859-66), 379.

<sup>3</sup> Richard, *op. cit.*, II, 93.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Cligés*, 2859-70 and 3621-3816.

<sup>7</sup> Wollaton 5828 "Por quant por li le commençal  
Et por le conte le final."

The parallels are still more numerous with the life of Frederick Barbarossa.<sup>1</sup>

## BARBAROSSA

1. Father known as "one-eyed"<sup>2</sup>
2. Two successful campaigns against Greeks: the first in Third Crusade when, a youth, he accompanied his uncle Conrad III to Holy Land; the second as Roman emperor at Ancona and Tusculum
3. Repudiated first wife Adelaide von Vohburg, either for adultery or consanguinity
4. Second wife was Beatrice, heiress of Burgundy, whom he rescued from her uncle, who planned to deprive her of her estates. Her father was dead
5. Historical Greek emperor wished to rule Rome and unite the Greek and Roman churches. Had been married to aunt of Barbarossa
6. Hohenstaufen arms three lions
7. Frederick had Germans and Romans in his army in his second campaign

## ILLE

- Lost eye in a tournament or war
- Two successful campaigns against Greeks: the first as an unknown and laughed-at young esquire with one eye gone; the second as Duke of Brittany (at first incognito)
- Repudiated first wife Galaron when she became a nun
- Second wife was Ganor, daughter of Roman emperor, whom he rescued from Greek emperor, who wished to marry her for her estates. Her father was dead
- Greek emperor of romance wished Rome, to unite the two empires. His first wife was a relative of Ganor and died from cruel treatment of husband
- Ille's arms a lion (ducal arms of Brittany a gold lion)
- Ille's army contained Germans and Romans

These points of similarity seem to me to show that Gautier intended Beatrice to see her noble husband in Ille. He tastefully softened down the sensitive points in Frederick's career—lack of children by the first marriage and the cause of his divorce—so as to make them inoffensive, though these second marriages after separation (the ostensible cause of separation was usually forbidden degrees of consanguinity) were so common among the nobles at that time as to make this seem unnecessary.

Whether Gautier obtained his impressions of court life, history, and geography from direct observation or by hearsay, we cannot tell. His descriptions of the places he mentions are too sketchy to

<sup>1</sup> See Hans Prutz, *Kaiser Friedrich I*, 3 vols., Danzig, 1871. Also Massmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 544 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Prutz, *op. cit.*, "Sein Sohn Friedrich der Eineäugige . . . , " I, 6.

enable us to determine. Assuming that Gautier lived at Thibaut's court and not in his own home or in a monastery, we may reasonably assert that he accompanied Thibaut on some of his frequent visits to the courts of Louis and Henri. The poet may even have gone on the Crusades with the Champagne nobles or he may have been with the embassy which Henri sent to the court of Barbarossa in Italy in 1167-68. The *Ille* may very easily have been begun or in large part composed on that occasion.

The prologue mentions the coronation at Rome, August 1, 1167, and the epilogue names Thibaut as well as Beatrice. The poet had one or both of these patrons in mind all the time he was composing his poem. This fact must have had an influence upon his work. The literary sources have been practically exhausted unless some new manuscript of romance or chronicle is discovered. In the history of the nobles and courts mentioned above lies our best opportunity to add to the knowledge of the background and sources of *Ille et Galeron*.

FREDERICK A. G. COWPER

TRINITY COLLEGE  
DURHAM, N.C.

## MILITARY TACTICS IN THE *POEM OF THE CID*

The *Poem of the Cid* (ca. 1140) is not only the Spanish epic and the first literary production of merit in the Castilian language, it is also a valuable historical document. Señor de Hinojosa, in his study *El derecho en el poema del Cid* (Madrid, 1898), has shown that the poem is accurate in its description of the institutions and customs of the twelfth century. The present notes are intended to call attention to the elements of military tactics and strategy to be found in the poem.

It should be kept in mind that it is not the main purpose of the poem to give the details of the battles described; nor should one expect to find in the Spain of that day a well-developed system of tactics and strategy. One should expect to find mere hints as to the nature of the formations and the plans of battle. These hints we shall try to interpret in the light of what is known of tactics in the thirteenth century,<sup>1</sup> and thus try to show that in the Spanish epic are to be found some of the elements of what later came to be a recognized system of military tactics and strategy.

1. The first battle of the poem is the surprise attack on Castejón (ll. 437-92).<sup>2</sup> After a council of war<sup>3</sup> in which the attack is planned, the Cid sends two hundred men to forage the country and divert attention from the attack on the town, while he lies in ambush<sup>4</sup> with the rest of his forces. The ruse succeeds. The Moors leave only a few in the town and the Cid rushes the gates.

2. The next battle is the siege of Alcocer by the Cid (550-610). The Cid took up a position on a hill near the town, and near a stream

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Henri Delpech, *La Tactique au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1886, two vols.

<sup>2</sup> The references are to the *Cantar de mio Cid*, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, Vols. II and III, Madrid, 1911.

<sup>3</sup> In addition to the above, there are councils of war: by the Moors, 580-86; by the Cid and his men, 667-78; 985-99; 1115-33; 1685-98; 2355-67. The Cid consistently planned his battles before beginning them, an all-important precaution. Cf. Delpech, II, 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Celada* ambush, mentioned in the *Cantar* (cf. II, 571), also occurs frequently in the *Primera Crónica General* (cf. Pidal's edition, 65, a 5; 333, a 13; 364, b 21-30; 373, a 27-28; 438, a 29; 597, b 30, etc.).

so that he could not be deprived of water. He dug a trench around his position so that he could more easily defend it and waited for the town to capitulate. After fifteen weeks he decided on a ruse to capture the place as it was too strong to be taken by a frontal attack. He pretended that he gave up the siege, broke camp and rode away, taking care that all his men were well armed. When the Moors saw him apparently retreating, they came out, whereupon the Cid's men appeared to flee in confusion. The Moors then began the pursuit. After a few moments the Cid wheeled his forces and taking with him another knight, also well mounted doubtless, made for the gate, which they held until the main force came up.

3. The Moorish kings, angered by the capture of Alcocer, besieged Cid in the town (636-793). They brought a great force before the walls and cut off the Cid's water supply. Outposts in armor watched day and night for a sortie. At the end of three weeks the Cid called a council of war and a battle was determined upon as a last resort, although they were only six hundred against about three thousand (665-68). All the Moorish inhabitants were expelled, so that they might not give warning, and the Cid prepared for battle on the next morning. When he rode out the Moorish outposts fell back and warned the main body, who hastily armed and fell in line of battle. Then they advanced to the attack. The Cid planned to await their attack, but his standard-bearer charged alone into the oncoming Moors, and the Cid ordered his élite knights to charge.

Enbraçan los escudos delant los coraçones,  
abaxan las lanças abueltas de los pendones,  
enclinaron las caras de suso de los arzones,  
ívanlos ferir de fuertes coraçones [715-18].

Todos fieren en el az do está Per Vermudoz.  
Trezientas lanças son, todas tienen pendones;  
seños moros mataron, todos de seños golpes;  
a la tornada que fazen otros tantos muertos son [722-25].

This *tornada* is what M. Delpech calls a *charge à revers*, that is, a charge through the line, turn, and charge again. The first example he cites is that of the battle of Bouvines, 1214 (I, 456-59).



After being charged once more, the Moors were routed and many were killed in the pursuit. The Spanish lost but fifteen (797-98). Foot-soldiers were present at this battle (cf. 848), but we do not know how they were used, nor for that matter are we told anywhere in the poem what part the unmounted soldier played in battle, or how he was armed (cf. *Cantar*, II, 793). This battle was won by the *charge à revers*.

4. The details of this battle are meager, but it was won by a charge of the Cid's knights into the oncoming knights of Ramon Berenguel, Count of Barcelona, just as the latter descended a hill on to the plain (960-1010).

5. This battle was fought against the Moors of Valencia (1098-1155). After a council of war, the Cid attacked in front with the main body of his forces, while a subaltern with one hundred men attacked the enemy's rear at the opportune moment and won the battle. This seems to be an example of the *ordre perpendiculaire* (cf. Delpech, II, 35-64), in which the rear of the attacking force may be detached from the main body and be sent to operate on the flank or rear of the enemy.

6. The Moors were attacking Valencia (1679-1735). The Cid used the same tactics as in the preceding battle, with exactly the same results.

7. The final battle describes the attack of the Moors on Valencia once more (2355-2428). The same tactics as in (5) and (6) were employed, and the Moors were again defeated.

The more important points that may be noted in these battles are: That in all the battles except (3) and (4) the element of surprise in some form is present. Surprise, if it can be achieved, is of course an important factor in battle; that this fact was recognized by the Spaniards of the time of the Cid is clear. That one of the well-recognized tactics of the thirteenth century, the *charge à revers*, is found in battle (3). The Cid was anticipating a practice which later became well known. That the Cid may have used the *ordre perpendiculaire*; see battles (5), (6), and (7). That the Cid held councils of war before battle, that is, the plan of campaign was discussed and determined, and not left to chance on the battlefield.

That the Cid studied the *terrain* over which he expected to fight. He strove to take advantage of the *terrain* if possible, and only fought under disadvantageous conditions when he was obliged to do so. That he depended on cavalry, in the main. He had infantry, but, apparently, it was not as well developed or as well armed as it was in the thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup> That a system of foraging was developing or had been developed at the time of the writing of the poem.<sup>2</sup>

W. S. HENDRIX

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Delpech, I, 269-393. The same author (I, 89, 122) notes that the infantry was placed before the cavalry. The same tactics were used in Spain in the thirteenth century. See the *Poema de Fernán González*, ed. C. C. Marden, 458, c-d.

<sup>2</sup> Sr. Menéndez Pidal has brought together (*Cantar*, II, 454-55) citations to show that these raids were of common occurrence later (thirteenth century).

## MINOR ACTORS AND EMPLOYEES IN THE ELIZABETHAN THEATER

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Much interesting information is available concerning the minor employees of the Elizabethan dramatic companies. I propose to deal with the subject here because not all of this information has hitherto been accessible, and because certain doubtful inferences, based upon fragmentary evidence, have long been permitted to pass current without challenge. Of first importance among the company subordinates were the "hirelings"—the inferior players or novices who did not share in the takings<sup>1</sup> but were paid out of the company funds. I shall deal with them first, and then add brief notes on other employees—the boys, who did the female rôles and made themselves useful in other ways, the prompters or "book-keepers," tiremen and tirewomen, the "gatherers," stage hands, and musicians.

In a familiar passage of his *School of Abuse* (1579),<sup>2</sup> Stephen Gosson attacks the prevailing extravagance in dress, and incidentally throws some light upon the current wages for hirelings. "Over-lashing in apparel is so common a fault," he writes, "*that the verye hyerlings of some of our plaiers, which stand at reversion of VIs. by the weeke, jet under gentlemen's noses in sutes of silke, exercising themselves to prating on the stage, and common scoffing when they come abrode.*" From another document,<sup>3</sup> dating so late as 1620, which speaks of "the tweldepenny hirelings" making "artificial Lightning in their Heavens," it appears that the hirelings then had still to be content with their shilling a day and their hopes of promotion to shareholdership, though the income and status of the better players, and of the playwrights, had been bettered appreciably by this time.<sup>4</sup> Even considerably after the Restoration, some of

<sup>1</sup> See *Studies in Philology*, XV, 84-85.

<sup>2</sup> *Shakespeare Society* (1841), p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> John Melton, *Astrologaster*, p. 31 (quoted by Percy Simpson in *Shakespeare's England*, II, 254).

<sup>4</sup> See above, note 1.

the inferior actors received no more than 10s. a week,<sup>1</sup> and so late as 1765 three subordinate players in Garrick's company got but 12s.<sup>2</sup> Some of the earlier hirelings, indeed, had even less than their daily shilling, though some earned a little more. In 1597, for example, Henslowe hired Thomas Hearne and William Kendall "to searve . . . in the qualetie of playenge" for a year, at 5s. a week—the understanding being, however, that Hearne was to have an extra 1s. 8d. during his second year of service, whereas it was specifically stipulated that Kendall's pay was to be doubled when he played in London, the 5s. being "cuntrie" wages.<sup>3</sup>

With wages of 5, 6, or even 10s. a week, the hirelings could not have had a very easy time of it, and one wonders how they could have found the wherewithal to jet under gentlemen's noses in suits of silk—unless they borrowed them on occasion from a friendly wardrobe-keeper. Yet it must be remembered that a good carpenter, for example, and other artisans as well, did not earn any more than their shilling a day in Shakspeare's time.<sup>4</sup> Even so, however, it seems a bit hard that a twelpenny hireling should have had to furnish bond to the amount of £40 to stay out his appointed two or three years.<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, moreover, the hirelings could not count upon prompt and regular payment of their wages. In 1592 one Richard Jones wrote to Edward Alleyn to ask for a loan of three pounds, to enable him to get some of his clothes out of pawn, so that he might rise from a hireling's estate to the dignity of a sharer in a company then forming to travel in Germany, "fo' hear," writes Jones, "I get nothinge, some tymes I have a shillinge aday, and some tymes nothinge, so that I leve in great poverty."<sup>6</sup> Again, it appears from certain theatrical litigation of the year 1616,<sup>7</sup> that the Red Bull company at that time owed William Browne, one of its

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tom Brown, "Amusements Serious and Comical." *Works* (1720), III, 39: "the cringing Fraternity, from fifty down to ten shillings a week."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Notes & Queries*, 6th ser., XI, 461.

<sup>3</sup> *Henslowe's Diary* (ed. Greg), I, 201, xlix, 182; H. Child (*Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, VI, 278), puts the hirelings' wages at from 5s. to 8s.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth*, III, 411; Feuillerat, *Revels Documents, Elizabeth*, p. 79.

<sup>5</sup> *Henslowe's Diary*, I, 204, 208.

<sup>6</sup> *Henslowe Papers* (ed. Greg), p. 33.

<sup>7</sup> Reprinted in Fleay's *Stage*, pp. 284 ff.

hirelings, back wages of over sixteen pounds—he had not been paid for more than a year.

Occasionally a kind-hearted actor-sharer remembered the poor—and the hirelings in his will. Thus Augustine Phillips, one of Shakspeare's colleagues, left five pounds each to the poor of his parish and "the hyred men of the company w<sup>ch</sup> I am of."<sup>1</sup> And the public seems to have been well aware of the fact that the hirelings' purses were not always well lined. In the old play *Histrionomastix*<sup>2</sup> the hostess reckons "the sharers' dinner, sixpence a piece; the Hirelings, pence." On the other hand, it is worth while to recall that the hirelings whose work attracted favorable notice were frequently promoted into the ranks of the sharers after an apprenticeship of only two or three years.<sup>3</sup> Further, it is certain that the five or six hirelings each company employed, were by no means an unimportant part of its organization. Henslowe, on more occasions than one, was able to control his companies by the threat of "breaking" them through the dismissal of their hirelings, of whose appointment and disposition he seems to have had personal charge. And it is well to remember that among the obscure hirelings of the King's Men and Admiral's Men at one time were such men as Shakspeare, Jonson, and Heywood.

"When I see," wrote the author of *A Second and Third Blast of Retrait from Plaies and Theatres* (1580),<sup>4</sup> "yong boies, inclining of themselves vnto wickedness, trained vp in filthie speeches, vn-natural and vnseemelie gestures, to be brought vp by these Schoole-masters in bawderie, and in idleness, I cannot chuse but with teares and grieffe of hart lament." The reference, of course, is to the training and employment of boy actors, and it is a well-known fact that the antagonists of the stage, from Gosson to Prynne, continued to lament the practice, and to object particularly because the boys were employed in female rôles.<sup>5</sup> A number of scholars have studied

<sup>1</sup> Malone-Boswell, *Shakspeare*, III, 471.

<sup>2</sup> Act VI, l. 196.

<sup>3</sup> On this point and the material immediately following, compare the writer's article in *P. M. L. A.*, XXVIII, 143-44.

<sup>4</sup> See Hazlitt, *English Drama and Stage*, p. 147.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Gosson, *Plays Confuted*; Hazlitt, p. 195; and Heywood's answer to the charge in his *Apology for Actors* (1612), *Shakesp. Soc.* (1841), p. 28.

the activities of the children's companies,<sup>1</sup> but certain details as to the employment of boys by the adult companies have remained more or less obscure.

It seems clear that really good young actors were not easy to find, and that the adult companies were willing to pay rather handsomely for their services. Apparently the demand was met in part by the managers of the children's companies, and that sometimes against the best interests of these companies—for in 1608 the manager of the Whitefriars Children was required to give a bond of forty pounds to reinforce his promise not to dispose of any of the boys in his charge without the consent of his fellow "housekeepers."<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, certain of "your great players" helped to meet the situation by training young apprentices of their own. A number of Shakspeare's colleagues did this; Augustine Phillips had his "servaunte, Christopher Beeston," later the business manager of the Cockpit company; Alexander Cooke, who became a sharer in Shakspeare's company, started as John Hemings' apprentice; and Nicholas Tooley, a particularly good female impersonator, as Richard Burbage's. And it seems likely that Richard Brome was apprenticed to the stage under Ben Jonson.<sup>3</sup>

Doubtless it was no easy task to train these lads for the important parts intrusted to them. Henslowe, therefore, when the Admiral's Men needed a boy actor in 1597, "bowght my boye Jeames brystow of william agusten player the 18 of desemb<sup>r</sup>." for £8.<sup>4</sup> Many years later, in the Globe and Blackfriars Share Papers of 1635, the old actor, John Shanks, stated that he "out of his owne purse" had supplied the King's Men "with boyes . . . as Thomas Pollard, John Thompson deceased (for whome hee payed 40 li.) your suppliant haveing payd his part of 200 li. for other boyes . . . and at this time maintaines three more for the sayd service."<sup>5</sup> The statement is interesting if only because of the fact that when it was made

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wallace, *Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars*, and H. N. Hillebrand, *Child Actors of the 16th and 17th Centuries* (MS dissertation, Harvard University, 1914).

<sup>2</sup> *Shaksp. Soc. Transactions* (1887-92), p. 276. There was also much "taking-up" or kidnapping of boys for the service of chapel and stage.

<sup>3</sup> See Malone-Boswell, *Shakspeare*, III, 472, 482, 485, and the writer's paper in *Modern Lang. Notes*, XXXVI, 90; cf. p. 58, n. 3, below.

<sup>4</sup> *Hensl. Diary*, I, 203.

<sup>5</sup> Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines*, I, 316.

Thomas Pollard had achieved such success as to become one of those who sought to oust Shanks and his fellows from their control of the Globe and Blackfriars. For the rest, in view of the fact that Henslowe had to pay but £8 for his boy "Jeames," it would seem that Shanks may have exaggerated a bit, for the benefit of the Lord Chamberlain, to whom he was appealing at the time. In any case, it is interesting to note the implication of the last part of his statement. Apparently, having retired as an actor, he was then devoting part of his time to the training of boys for the stage, doubtless not without profit.

On the basis of a passage from Chapman's *May Day* (1611), "Afore heaven 'tis a sweete-fac't child, methinks he should show well in woman's attire. . . . He helpe thee to three crownes<sup>1</sup> a weeke for him an she can act well. . . ." Collier<sup>2</sup> argued that "the performers of female characters were paid more than ordinary actors." An entry of Henslowe's, under date of February 15, 1600, goes far to disprove Collier's inference. On that day Henslowe noted that the Admiral's Men owed him "for my boye Jemes bristos wages from the 23 of ap<sup>r</sup>ell 1600 vnto the XV of febreary 1600 next after the Ratte of iij s. a weeke,"<sup>3</sup> a total of £6 9s. At the rate of 3s. a week, "Jemes" was receiving only half the wages ordinarily paid to the hirelings—that is to say, Henslowe was charging the company that much for the boy's service. Whether his master—who was, of course, responsible for his keep—allowed him that much spending money, is another question. As for the *May Day* passage, that probably means only that Quintilliano would have been willing to pay Lionel's guardian 15s. a week in lieu of such a fee as Henslowe paid for his boy. And even though the boys did not have much spending money, those who excelled sometimes had extra rewards, for Queen Elizabeth is known to have given valuable presents to young "Cambyeses" Preston and other child actors who pleased her.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I.e., 15s. The passage occurs in Act III (ed. Parrott, II, 207).

<sup>2</sup> *Annals* (ed. 1879), III, 236.

<sup>3</sup> *Hensl. Diary*, I, 134.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth*, I, 213; Wallace, *Evolution of the English Drama* p. 114; Cunningham, *Accounts of the Revels*, pp. xix-xx.

When they were not acting, the boys made themselves useful in other ways. Thus, when Oliver in the *Mayor of Queenborough* exclaims, "O, I shall swoond," Simon reassures him:

If thou dost, to spite thee,  
A player's boy shall bring thee aqua-vitae!<sup>1</sup>

That the boys made the most of their opportunities upon such occasions appears from a passage in *Bartholomew Fair*:<sup>2</sup>

Have you none of your pretty, impudent boys now to bring stools, fill tobacco, fetch ale and beg money, as they have at other houses?

Percy Simpson<sup>3</sup> thinks they had still other duties. To insure that each actor came pat, he writes, "and to jog his memory if he were 'out,' was the duty of an underling—usually a boy—called the 'book-holder' or the 'prompter,' who watched the cues, got the properties ready, and arranged for the music, alarums, and stage thunder." That the important duties of a prompter in a repertory theater should have been intrusted to a boy, and that this boy should have been property-man, prompter, and general stage-manager all in one, is incredible, and I do not know of any evidence to support such a view. Certainly the "Stage-keeper" and "Book-holder" who exchange notes in the Induction to *Bartholomew Fair* are not exactly children! And "the blue-coated stage-keepers" mentioned in another document<sup>4</sup> were not boys, but ordinary servants.

Provision for the employment of a "booke keeper, tyreman," and "tyrewoman" is made in the 1608 agreement of the house-keepers of the Whitefriars,<sup>5</sup> and all are mentioned again in the *The Actors' Remonstrance* (1644), and, together with "the Sweepers of the house," in the Salisbury Court Papers of 1639.<sup>6</sup> What their wages may have been we may gather from a passage in the *Articles of Oppression against Mr. Hinchlowe* promulgated by the Lady

<sup>1</sup> Middleton, *Mayor of Queenborough*, v, 1. (It is possible, of course, that these "players' boys" were not actors.)

<sup>2</sup> v. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Shakespeare's England*, II, 265.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 60, n. 1. The blue coat was the recognized livery of the Elizabethan servingman. (Cf. *Malone Soc. Coll.*, I, 164.)

<sup>5</sup> *New Shakesp. Soc. Transactions* (1887-92), pp. 275-76.

<sup>6</sup> *Shakesp. Soc. Papers*, IV, 100.



Elizabeth's Men in 1615.<sup>1</sup> In that document the actors refer to the appointment of a man to have charge "in bying of Clothes (he beinge to have VI<sup>s</sup>. a weeke)." Doubtless the sweepers and stage-hands did not fare so well; we know, at all events, that Garrick's "dressers," "doorkeepers," and attendants in general, got but 9s. a week in 1765.<sup>2</sup> It will appear in a moment that in the Elizabethan theater the stage-keepers, tiremen, gatherers and all, besides attending to their regular work, were pressed into service as supers when occasion demanded.

Of the dishonesty of the "gatherers" who collected the entrance money at the theaters, Mr. W. J. Lawrence<sup>3</sup> has written at length, and he has noted also that women as well as men were employed for this work. A hint as to the number of these worthies employed at the Hope Theatre, and of the miserable wages they ordinarily received, is to be gathered from the complaint of the Lady Elizabeth's Men just referred to. The actors charge Henslowe with "havinge 9 gatherers more then his due, itt Comes to this yeare from the Companie . . . . 10<sup>li</sup>." The passage is puzzling, but we know from other documents that the housekeepers or owners had the privilege of appointing some of the gatherers,<sup>4</sup> though the actor-sharers appear to have paid the wages. Still, nine gatherers, plus those to which Henslowe was justly entitled, make rather a large number, and one almost suspects a misreading of the manuscript. If the passage means that a gatherer's wage was only about one pound a year—perhaps to be supplemented by tips—the housekeepers and actor-sharers were not taking the best conceivable means to discourage dishonesty. Yet there seem to have been many candidates for gatherers' places.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps they sought the spoils of office rather than its legitimate rewards. Another interpretation is

<sup>1</sup> *Hensl. Papers*, p. 89. In 1584 the Smiths Company at Coventry paid 2s. to one Robert Lawton "for keypyng of the booke" of *The Destruction of Jerusalem*, its pageant of that year (Halliwell-Phillips, *Illustrations*, p. 57).

<sup>2</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 6th. ser., XI, 461.

<sup>3</sup> *Elizabethan Playhouse*, II, 95 ff.

<sup>4</sup> In 1612 Robert Browne wrote to Edward Alleyn to ask a gatherer's place for the wife of a hireling named Rose, who was then playing with the Prince's Men (*Hensl. Papers*, pp. 63, 85). Condell bequeathed to his "old servant Elizabeth Wheaton that place or privilege which she now exerciseth in the houses of the Blackfryers . . . and the Globe" (Malone-Boswell, *op. cit.*, III, 205).

<sup>5</sup> See the preceding note.

possible, but does not fully explain matters after all. A document discovered by Professor Wallace,<sup>1</sup> while it does not bring "the first hint of either the amount or method of pay" of the gatherers, as Wallace asserts, does raise an interesting question as to their remuneration at the Red Bull, about the year 1607. One of the papers in the Woodford-Holland suit—brought in that year by Woodford, to establish his title to a one-seventh holding in the Red Bull—states that with this share went the right to a gatherer's place, the gatherer being entitled to "the eigteenth penny and the eighteenth part of such moneys & other commodities as should bee collected or receaved for the profitts of the Galleries or other places in . . . the Red Bull." But another deposition in the same suit throws doubt upon the first. It speaks only of "the arrerages of eighteen pence a weeke due to the gatherer's place." Even if the first deposition is trustworthy, not many gatherers in any one theater could have been entitled to so large a proportion of the total receipts. And the fact that we do not hear of any such arrangement in the dozens of extant suits concerning theatrical shares, would indicate either that the Red Bull case was exceptional, or that the gatherer's commission in the other theaters was smaller and not worth contending for in the courts. Some further light on the matter would be desirable.

"Stage-plays," writes Prynne,<sup>2</sup> "are alwayes accompanied with . . . lust-provoking . . . Musicke." Much might be said, in these latter days, on the subject of his adjective, but my point here concerns only the musicians. Their part in the entertainment offered by the Elizabethan theater was, as has long been recognized, of considerable importance. In the *Diary of the Duke of Stettin-Pomerania*,<sup>3</sup> who came to London in 1602, it is recorded that on the occasion of his visit to the Blackfriars there was music "for a whole hour preceding the play." Opinions still differ as to just how much, and how regularly, music was provided in the public theaters;<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Three London Theatres," *Nebraska Univ. Studies*, IX, 11 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Histrio-Mastix*, p. 274.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Wallace, *Children of the Chapel*, pp. 105-7; W. J. Lawrence, *Musical Quarterly*, VI, 193, etc. (cf. *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, New Ser., VI, 1-67).

<sup>4</sup> Professor Graves, Mr. W. J. Lawrence, and Professor Wallace differ in their interpretations of the all-important passage on the subject in the Induction to *The Malcontent*. For a summary of their views, cf. *Musical Quarterly*, VI, 192 ff.

but it is clear that in the private houses music between the acts and at other times was a regular portion of the feast, from the days of *Gammer Gurton's Needle* (1566) down to the time of *The Actors' Remonstrance* (1644).<sup>1</sup> I wish to add a note concerning the musicians rather than the music.

C. H. Cowling, in writing his book on *Music on the Shakespearian Stage* (1913), appears to have been puzzled by the fact that in Henslowe's inventory of the properties of the Admiral's Men in 1598, a number of musical instruments were listed.<sup>2</sup> "It is not impossible," says Cowling,<sup>3</sup> "that Henslowe had them in pawn; but the simplest solution is that the musicians in regular employment at the Rose Theatre left their instruments there over night." In this case, however, the simplest solution is not the right one. If Cowling had read *Henslowe's Diary* more closely, he would have found that on several occasions in 1598 and 1599 the Admiral's Men purchased base viols "& other enstrements for the companey."<sup>4</sup> The entries in question are interesting because they prove that the company purchased and owned the musical instruments used for its plays. Mr. W. J. Lawrence has recently made the interesting and plausible suggestion that the playhouses were free to engage the services of the Waits of London and nearby towns,<sup>5</sup> but the Henslowe entries re-emphasize the point that musicians could be had even nearer home. In many cases—particularly in the public theaters—the musicians were doubtless hirelings or actor-sharers, rather than a regular "noise" or band of instrumentalists. At a time when every tavern and barber-shop had "some instrumente of musicke . . . laide in sighte,"<sup>6</sup> and every gallant could play "his part o' th' violls,"<sup>7</sup> the actors, naturally enough, were frequently able to find all the instrumentalists they needed among their own number. It is

<sup>1</sup> See *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, Act II; Hazlitt, *op. cit.*, p. 262; Lawrence, *Elizabethan Playhouse*, I, 90.

<sup>2</sup> *Hensl. Papers*, pp. 116-18.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>4</sup> *Hensl. Diary*, I, 100, 110.

<sup>5</sup> *Musical Quarterly*, VI, 200.

<sup>6</sup> Gosson, *School of Abuse*, *Shakesp. Soc.* (1841), p. 26.

<sup>7</sup> Letoy in *The Antipodes* (I, 5) says of his servants:

"The worst can sing or play his part o' th' Violls  
And act his part too in a comedy."

interesting to note that Edward Alleyn was known as a "musicion" before he gained his reputation as an actor.<sup>1</sup> Again, "Wilhelm Kempe, *instrumentalist*" and actor, seems to have been as popular in one capacity as in the other when he appeared at the Danish court in 1586;<sup>2</sup> and Augustine Phillips bequeathed to his late acting-apprentices, James Sands and Samuel Gilborne, "a Citterne a Bandore . . . a lute" and "a Base Viall."<sup>3</sup> Indeed, later theatrical memoirs and biographies<sup>4</sup> show clearly that throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the lesser players continued to discourse their own music.

In the later decades of the Elizabethan period, however, "the playhouse musick improved yearly,"<sup>5</sup> and it is likely that many of the theaters employed regular bands of musicians. The Blackfriars orchestra, in particular, became famous, and the playhouse musicians found much profitable employment outside the theater as well. The author of *The Actors' Remonstrance*<sup>6</sup> writes regretfully of their departed glory: "Our Musike that was held so delectable and precious that they scorned to come to a Taverne under twentie shillings salary for two houres, now wander with Instruments under their cloaks . . . saluting every roome where there is company with, Will you have any Musike, Gentlemen?" And we learn that "some of the musicke" employed in the Inns of Court Masque to Charles I in 1633—the playhouse musicians doubtless among them—"had one hundred Pounds a-piece."<sup>7</sup> So far as I know, there is no evidence to support H. B. Baker's assertion<sup>8</sup> that "the musicians . . . paid . . . an annual stipend for the privilege of playing" at the theaters; on the other hand, it is unlikely that their services ever required a very heavy outlay on the part of the managers.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Warner, *Catalogue MSS. of Dulwich College*, p. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> *New Shakespeariana*, I, 17.

<sup>3</sup> Malone-Boswell, *op. cit.*, III, 472.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Thomas Dibdin, *Reminiscences*, I, 108; Thomas Holcroft, *Memoirs*, I, 241-42.

<sup>5</sup> Wright, *Historia Histrionica* (Collier's *Dodley*, I, cxliii).

<sup>6</sup> Hazlitt, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

<sup>7</sup> Burney's *History of Music*, III, 376.

<sup>8</sup> *London Stage*, p. 22.

<sup>9</sup> The contract between D'Avenant and his actors in 1660 provided for "a consort of musiciens" to be paid not more than 30s. a day. In the Restoration theater, of course, music played a much more important part than in that of Shakspeare (cf. Malone-Boswell, *op. cit.*, III, 258).

A word remains to be said as to certain additional services rendered on occasion by all the employees the company could muster. The average Elizabethan company appears not to have had more than twenty actors on its roll,<sup>1</sup> of which ten or twelve were sharers and the rest hirelings and boys. It is interesting to recall, therefore, that Shakspeare's plays average twenty-five speaking parts, and that this number rises to thirty-five in the historical plays. One is inclined, therefore, to echo the sentiment of Feliche in the Induction to the first part of *Antonia and Mellida*: "I fear it is not possible to limn so many persons in so small a tablet as the compass of our plays afford." Yet Shakspeare made less demands upon the numerical strength of his company than many other dramatists. The play of *Tamar Cam*, for example (acted by the Admiral's Men in 1596 and after), besides calling for a very large cast, required a closing "procession of 12 pairs representing a number of different races";<sup>2</sup> the *dramatis personae* of Heywood's *Silver Age* number forty-one, not counting "seruingmen, swaines, Theban ladies, the seuen Planets and the Furies"; and over a hundred characters appear in the course of the six acts of the interesting old play *Histrionmastix*.<sup>3</sup> It must have been a somewhat difficult task to cast these plays, but we can readily understand how it was done. The evidence shows, among other things, that the hirelings in their time played many parts—sometimes, indeed, as many as three or four in a single performance. The wife of Blaze, an inferior actor in *The Antipodes*, complains that she did not see her husband act. "I did though, Bab," he assures her, "two [mutes] the sage man-midwife and the Basket-maker."<sup>4</sup> And it would seem that even the leading actors took on two or more parts when the play called for it.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Malone-Boswell, *op. cit.*, III, 179; Murray, *English Dramatic Companies*, I, 123-24; Wallace, *Shakspeare and His London Associates*, p. 90; *P. M. L. A.*, XXVIII, 123 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Hensl. Papers*, p. 148; *Hensl. Diary*, II, 155.

<sup>3</sup> See Simpson, *School of Shakspeare*, II, 16.

<sup>4</sup> V, iv.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Greg and Mr. J. Dover Wilson hold strongly to the view that "doubling" by leading players was the established practice, but this view is not accepted by Mr. W. J. Lawrence (cf. *London Times Literary Review*, for August 21, 1919, January 29, and February 5 and 19, 1920). It might of course be held that the passage quoted in the text immediately below does not make an absolute case of "doubling," but it seems to me worth considering.

Thus, when Feliche inquires of the hero of *Antonio and Mellida*,<sup>1</sup> "What must you play?" Antonio replies, "Faith, I know not what; an hermaphrodite, two parts in one . . . my true person being Antonio . . . I take this feigned presence of an Amazon." But not even half a dozen such men as the ubiquitous Mr. Blaze could suffice to make up a procession of all the nations at the close of a tragedy which had already sent most of the leading actors—temporarily—to a better world. At such a time, while "the blue-coated stage-keepers,"<sup>2</sup> perhaps, were beating a dead march, or sounding a peal of ordinance somewhere in the rear, all available hands—boys, "attendaunts," and gatherers,<sup>3</sup>—all in appropriate costume, slowly marched to the back of the stage and brought the piece to an impressive close.

ALWIN THALER

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

<sup>1</sup> Induction, Part I.

<sup>2</sup> "The horrid noise . . .

By the blue-coated stage-keepers."

(Prologue of Nabbes's *Hannibal and Scipio*, quoted by Collier, *op. cit.*, III, 143.)

<sup>3</sup> "Gibs his boy," "little wil Barne," "guards," "Attendaunts," and "gatherers," are mentioned in the stage-manager's directions for the processions in *Frederick and Basilea* and *Tamar Cam* (*Hensl. Papers*, pp. 136-38; cf. Collier, *Annals*, [ed. 1879,] III, 207).

## THE THREE SINS OF THE HERMIT

The antecedents and congeners in folk-story of the tale which Matthew Gregory Lewis enlarged and adapted in his Gothic romance, *The Monk*, are of the greatest interest. It is possible to trace them in Persian, Arabic, and Turkish literature, in the popular traditions of races dependent on these nations for their culture, in medieval illustrative tales employed in sermons and in the later jest-books, and finally in modern European literature and tradition. The present article purposes to survey this history briefly with the publication of a number of hitherto unprinted versions.<sup>1</sup>

The story is of course a familiar one. It relates how a man proud of his virtue elects to commit the least of three sins, drunkenness, adultery, and murder, and before his intoxication is finished he has committed the other two sins. The earliest form of the story is pretty certainly oriental, although it is not easy to identify. The rather numerous Eastern parallels fall readily into two easily separable groups: those in which there are two actors, the fallen angels Hārūt and Mārūt, and those in which there is but a single hero, often named the anchorite Barsīšā.

The story of the angels Hārūt and Mārūt, which has been recently examined critically by Enno Littmann,<sup>2</sup> is related as a gloss on

<sup>1</sup> The studies devoted to this story are numerous and important: A. d'Ancona, *Poemetti popolari italiani*, pp. 14 ff.; B. Heller, "Die Legende von den drei Sünden des Einsiedlers und vom Mönch Barsīšā," *Ungarische Rundschau*, I (1912), 653-73; K. Kümmell, *Drei italienische Prosalegenden*, Diss., Halle, 1906, pp. 25-42; *Keleti Tanulmányok Goldziher Ignác születésének 60 évfordulójára írták tanítványai*, Budapest, 1910, pp. 204 ff. (where, says Frenken [Jaques de Vitry, p. 111], "die ganze bisherige Literatur zitiert ist"); Łopaciński, "Legiēda o pustelniku," *Wiśła*, XI (1898), 448-51. J. Bolte has collected many references to the employment of the theme; see his *Martin Montanus*, pp. 583, 657; *Wickrams Rollwagenbüchlein*, p. 383, and *Wickrams Werke*, VIII, 346; and further see Chauvin, *Bibliog.*, VIII, 128, 131. Unfortunately I have been unable to obtain a copy of the volume dedicated to Goldziher. For substantial assistance I am indebted to Mr. Gordon W. Thayer, librarian in charge of the John G. White Collection of the Cleveland Public Library. The references to this story are very confusing, for it has often been considered a variant of the legends of St. John Paulus(s), St. John Chrysostom, or of the vernacular legend of St. Albano (which is to be distinguished from the legends of the various Saints Albanus).

<sup>2</sup> "Hārūt und Mārūt," *Festschrift für Friedrich Carl Andreas*, Leipzig, 1916, pp. 70-87. See also Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Sprach- und Sagenkunde*, Berlin, pp. 58 ff. (reprinted from *Zs. d. d. morgenl. Ges.*, XXXI), 192, 442 ff. (reprinted from *ibid.*, XLII). Grünbaum comments (p. 445) on the peculiar twist given to the story by making the girl the seducer and not the seduced, but this is a variation which seriously weakens its effectiveness. For further references see Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, VIII, No. 123, 131; L. Montagne, *Les légendes de la Perse*, Paris, 1890, pp. 1-59; A. Certeux and H. Carnoy, *L'Algérie traditionnelle*, Paris, 1884, pp. 22-28.

Surah 2:96 of the Koran: "And they followed that which the demons taught against Solomon's rule, not that Solomon was unbelieving, rather the demons were unbelieving, since they taught sorcery, and what had been revealed to the two angels in Babil, Hārūt and Mārūt." From the commentary of Tabari (d. A.D. 923), the *Tafsīr*, Littmann extracts no less than nine versions of the story, and to this collection further additions could no doubt be made. A typical version is the following, which Littmann took down in Persian from dictation and translated into German:

There were two angels, Hārūt and Mārūt, who came before the throne of the exalted ruler with the request, "O Creator of Heaven and Earth, you have elevated the children of men by the office of vice-regency<sup>1</sup> and sent them into the world. But they did not perform their duty in vice-regency, for they have acted against your command and have been lacking in praise and recognition of you. If you had sent us, who are angels, we would have executed your commandments and have shown piety and fear of God." When God the Almighty and Exalted heard their speech, he commanded that they should go in human form to the earth and live among men as men, with this difference that they by uttering the greatest name could rise to heaven and descend thence; but it was forbidden to them to break the command of God and teach men the greatest name, which is a secret of divinity. The two angels cast themselves down in adoration and said in humility, "O Lord of the Worlds, from the beginning of the world to this time we have never done an act against the divine command. How could it be possible that we like men should commit unheard of sin or by the disclosing of the secret of divinity should become an object of the anger of the greatest creator?" Finally they were sent in human form into this world and they resided in the city Babil. After a time, when they had become acquainted with the customs of the world, they forgot, in their devotion to worldly enjoyments, to praise and acknowledge God, and they were seized with love for two comely maidens, Zuhra and Muštari, who possessed the most finished skill in the arts of song and dance. These two maidens, who were endowed at the same time with wisdom and understanding, noticed that Hārūt and Mārūt had power in magic and sorcery and over supernatural things, since they flew to heaven and returned again. Now they wished to learn the hidden secret by a trick; since they could not arrive at their end in any other way, they promised their favors to the angels. But the draught of union in love and joy they would only prepare with the liquor of the grape. Finally, thirsty for love, the angels tasted the bitter wine and drank cup after cup. When drunkenness won the upper hand and

<sup>1</sup> Koran, 2, 28; 38, 25.



the garment of understanding escaped from their hands, then the maidens seized the opportunity and acquired the secret. By pronouncing the greatest name they flew to heaven and gained the dignity of lucky stars. Hārūt and Mārūt were placed as a punishment in a well at Babil and will remain there until the day of judgment.

In some versions the maidens instead of becoming stars are killed by the angels and this is probably nearer the original form of the story. Littmann makes the following comments on the expanded version he prints: (1) Although the notion of angel-marriage is Hebraic (cf. Gen. 6:1), the story is not Hebraic in origin, for the names Hārūt and Mārūt are Iranian. The conclusion from this is that an originally Persian story came into contact with Hebrew theology in Babylon while on its way to Arabia. (2) The figure of Zuhra is foreign to the story and is presumably a Babylonian addition. Zuhra, the name of the star of the goddess of love, corresponds in a general way to Venus. The incident of the love of Zuhra and a hero suggests comparison with the Gilgamesh epic. (3) In a few versions a companion to Zuhra, named Muštari, is added to complete the symmetry of the story by providing two seducers for the two angels, and because modern Persian (and not Arabic) is a language in which both Zuhra and Muštari could, without violating the rules of gender as determined by terminations, be personified as women, the incident in which Muštari appears must be of modern Persian origin.<sup>1</sup> (4) The motif of the "greatest name" is a commonplace in oriental story and is the latest accretion. Although the chief problems in the Hārūt-Mārūt legend have been only grazed, they need not concern us greatly, for the legend is clearly composed of many once independent episodes which have little or nothing to do with the tale in hand.

Interesting as the legend of Hārūt and Mārūt is, there is another tale which concerns us more nearly, a legend which has been called the "Faust of the Orient."<sup>2</sup> This version—or rather group of

<sup>1</sup> But compare Grünbaum, p. 446.

<sup>2</sup> G. Heinrich, "Faust az ökorban [Faust in antiquity]," *Budapesti Szemle*, CXXXVIII (1909), 365. Cited by B. Heller, *Ung. Runds.*, I, 654. Unfortunately I have not seen this article. On Barsiṣā, see further I. Goldziher and C. Graf v. Landberg-Hallberger, *Die Legende vom Mönch Barsiṣā*, Kirchhain (N.L.), 1896; M. Hartmann, "Der heilige Barsiṣā," *Der islamische Orient, Berichte und Forschungen*, I (Berlin, 1899), 23-48. B. Heller (p. 658) points out a striking analogue to this story in early Christian hagiology: the legend of St. James of Palestine (*A.A. SS.*, [January 28], 868-73). The resemblance, however, turns on the murder of a girl brought to the saint for cure, an essential element in the Barsiṣā legend, one which has no immediate connection with the exemplum of the three sins.

versions—is widely current in countries under the influence of Islam, and strikingly enough its distribution complements that of the Hārūt-Mārūt type. The former is known in Tunis, Syria, Turkey, and Arabia, later in a form very similar to the *exemplum* of the three sins among the Suaheli and in Zanzibar, while the latter, as we have seen, is told most often in Persia and Hindustan, although it has been once taken down in Algeria. This story with a single hero—or villain—is usually attached to the name of the anchorite Baršīšā. The form of the name suggests a Syriac origin or Syriac associations. Abû-l-Lejt al Samarqandī (d. ca. 1000) is the first to tell the story in connection with Baršīšā.

Iblis took counsel with his subordinates about the possibility of seducing a pious servant of God, by name Baršīšā, in whose prayers curative powers inhered. One demon believed himself equal to the task. He confused the senses of the king's daughter and then—in human form—suggested to her attendants that she be sent to the anchorite. He cured her and returned her to the court. The demon again deranged her mind and counselled leaving her for some days with Baršīšā. The holy man assented with some misgivings. So long as he prayed and fasted he was able to resist the temptation, but when he relaxed the severity of his self-mortification he fell. The demon awoke in him fear of the king, with the result that he killed the girl. The demon accused him in court and the anchorite's crime was revealed. The murderer was crucified. On the cross the demon offered to save him if he would do homage to the powers of evil, and Baršīšā bowed his head before the demon, who laughed and left him to his misfortune.

In 1326 the traveler Ibn Batuta saw not far from Tunis the cell of the sinner, and his mention of the spot betokens familiarity with the story.<sup>1</sup> For a version of great importance in later literary history we may turn to the Turkish *Forty Veziers*, a collection of tales which may be dated in the fifteenth century.

The devotee Baršīšā, who had worshipped for a hundred years in his cell, had acquired thereby an enviable reputation as a holy man capable of curing the sick by his touch or his breath. When the king's daughter fell ill and the court physicians were unable to help her, the king sent her to Baršīšā. The recluse, seeing her beauty, was tempted and ordered the eunuchs to leave the girls with him. No sooner, however, was his passion fulfilled than he regretted his act. Satan counselled him to kill her and tell the eunuchs in the morning that she had been cured and had left during

<sup>1</sup> C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, *Voyages asiatiques d'Ibn Batoutah*, I (Paris, 1874), 26.

the night. Then in the form of an old man Satan appeared to the eunuchs and disclosed where the body had been buried. Barşışâ was haled before the king and condemned to death. He was about to be executed when Satan appeared to him, saying that if the anchorite would bow down in adoration before the Devil, he would be saved from death. When Barşışâ adored Satan the Evil One spat in his face and vanished.

It is this form of the story, chiefly distinguished by the concluding episode in which the Devil mocks the sinner, that has become the accepted literary form of the story. Inasmuch as the facts about it have been examined more than once, I may be brief. The Turkish story in the *Forty Veziers* was taken into Petis de la Croix's *Mille et un jours* (1710), and thence it passed into the *Guardian* (August 31, 1713, No. 148). To the English translation Matthew Gregory Lewis was, as he acknowledges in a prefatory note, indebted for the main theme of his novel, *The Monk* (1795). Into the history of the influence of *The Monk* it is hardly necessary to go at length.<sup>1</sup> One may note the existence of a German adaptation of the third or fourth rate, *Die blutende Gestalt mit Dolch und Lampe oder die Beschwörung im Schloss Stern bei Prag* (1816), about which there has been some discussion concluding with the result that the German tale is merely a re-working of Lewis' novel and not its source.<sup>2</sup> But of greater significance than this is the fact E. T. A. Hoffmann was stimulated in the composition of *Die Eliziere des Teufels* (1816) by his acquaintance with the English novel. Here the story, now far removed from the simple legend of Barşışâ, has become literature.<sup>3</sup>

Other witnesses than the *Forty Veziers* to the popularity of the story in Turkish sources are the poets Fusuli (d. 1562) and Ruhi III (d. 1605). Fusuli, who is famed for his poem "Beng and Bode," a disputation between hasheesh and wine, has Beng (hasheesh) relate "the story of a pious man, who, after he had given himself up to the

<sup>1</sup> See Baldensperger, "Le Moine de Lewis dans la Littérature Française," *Journal of Comparative Lit.*, I (1903), 201-19. On the sources of *The Monk* see R. Fürst, *Die Vorläufer der modernen Novelle*, Halle, 1897, p. 49; M. Rentsch, *Matthew Gregory Lewis, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung seines Romans "Ambrosio or the Monk,"* Diss., Leipzig, 1902; M. P. Conant, *The Oriental Tale in England*, 1908, pp. 27 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Ritter, *Arch. f. d. Stud. d. neu. Spr.*, CXI (1903), 106-21; Herzfeld, *ibid.*, 316-23; Ritter, *ibid.*, CXIII (1904), 56-65.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. W. Harich, *E. T. A. Hoffmann*, I (Berlin, 1920), 267-90. On Hoffmann in turn depends Calé's *Fransiskus*, for which Harich has the highest praise.

use of wine, became thoroughly bad."<sup>1</sup> In connection with Ruhi III von Hammer-Purgstall terms the story one of the most threadbare of Moslem legend. The poet says that one Sanaan by his pride in his virtue gave Satan the opportunity of seducing him to wine-drinking, adultery, and murder.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, the story has preserved itself to the present day in Africa and Zanzibar. The Suaheli, who tell it without reference to the name of the once saintly Baršišā, preserve more distinctly the sequence of drunkenness, adultery, and murder.

The younger of two devils declared to the elder one that he could seduce a teacher whose sole occupation was praying. He selected a young girl and placed her in a house adjoining the teacher's. On the morrow he asked the teacher to visit the girl who was feigning sickness. She gave him intoxicating drinks, and in the course of four months the girl was aware of a change in her condition. Fearing discovery, the teacher killed her. "The end of it all was, therefore, that the two were numbered among the evil spirits."<sup>3</sup>

Farther south the Arabic-speaking population tell a similar story to demonstrate that wine is the root of all evil:

A judge visited a woman who had been inspired by the Devil. She locked the doors, forbidding him to leave until he had either killed a little girl, drunk wine, or committed adultery with her. Electing what he considered the least of the three crimes, he drank the glass of wine, whereupon the other sins followed.<sup>4</sup>

Our story also made its way to the Hebrews, who modified it in a characteristic way by introducing into it the sin of eating pork. The story's tone smacks of the scribe and the quibbling doctor of the law:

An infidel king invited eleven doctors to dinner and then proposed to them that they should either eat pork, have commerce with heathen women, or drink wine consecrated to idols. After some debate they agreed that the last-named sin was the least, for it was forbidden not by the Law but by man. When they had drunk of the wine they failed to notice that the table before them turned on a pivot and they, eating indiscriminately, consumed pork as

<sup>1</sup> Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, II (Pesth, 1837), 299. See also a variant cited in Fleischer's *Cat. of Or. MSS in Dresden*, No. 362 (A.D. 1599).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 136, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> C. Velten, *Märchen und Erzählungen der Suaheli*, Stuttgart, 1898, pp. 47-48, "Der fromme Lehrer."

<sup>4</sup> C. Reinhardt, *Ein arabischer Dialekt gesprochen in Oman und Zansibar* (Lehrb. d. Sem. f. orient. Spr., 13), Stuttgart, 1894, pp. 392-94, "Die Folgen des Weingenusses."

well as permitted foods. When they went to bed the heat of the wine and the meat cause them to sin once more. On awakening they were apprized of their crimes, which were soon expiated, inasmuch as all of them died within the year.<sup>1</sup>

A form closely related to this Hebrew tale made its way into Europe, where, adapted to Saladin, it was told in France by Etienne de Bourbon. His version, brief and pointless as it is, fell on stony soil. Its existence is evidence of the story's having been carried from the East to Europe, but no further significance attaches to Etienne's version, which was copied, so far as I know, only in the *Speculum morale*. Etienne tells it as follows:

Item exempla Sarracenorum, qui abstinere ad preceptum Mahometi, nisi in quibusdam festivitatis suis, in quibus pre ebrietate insaniunt. Audivi quod quidam monachi, venientes ad Saladinum, inceperunt eum monere ad conversionem. Ille autem quesivit de religione eorum, de victu et abstinentia, et si abstinerent a carnibus et a mulieribus et a vino; qui dixerunt [quod] a carnibus et mulieribus abstinebant, a vino non. Qui recepit eos honorifice, et fecit parari delicata secundum morem eorum, sine vino; et, cum dormirent, misit eis mulieres ad sollicitandum eos. Ipsi autem eas a se viriliter abegerunt. Post aliquantum temporis, cum abstinuissent a vino, fecit eis parari minus delicate; tamen vinum fecit eis propinari fortissimum. Illi autem, quia a vino diu abstinuerant, avidius biberunt, non temperantes vinum ut oportuisset, nec temperaverunt se a vino; sed, cum essent inebriati et quasi consopiti, misit ad eos mulieres dictas, in quibus sollicitantibus incurrerunt absorpti vino: unde dictus Sarracenus confutavit eos.<sup>2</sup>

The question which now confronts us, that of the dissemination of the story in Europe, is rather difficult, for at a comparatively early time the tale appears in a number of widely differing forms. One we have already met in the *Liber de Septem Donis* of Etienne de Bourbon, and another and more important instance is of course the

<sup>1</sup> Dorville, "Deux légendes rabbiniques," *La Tradition*, II (1888), 273 ff. (from *Hist. des diff. peupl. du monde*, III (1771), 381-83). The same story may be found in Grünbaum, *Jadisch-deutsche Chrestomathie*, 1882, p. 450; see R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 583.

<sup>2</sup> Lecoy de la Marche, *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues tirés du recueil inédit d'Etienne de Bourbon*, Paris, 1877, 414, No. 481; reprinted, according to Wesselski, in *Speculum morale*, 3, 8, 2, 1358 B (ed. Bibliotheca mundi, Douay, 1624); translated in Wesselski, *Mönchslatein*, 1909, pp. 22-23, No. 17. His parallel (pp. 204-5) from the *Apologie pour Hérodote* does not seem apposite. It may be compared with the incident in Saadi's *Gulistan* (II, 29; tr. Gaudin, in *Mille et un jours*, 1840, p. 579; cf. d'Ancona, *Poemetti pop. it.*, pp. 3-4), which Dunlop (*Gesch. d. Prosadicht.*, 1851, pp. 414, 524) considered the oriental analogue of our story. Liebrecht remarks that the resemblance is only in a general trait; cf. Kümmell, p. 26.

previously mentioned legend of the anchorite Barşışâ which did not reach Europe until about 1700. The difficulty of showing the line of descent is enhanced by the fact that the citations of the story do not always indicate satisfactorily exactly what one of various rather similar tales is referred to.<sup>1</sup> I shall keep rather strictly to the history of one tale: the three sins of the hermit. Other narratives will from time to time obtrude themselves on our attention, but they will be disposed of as briefly as possible.

A story in the Old French *Vie des anciens pères*—which differs considerably in its contents from the *Vitas Patrum*—may serve as a starting-point: “De l’ermite qui s’enyvra ou d’un ermite qui tua son compère et jut à sa commère.” The substance of this tale, which has been termed “Ivresse,” is as follows:

The Devil had tormented a hermit for a long time and finally agreed to desist if the hermit would commit one of three sins. The hermit elected drunkenness as the least and as one that could be atoned for. When the hermit was invited to dinner by his neighbor the miller, he made up his mind to fulfil his obligation to the Devil on this occasion. He became so drunk that the miller’s wife accompanied him to his cell. On the way thither the hermit attacked her and when her husband rushed up to defend her, killed him. Then, realizing the craft of the Devil, the hermit journeyed to Rome, where the Pope laid a severe penance upon him. Finally the hermit entered the joys of Paradise.<sup>2</sup>

An early derivative of this story is an allusion in the *Libro de Apolonio*, one of the first compositions in the vernacular. The narrative is so brief that one cannot be certain of all the events:

De hun ermitanyo santo oyemos retrayer,  
Porque fiço el pecado el vino beuer,  
Ouo en adulterio por ello a cayer,  
Despues en adulterios las manos a meter.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kümmell’s dissertation gives the best survey of the different types of stories that have been mentioned in connection with the one discussed. I draw attention only to the legend of St. Hilarius as narrated in the fifteenth-century *Selentroist* (*Die deutschen Mundarten*, ed. Frommann, I [1854], 208, No. 39) which is apparently an effort to turn our story into one with a happy ending. It seems to have enjoyed no wide currency. Briefly it is as follows: The Devil persuaded Hilarius to put wine in his drinking water, then to drink wine undiluted, then to eat meat, and finally he tempted him with a woman, but at this point St. Martin intervened.

<sup>2</sup> Méon, *Nouveau recueil*, II, 173 ff.: *Vie des anciens pères*, No. 35, “Ivresse”; it is reprinted, says Kümmell (p. 38), in Roquefort, *De l’état de la poésie française*, Paris, 1821, pp. 334 ff. For the literature on the *Vie des anciens pères* see Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, 1, 914.

<sup>3</sup> Str. 55 (*Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*, 57, 285); ed. Marden, I, 7.

Based immediately on the text printed by Méon is an unedited prose tale in a manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale, "De Mathelin l'ermite et du musnier son compère," which adds proper names to the narrative in the *Vie des anciens pères* and abbreviates its descriptive passages.<sup>1</sup> From the same source the story passes into the main current of *exemplum* literature and thence into the stream of the later jest-books. Vossler (p. 35) draws attention to an illustrative story found in the *Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry* (chap. 89, "De abstinence"): "un hermite qui eslut celui pechié de gloutonie, et le fist et s'enyvra, et par celui il cheist en tous les VII pechez mortelz, et avoit cudié eslire le plus petit des VII."<sup>2</sup> This, it is said, was told at length in the lost first book of the *Livre*. The change from three sins to seven is to be explained, with Vossler, as a slip of memory remedied by the insertion of a new number suggested by the familiar seven deadly sins. From the *Vie des anciens pères* the story also comes down to the compiler of a German handbook of *exempla*, as follows:

S. Hieronymus sagt/ Ich wil michs nicht vberreden lassen/ das ein trunckener Mensch könne züchtig vnd keusch sein. Drumb merck.

Ein frommer Man ward vom Teuffel hart angefochten/ das er vnter dreyen Sünden eine verbringen solte/ entweder sich einmal voll sauffen oder sein Nachbarn beim Weibe schlaffen/ oder seinen Nachbarn erwürgen. Als er sich nun wider solche anfechtunge lange auffhielte/ vnd der Teuffel jm keinen frieden liesse/hat er gewilliget/ sich einmal voll zusauffen/ Denn er meinete/ solchs were nicht so eine grosse Sünde/ als die andern zwo. Als er aber solches gethan/ da findet sich der Hurenteuffel/ vnd bildet jme des Nachbars Weib für/ wie sie schön vnd freundlich sey. Darumb findet er sich als balde zu jhr/ vberredet sie/ vnd schlefft bey jhr. In des kompt jr Man/ der Nachbar/ zumassen/ vnd wils rechen/ Aber dieser stellet sich zur wehre/ vnnd erwürgt seinen Nachbarn/ begieng also alle drey Sünden/ eben auff eine zeit. Im Sauffteuffel.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vossler, "Zu den Anfängen der französischen Novelle," *St. z. vgl. Lit. gesch.*, II, (1902), 29, No. 25. See below, p. 94, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> See Montaigne, p. 175; in the English translation (ed. T. Wright, E.E.T.S., 1868), p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> Hondorf, *Promptuarium exemplorum*, fol. 229 (as cited by Bolte). The text above was very kindly copied by Professor George L. Hamilton from the edition of 1680. "Nun aber mit vielen Historien vermehrt und in eine neue richtige Ordnung bracht. Auch mit schönen Figuren gezieret Durch Vincentium Sturmium," fol. 325, verso, under the "Exempel des Sechsten Gebots." It is also found in *Jocoseria, Das ist Schimpff vnd Ernst*, Lich, 1605, Teil 2, Nr. 101. There is a Low German translation in *Leienbibel In hundert Fragen*. . . . Dorch Nicolavm Gysen, Rostock, 1604, 2, fol. Rja, No. 42.

The actual text of Hondorf's immediate source, the *Sauff Teuffel*, is also before me, and since it is somewhat longer and more elaborate than the extract I print it:

Ich wil eins [Exempel] erzehlen: Man liset davon/ dass der Teuffel eins mals einen Menschen tag vnd nacht kein ruw lassen wöllen/ Und da er jhn gefragt/ was er darf von jhm beger/ Sol er geantwortet haben: Er wölle jm keine ruw lassen/ er bewillige deß vnter dreyen Sünden eine zubegehen. Fragt er: Was es denn für Sünden weren? Da antwortet er: Er solte entweder seinem Nachbawrn bey dem Weib schlaffen/oder solte jhn/den Nachbawren erwürgen/ Oder wo er der eins nicht [226<sup>a</sup>] thum wolte/ solt er jhm sich zu gefallen ein mal voll sauffen. Da hab er keins willigen wöllen. Als aber der Teuffel jhm gar keine ruhe lassen wil/ williget er endlich sich ein mal voll zu sauffen/ Als dass es nicht so ein grosse Sünde war (wie er meynte) als die andern zwo.

Da er sich nun vollgesoffen/ vnnd seiner Vernunft gleich beraubt war/ Bald sind der Hurenteuffel vnnd der Mordteuffel vorfunden/ vnnd legen Hannd zu werck/ betriegen den armē Menschen/ geben jm ein/ dass jm eynfelt in trunckener weiss/ vnd gedenckt: Sihe da/ was hast du gethan? Du hast dich dem Teuffel zu gefallen vollgesoffen/ was hastu nu davon? Du hattest gleich so mehr gewilliget bey dess Nachbawrn Weib zu schlaffen/ so hettest du doch freud vnd lust davon gehabt/ Ich habs doch schon zu viel gewagt/ vnd dem Teuffel zu gefallen mich vollgesoffen/ damit wider Gott gesündigt/ Sol ich nun von Gott gestrafft werden/ so verdiene ichs eben so mehr wol.

In dess mahlet jhm der Hurenteuffel in trunckener weiss des Nachbawren Weib für/ wie sie so schön/ so freuntlich sey/ darauff geht er also truncken hin/ vberredt sie/ vnd schläfft bey jhr. In dess kompt jhr Mann/ der Nachbawr/ zu massen/ vnnd wils rechen/ Aber dieser stellt sich zur wehr/ vnd erwürgt seinen Nachbawrn. Beding also drey Sünden auff ein zeit.

Sihe da/ ist das nicht ein recht Exempel? Dabey man sihet/ wie die Teuffel ein gewonnen spiel haben/ weñ sich ein Mensch den Saufteuffel nerren vnnd betriegen lässt. Der Hurenteuffel vnnd Mordteuffel kundten bey disem Menschē nichts aussrichten/ der Saufteuffel bringets meisterlich zu wegen/ damit dass er dem armē Menschen eyngibt/ vollauffen sey nicht so grosse Sünde als andere/ verkleinert also solch Laster/ wie er leyder jetzund bey vielē thut/ dass es viel für kein Laster noch Sünde/ sondern für eitel Tugend halten.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Matth. Friderich, *Wider den Sauff Teuffel*, gebessert u. an vielen örtern gemehret in *Theatrum diabolorum*, Tell 1, fol. 225 ff., Franckfurt am Mayn: P. Schmid, 1587. For the copying of the text from this scarce volume I am indebted to Professor Hugo Hepding, of Giessen.



It appears in that thesaurus of jests, Johannes Pauli's *Schimpf und Ernst*, which was written in Alsace in 1519 and published in 1522.<sup>1</sup> Hans Sachs found it there and turned it into a *Meistergesang* (1554), assigning as his source "Rupertus."<sup>2</sup> Martin Montanus of Strassburg, who is unfavorably distinguished among the none too fastidious sixteenth-century collectors of jests for his delight in the obscene and offensive, took it from Pauli with some alterations as an illustrative tale in his *Andreützo* (1557).<sup>3</sup> I shall not now develop the history of the tale in the hands of the contemporary writers of jest-books inasmuch as they derived their knowledge of the story from other sources, but shall return to them later.

The story appears in a variety of medieval collections of *exempla*, for which I refer in general to Herbert's monumental *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, Vol. III. It is quite clear that at least one new and quite independent tradition is represented in the tales which I am about to cite. Among other interesting things regarding the tale's diffusion in the Middle Ages is the fact that it is depicted in a series of miniatures in a manuscript in the British Museum.<sup>4</sup> The oldest text of the *exemplum* in the manuscripts of the Museum appears to be that in the *Speculum Laicorum*, which was composed "after (and probably not very long after) the death of Henry III in 1272."<sup>5</sup> The text of this version is as follows:

Quidam quesivit a vicino suo quod si oporteret eum peccatum mortale committere quod cicius eli [sic] eligeret respondit inebriari reputans illud aliis minus cumque inebriatus esset die vno quod domum duam adire nesciret tradidit ei quidam vicinus suus filiam suam ut eum duceret ad domum suam cumque fuissent in via. defloravit eam et cum quidam superueniret surgens occidit eum. Ecce vnum elegit et tria commisit scilicet adulterium homicidium et ebrietatem.

It may also be found in a collection of 315 edifying tales compiled in England in the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>6</sup> This text,

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Oesterley (Stutt. Lit. Ver., 85), 1866, No. 243, p. 161; cf. notes, p. 501. It should be observed that the editions of the *Schimpf und Ernst* from 1560 on have another version of the story taken from the *Rollwagenbüchlein*.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Goetze and Drescher (*Neudrucke*, 231-35), VI, 112-14, No. 908; ed. Keller and Goetze, XXV, 450, No. 4378.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Bolte (Stutt. Lit. Ver., 217), 1899, p. 167; cf. pp. 583, 657.

<sup>4</sup> Roy. 10. E. iv, ff. 113<sup>b</sup>-18<sup>b</sup>; cf. Herbert, III, 131.

<sup>5</sup> Herbert, III, 385, No. 206 (Add. 11284).

<sup>6</sup> Herbert, III, 500, No. 279 (Roy. 7. D. 1).

thinks Mr. Herbert, may have been copied from the *Speculum Laicorum*; but it differs so markedly from the version just given that I am inclined to believe there must have been some intermediate, possibly oral forms. The text follows for comparison:

Narratur de quodam sacerdote mangni nominis quod cum multis temptationibus impugnaretur audiuit sibi uocem dicentem. Elige tibi de tribus quod uolueris quia contingit tibi incidere aut in ebrietatem aut in fornicacionem aut in homicidium. Qui excogitans putans se minus ex tribus peccatis peccatum eligere elegit ebrietatem. Post hoc contigit eum ad domum uicini sui diuertere. ibique inebriatus est qui cum esset in camera solus et quedam muliercula uel forte pararet lectum eius uel consilium anime petetet ab eo cum ea fornicatus est. Quo facto timmens confusionem hominum si peccatum suum per mulierem publicaretur interfecit eam. Et sic per ebrietatem etiam fornicacionem et homicidium perpetravit.

For a transcript from another smaller collection of tales<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Charles A. Williams, of the University of Illinois. This is, according to the description in Herbert's *Catalogue*, the same story as the one with which we have been dealing; but the text does not bear this out. The *exemplum* bears the title "De penitencia" and is as follows:

De heremita uolente scire quid esset peccatum. qui passus est lubricum carnis et interfecit uirum mulieris et ad mentem reuersus ait se non iturum nisi manibus et pedibus donec sciret peccatum sibi dimissum. et transactis pluribus annis inuentus a unenatoribus in nemore. regi est presentatus et dum puer ab ipso baptizaretur. clamauit. dimissum est tibi peccatum tuum. et culpam suam coram omnibus recognoscans [sic] erectus super pedes abiit.

This is obviously something entirely different from the stories we have been considering, for the whole trend of the narrative is altered. We hear nothing of wine as the cause of the crimes of adultery and murder, curiosity alone is the impelling force. New also is the allusion to the "venatoribus in nemore," and more striking still are the oath "se non iturum nisi manibus et pedibus" and the sentence "erectus super pedes abiit." The *exemplum* before us has taken many traits from the legend of St. John Chrysostom, who ran about as a beast of the forest in penance for his sins. Indeed it is probably no more than a condensation of the saint's legend with the omission

<sup>1</sup> Add. 27909 B; cf. Herbert, III, 465, No. 23.

of his name. The variations which have been noted are sufficient to show that this story belongs in another line of descent and that, although it exhibits some superficial resemblances to the tale under consideration, it is not to be classed as a version thereof.

Next chronologically of the occurrences of the *exemplum* in the manuscripts of the British Museum seems to be its employment in the *Convertimini*, a didactic work ascribed to Richard Holcot (d. 1349). This instance appears to be an interpolation in a single manuscript, for it is found in but one of the many texts of the *Convertimini*.<sup>1</sup> The source, moreover, of the interpolation is reasonably certain inasmuch as the *Convertimini* version seems to be a condensation of the *exemplum* in Royal 7. D. I above. It is as follows:

Narratur de quodam sacerdote magni nominis cum multis temptacionibus inpu gnaretur audiuit uocem dicentem sibi elige tibi de tribus diebus quam uoueris quia contiget [sic] tibi incidere aut in ebrietatem aut in fornicationem aut in homicidium qui ex cogitans quod minus omnium cum esset ebrietas preelegit eam postea contigit eum ad domum cuiusdam amici diuertere ubi inebriatus est qui cum esset in camera solus et quedam mulier intraret ut paret sibi lectum cum ea fornicatus est quo factor timens confusionem hominum si per mulierum factum publicaretur eam interficeret [sic] per solam tria plagissima perpetrans.

The fourteenth-century miscellany of tales in Harley 268 also has the story.<sup>2</sup> The text, which I am able to print by virtue of Professor Williams' courtesy, is obviously a somewhat more elaborate version of the legend in Add. 27909 B, which has just been given.

Ex[emplum] de quodam hermita.

Quidam hermita uolens scire quid esset peccatum quamdam mulierem concupiuit. que cum veniret eum visitare. fecit vt tota nocte cum eo moraretur. vir e[ius] venit et dum respiceret per fenestram cognouit eam esse cum hermita. et dum intus mitteret caput suum per fenestram hermita occidit eum. et ad mentem reuersus promisit se de cetero non iturum pedibus donec sciret peccatum sibi esse dimissum. transactis pluribus annis inuentus in nemore a uenatoribus et regi est presentatus et dum quidam puer de nouo baptizatus clamauit. dimissum est tibi peccatum tuum. culpam suam coram omnibus recognoscens super pedes abiit.

Another fourteenth-century text was printed in one of the first works devoted to medieval Latin story-telling, Wright's *Selection of*

<sup>1</sup> See Herbert, III, 131, No. 103 (Roy. 7. C. I).

<sup>2</sup> See Herbert, III, 571, No. 175.

*Latin Stories*.<sup>1</sup> It differs somewhat in phraseology from those that have preceded, but offers no other point of interest. And finally as concerns the Latin manuscripts of the British Museum, we may note the tale's appearance in a collection formed in northern Italy in the early years of the fifteenth century.<sup>2</sup> This is, so far as I recall, the only version reported from Italian soil, for the collectors of *novelle* show no familiarity with it. The text, which has the novelty of introducing incest and parricide into the story, seems to be the antecedent of some later German versions in jest-books. It is as follows:

Quidam fuit homagium dyabolo fecit ut ditaret eum. Cui ditato dixit dyabolus. Ecce feci uoluntatem tuam fac ergo tu et meam Qui ait quod uis ut faciam. et dyabolus ad eum inquit. Pecca cum sorore tua que est pulchra et iuuenis. qui noluit. Cui dyabolus. occide patrem tuum qui sennex est et inutilis. qui noluit. Cui dyabolus. Bibe ergo tantum quod inebrieris. qui ait. Libenter faciam istud. Qui cum inebriatus fuisset sororem cognouit<sup>3</sup> et patrem eum reprehendentem occidit.

The only vernacular version in the manuscripts of the Museum appears to be an insertion in a French translation of the *Alphabetum Narrationum*, for which I use Professor Williams' transcript.<sup>4</sup> This tale is obviously a very immediate derivative of "Ivresse" in the *Vie des anciens pères*, which I have already discussed at length:

Vng diable tempta vne fois vng saint homme moult aigrement et le saint homme y resistoit au mieulx quil pouoit. Le diable luy dist vne fois quil ne le laisseroit jamais en paix sil ne choisissoit de trois pechez le quel quil voudroit et lui promist que jncinent quil en auroit choisy vng jamais ne se tempteroit apres. et luy mist a choiz mordre luxure ou gloutonnye. Le bon homme choisy pour le moindre pechie le pechie de gloutonnye. Assez tost apres jl ala veoir vne sienne cōmere et y fist sy bonne chiere quil fut yure. Et lors quil fut ainsy yure jl pria sa cōmere de folie. et tant ala la besoigne quil coucha avec elle charnellement. Quant jl fut hors de son vin et il pēsa ace quil auoit fait jl eust sy grant vergoigne et sy grant paour que son pechie ne fust sceu quil occist sa commere. et ainsy par lun pechie jl enchey en tous les autres.

<sup>1</sup> Percy Soc., 8, London, 1842, pp. 83-84, No. 97. It is translated in Wesselski, *Mönchsaltein*, p. 99, No. 81. See also Herbert, III, 577, No. 37. Wright remarks (p. 235) that "the verses are taken from the Harleian MS; the tale partly from John of Bromyard." The story is found in the *exempla* of Bromyard under E, 1, 3, "Ebrietas."

<sup>2</sup> See Herbert, III, 648, No. 4, (Add. 27336, f. 2). For the various British Museum texts printed above I am obliged to Mr. A. J. Collins of the Department of Manuscripts.

<sup>3</sup> Glossed in a later hand, "scilicet carnaliter."

<sup>4</sup> See Herbert, III, 446, No. 21 (Roy. 15. D. V.).

Gloutonnye est vng perillex pechie car jl nest sy saige au monde qui ne soit hors de son sens quant jl est yure. et alors quil est yure jl est tabernacle au diable. Cest grant pechie de soy consentit a vng pechie mortel quelque petit quil semble. car jl est moult grant et grief. comme pechie soit de telle nature que lun pechie attrait lautre.

Inasmuch as our story appears not to have formed part of the regular stock of tales in the *Alphabetum Narrationum*—it does not appear in the British Museum manuscripts of the Latin text nor in the English translation edited by Mrs. M. M. Banks (E.E.T.S., 126-27, 1904-5)—it is not surprising to find that the French version just given does not agree throughout with the *exemplum* in the *Libro de los enxiemplos*, a Spanish rendering of the *Alphabetum*.<sup>1</sup> Here the story is told in dialogue with biblical citations which vary from those used by the French narrator. The source of the Spanish version is not apparent, but since it is much condensed, it is a rather thankless task to speculate on the subject. The form of the story does not vary sufficiently from the versions current in the early Middle Ages to make one look elsewhere than in the collections of Latin *exempla* for its origin. Its presence in the Spanish translation does not prove, nor even suggest, that the tale was disseminated in Europe from Spain as a center, as B. Heller maintains. Long before the translation of the *Libro de los enxiemplos* the story was known farther north in a more individual form.

The latest manuscript text I happen to have noted is preserved in the university library at Jena (El. fol. 99).<sup>2</sup> It is contained in a Latin interlinear version of a French *remaniement* of the *Disticha Catonis* entitled "Régime et gouvernement du corps et de l'âme" and was written at Torgau in 1496. Inasmuch as some of the stories—as yet unedited—in this codex exhibit curious individual modifications I print this text.

On list dung heremite qui souuent estoit tempte de laisser son heremitage et de retourner au monde. Auquel saporut vng ange de par dieu son createur et luy dist, que sil vouloit retourner au monde quil ne pourroit eschaper que entre tous les aultres maulx et peches qui se font en cestui

<sup>1</sup> *Bibl. de Autores españoles*, LI, 461, No. 56. I do not print this easily accessible text.

<sup>2</sup> See Hilka, *Lit. bl.*, XL (1919), 311. The tale is on fol. 49. For this text I am indebted to Professor Hepding and Oberbibliothekar Dr. Bernhard Willkomm, of the Jena library. I do not print the Latin text.

monde quil en auoit trois. Desquels il failloit quil en cōmist vng. cest astauoir auarice luxure et yuresse. et quil esleust lequel il vouldroit [49<sup>vo</sup>] comettre des trois. Lors hermite respondit et dist puis quil conuenoit quil comist lung desdis peches quil elisoit yuresse et non pas auarice. pource que auarice est la racine de tous peches. Ne aussy luxure. pource quelle gaste est destruit tout le corps de lome et ainsy le meschant retourna au monde. lequel vng iour beust si largement du vin quil fut yure et incontinent tempte du peche de luxure lequel peche cōmist de fait et apres deuint auaricieux et de fait se mist a emblit et par ainsy comist tous les trois peches. Cest astauoir auarice luxure et yuresse. et non yuresse tant seulement.

At this point the versions current in Germany during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may be taken up. One of the three tragic tales in Jörg Wickram's *Rollwagenbüchlein* (1556), an addition to the original stock in the first edition of 1555, is an elaborate narrative of a man, who, to the disgust of his sister, becomes a hermit. When he learns through a dream that God wishes him to commit one of three sins, he invites his sister to visit him and to bring a bottle of wine—with the familiar consequences.<sup>1</sup> Wickram exclaims: "O trunckenheit, was stifftest du! Du bist nit das ringfügest laster under all ander laster." The source of Wickram's variations seems to be ultimately the *exemplum* of Italian authorship which I have printed above.

The source of the rather elaborate tale in Melander's *Joca et Seria*<sup>2</sup> is obscure. This version is particularly interesting because it represents the most ambitious effort at literary style. I print it because the text is difficult to get at:

De iuvene Parhisiensi, qui ebrius utrumque parentem instinctu Diaboli interfecit.

Argento quidam multo cumulatus et auro  
Parhisia iuuenis natus in vrbe fuit.  
Decoquit in Venere et lusu, multoque Lycaeō,  
Helluo quae tenuit plurima dona patris.  
Syluas post merens petiit nudatus, et agros,  
Vitam monticolas inter agitque feras.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Bolte (Stutt. Lit. Ver., 229), p. 96, No. 72, cf. p. 383 and *Wickrams Werke*, VIII, 346; ed. Kurz, Leipzig, 1865, pp. 129-31 and 213. It is reprinted from *Schimpf und Ernst* (which took it from the *Rollwagenbüchlein*) in *Lessings Werke*, III, 2, *Dramatischer Nachlass* (ed. Boxberger), p. 166. An earlier reprinting is in *Jocoseria*, Lich, 1605, Teil 2, Nr. 373.

<sup>2</sup> Frankfurt, 1617-26, II, 249-50, No. 163. It is translated in *Jocoseria*, Lich, 1605, Teil 2, No. 222. The source is said to be D. Lossius, *Epiqr.*, p. 226.

Hinc pudor, hinc malesuada fames, hinc vrget egestas,  
 Et varias vitae suadet inire vias.  
 Accedit Satanas, quid ait sic perdit solus  
 Inter agis saeuas flensque dolensque feras?  
 Aut laqueo vitam fini aut te mergito in vndas,  
 Rupe aut excelsa te dato praecipitem.  
 Quid vitam duces inter spelaea ferarum  
 Desertam in syluis hic inopemque miser?  
 Cum negat hoc facinus, Satanas quod suasit auerni,  
 Corpori vt inferret funera dira suo.  
 Reddam ego opes Daemon tibi dixit, vtrumque parentem  
 Si intrepida occides gnatus in vrbe manu.  
 Hoc etiam facinus gnatus cum denegat atrox,  
 Tollere eos saeua qui genuere manu.  
 Argentum, dixit, multum cumulabis et aurum,  
 Quamque tibi nuper copia maior erit.  
 Hebdomade aut zythi tantum aut si sumis Iacchi  
 Ebrius vt fias mentis inopsque semel.  
 Annuit hic Satanae gaudens adsuctus laccho,  
 Hebdomade euacuat pocula plena semel.  
 Diues fit subito magis et quo pocula siccat,  
 Et furit insanus nocte dieque magis.  
 Diuitiae crescunt, augetur luxus, et auctae  
 Diuitiae vitiis dant alimenta malis.  
 Increpuit potum crebro cum maior acerbe,  
 Matrem transfigens ebrius ense patrem.  
 Cum pater ob caedam matris reprehendit, et ipsum  
 Ebrietate furens sustulit ense patrem.  
 Cunctorum ebrietas quod fons et origo malorum  
 Sit, docet exemplum caedis in orbe trucidis.  
 Quanta sint fraudes Satanae, conamina quanta,  
 Ducat vt incautos ad genus omne mali.  
 Sobrius immanis quod non vult ante parentem,  
 Ebrius heu gnatus tollit utrumque suum.

In the German translation of Melander's *Joca et Seria* there are four versions of our story. Three of these are simply translations or reprints of versions which have already been mentioned. The fourth is defective and poorly told. I print it from Professor Hepding's copy.

Bey einem Bürger war ein Geistlicher Bruder zu Hauss/ vnnd dienet Gott/ der hatte grosse Anfechtung von dem bösen Geist.

Er sagt einmal. Sag an du böser Geist/ was begerstu von mir/dass ich doch friedē habe: Der Teuffel sprach: Hab die Wahl vnder dreyen stücken/ brich die Ehe mit der Frawen/ bey deren du zu Hauss bist. Der Bruder wolt es nicht thun/ der Teuffel sprach: So sauff dich einmal woll Weins/ der Bruder sprach: Das will ich thun/ vnnd ward ein mal voll Weins/ da fiel er in Vnkeuschheit/ vnnd brach die Ehe mit der Frawen/ da kam der Mann darzu vnnd wolt ihn schlagen/ da schlug der Bruder ihn zu todt/ vnd thet die ding alle drey.<sup>1</sup>

Jörg Wickram, who has just been mentioned, was, furthermore, the owner of a volume of *Meistergesänge* in which he entered his name with the date 1549 and the further notation that he had purchased it at Schlettstadt in 1546. The manuscript volume in question, composed for the Meistersinger of Colmar, was compiled in the fifteenth century and it is, it may be remarked in passing, one of the two chief sources of what is known about that school of poetry. In it is a version of the story with St. (or Pope) Urban as hero. It is possible, although far from certain, that Wickram took from this allusion the suggestion for the tale in the *Rollwagenbüchlein*. Both the *Meistergesang* and the jest-book mention incest as one of the three sins, although in the earlier composition it is incest with the mother and not, as in the *Rollwagenbüchlein*, with the sister. The *Meistergesang* further heightens the repulsiveness of the tale by substituting parricide for murder. It seems obvious that these changes (incest with the mother and parricide) have crept into the story under the influence of the legends of Judas, Gregory, Albanus Rex Ungariae, and the like. The Colmar *Meistergesang* begins with God insisting that St. Urban choose one of three sins. The two concluding stanzas are then put in the saint's mouth, with the result that the story is sadly marred by the shift in the point of view and by the excessive moralizing. Indeed, one is not sure that the three sins are actually committed, and the fate of the saint is left completely in the air.<sup>2</sup> Scarcely better as a literary product is a second *Meistergesang*, also composed in the fourteenth century.<sup>3</sup> In it, too, nothing

<sup>1</sup> *Jocoseria, Das ist Schimpff vnd Ernst*, Lich, 1605, Teil 2, No. 374. This was taken from *Scherts mit der Warheyt*, Frankfurt, 1550, fol. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Bartsch, *Meisterlieder der Kolmarer Handschrift* (Stütt. Lit. Ver., 68, 1862), pp. 281-82, No. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 598-99, No. 188 (from the Wilten MS; cf. pp. 92 ff., 117-18 and Zingerle, *Wiener Sitzungsberichte*, XXXVIII [1861], 53). It is also found in a Heidelberg MS; cf. Bartsch, p. 143, No. 58.



is said about the fate of the sinner. Two stanzas of this will tell the story:

Sant Urban dem wart für gegeben  
driu dine an allez widerstreben,  
dar ûz er einez für sich nemen solde.  
Daz erste was diu trunkenheit,  
daz ander wirt iuch wol geseit,  
ob er den sinen vater töeten wolde.  
Daz dritte ist gar unverswigen,  
als ich iuch hie bediute:  
er solt bi siner muoter ligen.  
der drier wart er keins verzigen,  
daz merket eben, ir werden cristenliute.

Die trunkenheit er an sich nam,  
da mite er, in die sünde kam,  
er besliep die muotr, den vater begund er töeten.  
Do im diu trunkenheit verswant,  
und er des wînes niht empfant,  
er sprach 'der wîn tet mich der sache nœten.  
Daz dunket mich ein swære pîn:  
ich bin gevaln in schulde.'  
wer hie an sünde welle sîn,  
hütet sich vor überigem wîn.  
mit trunkenheit verliust man gotes hulde.

There is one more allusion to this legend about St. Urban. To the Swiss pamphleteer, Pamphilius Gengenbach, who is justly famed for his bitter satires on the Roman church, is ascribed the *Rebhänszlin* (i.e., men given over to drink) and in that portion of this composition entitled "Der zehend Segen" occurs the following passage:

Dann, weyn, du hast vil wonders than:  
Ein heiliger Bapst, der hiess Urban,  
Dem thetst du auch ein Schafernack:  
Er hatt dich truncken auff ein tag,  
Dass er drei sünd darinn erkoss  
Aber Gotts barmhertzigkeyt was so gross,  
Dass er jm gab die hulde sein.<sup>1</sup>

It will be observed that these stories in which St. Urban figures are current in southwestern Germany and Switzerland, and that else-

<sup>1</sup> *Gengenbach* (ed. Goedeke), Hannover, 1856, p. 521.

where the name of the saint is free from stain; but how they came to be thus associated with him is not obvious.

The story is brought into connection with another ecclesiastical personage, Bishop Fundanus, but this time the bishop is represented as being a spectator of an assembly of devils. Each one tells of his success in tempting mankind and one relates the story of the three sins as his feat.<sup>1</sup> This episode, Düntzer (*Lessing als Dramatiker*, p. 196) declares, was in Lessing's mind when he composed the first scene of his *Faust*. In this play of which we now have only the fragmentary outlines Beelzebub calls before him the lesser devils in order that they may give an accounting. One has set fire to a city, another has sunk a fleet, and a third "boasts of having seduced a holy man whom he had persuaded to become intoxicated, and who in his drunken state committed adultery and murder."<sup>2</sup> The easy success of these three leads then to conversation about the difficulty of leading Faust astray. Beyond these scanty indications we know no more concerning the exact form of the story Lessing had before him. The assembly of devils relating their accomplishments suggests connecting it with the previously cited legend of Bishop Fundanus.

Abraham a Sancta Clara may have another and quite different story in mind when he quotes:

Dives eram dudum,  
fecerunt me tria nudum:  
alea, vina, venus;  
tribus his sum factus egenus.<sup>3</sup>

In the later centuries the story enjoyed only a moderate degree of popularity. The French seem to have preceded the Germans in its employment.<sup>4</sup> I note Piron, "Laconisme," *Anthologie satyrique*,

<sup>1</sup> Angelinus Gazaeus, *Pia hilaria*, 1617. I have been unable to find a copy of this book in this country. For answers to inquiries I am indebted to the courtesy of the Librarian of Congress, of the Newberry Library, and of Harvard College Library and for assistance to Mr. James A. McMillen, of the Washington University Library.

<sup>2</sup> *Lessings Werke*, III, 2, *Dramatischer Nachlass* (ed. Boxberger), p. 166; R. Petsch, *Lessings Faustdichtung*, Heidelberg, 1911.

<sup>3</sup> *Werke*, I, 304. Cf. F. Seiler, *Deutsche Spichwörterkunde*, 1922, p. 138.

<sup>4</sup> I take these references from Bolte, *Montanus Schwankbücher*, p. 583. I have seen only the pretentious versification in the *Recueil de nouvelles poésies* (the source of which is uncertain) and the *Tidsfordriv* (which seems to be derived indirectly from Pauli's *Schimpf und Ernst*). Professor Hepding's transcripts of these texts have been deposited in the John G. White Collection.

I, 41, which may also be found in *La légende joyeuse ou les 101 leçons de Lampsaque* (1753), I, 44, No. 81; and *Recueil de nouvelles poésies galantes* (ca. 1750), I, 113, "Qui choisit prend le pire." D'Ancona (*La leggenda di Sant' Albano*, Bologna, 1865, p. 47, n. 1) says there is a versification by Grécourt. During this century it made its appearance in Denmark, finding its way into Danish texts of the Seven Wise Masters (*Historien om de syv vise mestere* [1733]; cf. Nyerup, *Morskabslæsning*, 1816, pp. 253, 263) and other jest-books with titles reminiscent of Pauli's work: *Skjemt og alvor* (1781), p. 162; *Tidsfordriv eller lystig selskabsbog* (1788), No. 19. About the middle of the century, as we have seen, Lessing alluded to the theme. Later Karl Wilhelm Ramler, who dazzled his age with his metrical cleverness, included it in his *Fabellese* (1783), I, 167, "Folgen des ersten Lasters." And finally Gottlieb Konrad Pfeffel, a blind Alsatian educator, tells it under the title "Die Wahl" as follows:

Graf Hunerich, ein deutscher Mann,  
Hielt sich und seinem Weib,  
Frau Hedwig, einen Schlosskaplan  
Zum frommen Zeitvertreib.

Der Mönch vergass beim leckern Tisch  
Des Grafen sein Breiver;  
Ass auch am Freitag selten Fisch,  
Trank lieber Wein als Bier.

Einst weckt ihm was um Mitternacht;  
Dar stand mit stillem Grimm,  
Gehörnt, in schwefelgelber Tracht  
Fürst Lucifer vor ihm.

Wähl, sprach er, unter dreien eins:  
Ermorde Hunerich,  
Entehr sein Weib, sauf dich voll Weins,  
Sonst hol ich morgen dich.

Er wählt die Flasche, treibt berauscht  
Mit Hedwig frevle Lust  
Und stösst dem Mann, der sie belauscht,  
Ein Messer in die Brust.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Poetische Versuche*, II (1803), 23.

We now come to the occurrences of the tale in modern folk-tradition. In Europe it has been taken down in Ireland, France, Germany, Poland, Russia, and Esthonia.<sup>1</sup> The Arabic versions current in Africa have already been considered. The various European folk-versions differ rather interestingly among themselves and, although they show evidences of a rather long period of independent development, seem one and all to be traceable to a single archetype. The emphasis in these modern tales is slightly different from that of the medieval stories. The modern narrators endeavor to make the act of selecting one of the three sins seem plausible and hit upon various devices to convince the auditor that a choice was necessary. The medieval tellers of the story did not face this problem at all.

An Irish version is without a single interesting trait: the story is identical with the *exemplum* in the French translation of the *Alphabetum Narrationum* as printed above and with "Ivresse" of the *Vie des anciens pères*. In Provence they tell it with a novel and psychologically ingenious introduction:

A monk who is vexed at his superior committed the crime of wishing his death. The superior was stricken with apoplexy and died instantly. Thereupon the Devil appeared to the guilty monk, saying, "I have heard your prayer, and you in your turn must do something for me: drink, sin in adultery, or commit murder: choose." He hesitated long and finally after selecting the least crime was guilty of them all.

Farther north in Picardy, there is current among the folk a variant of "Ivresse" which begins with the Devil's threat to destroy everything unless God permits a pious monk to commit one sin. In the Ardennes the theme is strangely modified and acquires something of the flavor of Goethe's *Faust*:

In a monastery where all had been accustomed to drinking wine one of the monks on finishing his glass cried to the Devil: "I give you my soul, but

<sup>1</sup> Brueyre, *Contes populaires de la Grande Bretagne*, Paris, 1875, p. 332, No. 81 (from Kennedy; I have not troubled to run down the English original because of its lack of interest); L. J. B. Béranger-Feraud, *Superstitions et survivances*, IV (Paris, 1896), 422-23; Carnoy, *Littérature populaire de la Picardie*, Paris, 1883, pp. 134-47, "Les trois péchés de l'ermite"; A. Meyrac, *Traditions, coutumes, légendes et contes des Ardennes*, Charleville, 1890, pp. 346-47, "Comment le moine perdit son âme" (I am not so certain that this tale belongs exactly here; but B. Heller regards it as a variant and it is surely related to the tales mentioned at the end of this article); A. Schreiber, *Sagen aus den Rheingegenden*, Frankfurt am Main, 1848, pp. 270-71, No. 28, "Der Langenstein"; Kolberg, *Krakowskie*, IV, 146-48, "O kuszącym do pijanstwa." Kraszewski's tale appeared in A. Piękiewicz, *Bojanie*, Vilna, 1838, pp. 93-102, "Yako sathan kusił puszczenika na puszcze." Tolstoi's allusion may be found in "God or Mammon," *Works* (tr. Wiener), XXIII (Boston, 1905), 83-84.

you must not deny me any wish, any earthly enjoyment." To this the Devil assented. When the monk was sober he prayed repentantly. Then a secret voice spoke, saying, "Your repentance is sincere, but you shall escape Hell only if you win a soul for Heaven." With God's consent the Devil brought a beautiful maiden to the hermit and, falling with her, he lost his soul.

The German tale, a Rhenish legend, is particularly noteworthy for its introductory episode, which has no parallel that I am aware of:

The Devil watched a usurer bury his money and decided that stealing it would bring the man to despair and suicide. He proved to be correct in his expectation and inherited the usurer's gold. This he offered to a youth if he would commit one of the three sins—and the rest of the story follows the well-worn track.

Łopacinski prints a summary of a folk-tale taken down by Oscar Kolberg and a very full analysis of a story by Kraszewski. His article was suggested by Tolstoi's employment of the tale which was, he believes, due to the Russian novelist's familiarity with the version of Kraszewski. On looking at them both one wonders what connection he saw between them. Kraszewski tells the story as follows:

A pious hermit was guilty of thinking that God had freed him from sin and that Satan could no longer tempt him. As punishment God permitted Mephistopheles to do what he could. But for more than a year the devil's efforts were in vain. Finally when the hermit was meditating on his youth and on a beautiful horse his father had once given him, he involuntarily uttered these words, "Oh! if it were possible at least to see such a horse." The waiting devil seized the opportunity and, taking the shape of the horse, came before the hermit. When he had mounted on it, it rose into the sky so that he thought for a moment that he was being borne to Heaven, a second Elijah. High above the earth the devil threatened to cast him down unless he would commit at least one of three sins. The course of the story then follows the model of "Ivresse"—with the addition that the hermit confesses his sins to his captors and is set free in order that he may return to his former mode of life.

Tolstoi's version with its novel and rather inappropriate beginning may have been suggested by the foregoing, but I see little reason for so thinking. It is verbatim as follows:

There is an old story about a monk who disputed with the Devil, saying that he would not let him into his cell, but if he let him in, he would do the Devil's bidding. The story tells how the Devil assumed the form of a wounded raven, with a broken wing, who leaped about pitifully near the

door of the monk's cell. The monk took pity on the raven with the broken and bleeding wing and took him into his cell.

Kolberg's folk-version is particularly noteworthy because it leads on to the Esthonian variants instead of looking back, as Kraszewski's tale does, to the Rhine. Of course it is, like practically all the folk-versions mentioned, a descendant of "Ivresse" in the *Vie des anciens pères*, as would be obvious from comparing the descriptions of the details of the three crimes in both texts. The new trait which unites the Polish and some of the Esthonian tales is the introductory episode (which may be paralleled in the Rhenish legend). Briefly Kolberg's tale is as follows:

A farm-servant chanced upon a little man in a forest jingling a bag of coins. The stranger offered him the money, should he obligate himself to commit adultery, or murder, or get drunk. He agreed to the last, and, taking the bag, bought sufficient liquor at the next inn. When he came home he did not find his master there and regaled himself on the household stock of vodka. The master on returning found him in a compromising situation, beat him and his own wife, and was murdered. The servant ran to the woods to find his seducer and since he failed in that, hanged himself.

It is quite clear on reading the Esthonian versions which I print below that they are derived for the most part from something very similar to Kolberg's tale, and that goes back to the Rhine and to "Ivresse" of the *Vie des anciens pères*. The five versions here printed for the first time are taken from the enormous manuscript collections of Dr. J. Hurt (d. 1907), which include upwards of 10,000 tales and legends. Antti Aarne has indexed the material in *FF Communications*, 25 (Hamina, 1918). For transcripts and translations of the five tales listed under No. 839\* I am indebted to Dr. E. A. Tunkelo of the Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura (Helsingfors) and the mediation of Professor Arthur G. Brodeur; the original copies I have given to the John G. White Collection of the Cleveland Public Library, where the Esthonian text may be found. The first and second of these tales were taken down at times about ten years apart from the same narrator. The fifth tale is particularly interesting for its reminiscence of the assembly of devils, a trait which recalls Lessing's version of the story.

## 1. MS A 8. 41 (6): "Die Macht des Branntweins":

In einer stockfinstern Nacht kam ein Trinker gegen Mitternacht mit benebeltem Kopfe aus dem Wirtshaus nach Hause. Er irrte kreuz und quer herum, und war flitschnass, wie ein Schiffsbrüchiger, c'er soeben von den Wellen an das Ufer geschleudert worden ist. In diesem elenden Zustande irrte er bis zur Mitternacht, konnte aber keinen Weg finden. Er war wahrscheinlich, wie man zu sagen pflegt, "auf die Spuren des alten Bösen geraten."

In seinem unglücklichen Zustande setzte er sich nieder und fing an in die Nacht hinein zu sprechen und sich jemanden zur Hilfe zu rufen, um ihn nach Hause zu begleiten. Er rief nach allen Guten Engeln, er rief nach allen Bösen Geistern—aber niemand schien zu kommen. Noch feuriger und heisser, wie ein Wahnsinniger, fing er an auf eine schauerliche Weise zu fluchen, und den bösen Geist, wenn es solch einen gibt, sich mit schrecklicher Stimme zum Wegweiser zu bitten. Es verging nicht viel Zeit—da erschien jemand mit feurigen Augen und Zähnen wie Kienspäne und fing an mit dem Manne, der zitternd aufstand und vor dem Greuel stand, mit quarrig-unangenehmer Stimme zu sprechen: "Höre, Mann, was willst du von mir?" Stotternd antwortete der Mann: "I—i—ich wollte mir einen Begleiter." Der Quarrende sagte: "Wenn du eine von diesen vier Sünden machen willst, die ich dir jetzt nennen werde, werde ich dich augenblicklich nach Hause begleiten. Diese Sünden sind: entweder du betrinkst dich von neuem, oder stiehlest, oder brichst die Ehe, oder du tötest jemanden. Wähle!" Der Mann dachte: "Wenn ich stehle, ist das ein Unrecht; Ehebruch ist eine schreckliche Sünde; wenn ich jemanden töte, dann ist es schon eine blutige Sünde. Nein, von diesen wähle ich keine. Wenn ich noch einmal mich mich betrinke, was schadet es mir oder anderen? Das Betrinken, das werde ich wählen, dann werde ich zu Hause auf geheiztem Ofen mich erwärmen können." Er sagte dem Wartenden: "Es ist gut, ich wähle das Betrinken." "Dann geh' gleich in das Wirtshaus zurück," sagte der schreckliche Fremde, "und erfülle dein Versprechen." Der arme Mann entschuldigte sich: "Ach, warum soll' ich eben in das Wirtshaus gehen, ich habe ja nichts mit des Königs Namen [Geld] in der Tasche." Da zog der schreckliche Fremde mit der Hand in die dunkle Nacht so dass ein blauer Streifen nachblieb und sagte dem Manne: "Öffne deinen Schoss, hier ist Geld." Darauf legte er eine Menge Gold- und Silbergeld in seinen Schoss, begleitete ihn auf den Wirtshausweg und verschwand selbst wie der alte Mond. Der Mann ging mit seinem vielen Gelde in das Wirtshaus, trank dort selbst einige Tage und gab allen seinen Kneipfreunden zu trinken wie ein König der Goldpfennige. Doch endlich kam die Zeit, dass nach dem Trinken und der Völlerei des Mannes, endlich das Geld zu Ende ging. Was nun anfangen? Wo Geld bekommen? Da sah er, dass der Wirt der Dienstmagd ihr Gehalt bezahlte, den sie in einen Lappen gewickelt, unter das

Stroh ihres Bettes steckte. In seiner Branntweingier, um seinen Vater zu restaurieren, schlich er sich zum Bett der Magd, nahm von dort das Geld der armen Dienerin, kaufte viel Branntwein, trank selbst und gab auch seinen Kneipfreunden freudlichst zu trinken.

Zuletzt kam er gegen Abend nach Hause, drang mit Gewalt zu der Frau eines anderen Mannes, der im selben Hause wohnte, aber noch nicht zu Hause war. Als er gerade bei dieser schrecklichen Sündentat war, kam der andere Mann zufällig gerade zur Tür hinein und den Notschrei seiner Frau hörend, lief er ihr zur Hilfe. Da ergriff der Betrunkene einen Holzseicht aus der Ecke und schlug den anderen Mann so stark auf den Kopf dass dieser, entseelt, niederfiel und tot liegen blieb.

Darauf lief die Frau mit grossem Geschrei und Weinen in das Dorf, von wo dann Menschen kamen und alles so fanden, wie die Frau erzählt hatte. Dann sah der Mann wohl was er gemacht hatte, als man ihm als Mörder und Räuber an Händen und Füßen band und am nächsten Morgen früh vor das Gutsgericht brachte, von wo er natürlich vor ein grösseres Gericht geschickt wurde, der ihm nach Gesetz und Urteil als Mörder, für sein ganzes Leben nach Sibirien verurteilte, damit er da Gold grabend, über die Macht des Branntweins nachdenken könnte.

Ach, wenn doch alle Trinker daran dächten und sich zeitig von der Macht des Branntweins und den Banden des "Bayrischen" befreien. Wenn dieses auch nicht alle nach Sibirien befördert, aber ein unglückliches Leben bringt das Trinken doch mit sich und zuletzt schickt es sie in das feurige Verderben, denn "Trinker sollen nicht in das Reich Gottes kommen."

## 2. MS B 72. 191 (35): "Die vier Gebote des alten Bösen":

Ein blutarmer Mann kehrte aus dem Walde vom Holzhacken nach Hause, die Ast auf der Schulter. Er seufzte schwer und tief: "Ach über das Leben der Armen. Arbeite von ganzer Kraft, aber hungrig bist du dabei doch. Es ist klar dass Gott die Arbeit von mir, Armen, nicht segnet." Auf einmal erschien aus dem dunklen Walde ein schwarzes altes Männlein und blieb auf dem Wege vor dem Manne stehen wie ein Pfosten. Der arme Mann erschrak sehr. Das schwarze Männlein sprach freundlich: "Hörst du, armer Mann, warte ein wenig, ich will dir was sagen. Willst du reich werden? Du siehst ja selbst dass deine Arbeit dich nicht ernährt. Erfülle meine Gebote, dann wirst du ohne Arbeit reich und kannst ohne Sorgen leben. Ich habe nicht zehn Gebote, wie die Anderen, ich habe deren nur vier. Erfülle auch nur ein Gebot, ich bin auch damit zufrieden und gebe dir dafür allerlei irdisches Gut." Diese lockende Rede war dem armen Mann lieb zu hören. Er fragte: "Sag' denn, welches sind diese vier Gebote?" Das alte Männlein, niemand anderes als der alte Böse, antwortete: "Fange an zu trinken. Das zweite Gebot: Fange an zu stehlen. Das dritte Gebot: Geh' zur Frau eines anderen. Das vierte Gebot: Fange an andere Menschen zu töten." Der arme Mann hörte ihm in Gedanken zu. Als der alte Böse



ihm diese vier Gebote vorgelesen hatte, sagte er: "Nun, wähle! Ein Gebot kannst du erfüllen, wenn du reich werden willst und aus deiner blutigen Armut in einen besseren Zustand kommen willst." Der arme Mann dachte und dachte—und kam endlich zum Entschluss: "Das Töten eines Menschen ist eine grosse und blutige Sünde. Zur Frau eines anderen zu gehen ist eine schreckliche Unflätigkeit und furchtbare Sünde; das Stehlen ist auch eine schreckliche Sache; das Trinken—ja damit schade ich niemanden, ich kann im Wirtshaus trinken wieviel Herzensbegehrt—wen schadet's." Dann sagte er zum Bösen: "Gut! Ich werde dein erstes Gebot erfüllen, doch ich habe kein Geld zum Trinken." Der alte Böse antwortete: "Dafür sollst du nicht sorgen brauchen." Er machte mit den Händen einige Bewegungen in der Luft, da waren seine beiden Hände voll Silber und Gold, welches er dem armen Manne in den Schooss warf, ihm zurufend: "Da hast du Geld genug. Wenn dieses zu Ende geht, werde ich dir schon wieder neues besorgen." Der alte Böse verschwand.

Der arme Mann ging mit dem viele.. Gelde am Wirtshause vorüber. Er hörte von da das Lärmen und Schreien der Trinker, ihren frohen, lustigen Gesang, ihr Jubeln und Tanzen. Er ging auch hinein. Da er Geld hatte, nahm er für den Anfang gegen seine grosse Mühe ein halbes Hof Brantwein und fing an zu trinken. Freunde waren um ihn wie Mücken. Er bestellte ein zweites halbes Hof, und als dieses auch zu Ende war,—ein drittes. So tranken sie bis zur Mitternacht, dann war des Mannes Geld aus. Da sah er dass der Wirt zehn Rubel in die Tasche eines am Nagel hängenden Ueberrockes steckte. Er stahl es, und hatte Geld um mit seinen Freunden wieder zu kneipen. Als auch dieses Geld aus war, ging der Mann in der zweiten Nacht nach Hause, und dort gleich zu der Frau eines anderen Mannes, der gerade von einer Fahrt zurückkehrte, ertappte den Verbrecher und fing mit ihm an zu zanken. Der Mann geriet darauf in Wut, er ergriff aus der Ecke ein Holz und schlug damit den Mann auf den Schädel. Der Schädel brach. Der Mann starb sogleich. Die vier Gebote des alten Bösen waren so durch die Erfüllung des ersten, des Trinkens, alle erfüllt worden. Nach einigen Tagen wurde der Mann als Mörder und Räuber nach Sibirien verschickt. Da hatte er den vom alten Bösen versprochenen Lohn.

O, ihr Trinker, ihr Trinker. Das erste Gebot des alten Bösen ist das Trinken, und dadurch werden auch alle seine anderen Gebote erfüllt. Erschreckt euch das nicht?

3. MS A 9. 216 (201): "Soll eine Sünde begehen, begeht aber drei":

Es lebte einmal ein frommer alter Junggeselle, der in seinem Leben noch nie gesündigt hatte, denn er war sehr fromm und gottesfürchtig und hütete sich auch vor der kleinsten Sünde. Wie er so schon recht alt geworden war, und noch immer nicht gesündigt hatte, da wurde ihm in Traume gesagt, dass er vor dem Tode doch einmal sündigen müsse, sonst könne er nicht sterben.

(Wer keine Sünde begehe, dem gäbe, nach der Volkssage, Gott selbst eine Sünde, die er vor dem Tode begehen müsse; sonst sei es nicht möglich zu sterben.) Ihm wurden drei Sünden vorgelegt, von denen er selbst eine zum Begehen auswählen sollte. Diese Sünden waren: sich einmal ordentlich zu betrinken, oder die Ehe zu brechen, oder einen Menschen zu töten. Der Mann dachte lange nach, bevor er eine auswählte, nämlich die Sünde des Trinkens, weil er dachte, dass dieses wohl die kleinste und am leichtesten zu begehende Sünde sei. Er ging dann in das Wirtshaus und betrank sich das erste Mal im Leben recht gründlich. Als er jetzt mit benebeltem Kopfe und schwankenden Schrittes vom Wirtshaus heim ging, führte sein Weg ihn an einer Käte vorüber, wo eine Kätnerin wohnte deren Lebensweise und Sitten im Dorfe viel Gesprächstoff gaben. Da dachte der betrunkene fromme Mann: "Ich habe wohl noch nie bei einer Frau geschlafen, aber was Wunder, wenn ich auch diesen Spass noch vor dem Tode durchmachen— und solch eine Kätnerin ist hier ja auch zu haben."—Er trat auch in die Hütte ein, wo die Frau ihn recht liebenswürdig empfing und sich sehr freute dass auch der fromme Mann zu ihr zu Besuch gekommen sei. Wie sie nun da beide mit dieser schlechten Kätnerin im Bette waren, kam ihr Mann, der im Dorfe arbeitete, nach Hause. Sobald er den frommen Mann bei seiner Frau sah, geriet er in höchste Wut und wollte ihm totschiessen. Aber der fromme Mann war viel geschwinder, als der Kätner, ergriff eine kleine Bank aus der Ecke der Hütte und schlug den Kätner auf den Kopf, worauf dieser sofort tot niederfiel. Nun war auch der Kopf des frommen Mannes vom Schnapsdunst klar geworden und beim Anblick seiner Sünden, die er begangen hatte, schämte und fürchtete er sich sehr und entfloh. Er hatte wohl zuerst nur eine Sünde begangen, daraus waren aber drei grosse Sünden gewachsen.

Das Branntwein trinken ist die allergrösste Sünde, und ihm entspringen alle anderen Sünden.

#### 4. MS C 13. 402 (1):

In alter Zeit kam der Böse zu einem Manne, fing mit ihm an zu handeln, und wollte ihn zu Bösem verlocken und stellte ihm Fragen vor: "Willst du stehlen? Willst du zu der Frau eines anderen Mannes gehen oder willst du anfangen zu trinken?" Der Mann dachte: "Wenn ich stehle, dann werde ich in's Gefängnis gebracht,—wenn ich zur Frau eines anderen gehe, dann werde ich geprügelt; aber wenn ich Branntwein trinke, dann fehlt mir nichts." Er sagte dem Bösen auch dass er das Trinken wähle. Aber was sprang dann der Alte vor Freude, als er diese Worte hörte. Er wusste wohl, dass der Mann jetzt zu allem fähig ist und war es nicht so! Der Mann wurde Trinker, wurde dann Verbrecher und später auch Dieb und bekam Prügel auch und wurde ins Gefängnis geworfen auch.

#### 5. MS A 1. 401 (3):

Einmal berieten sich die Teufel, wie die Menschen doch etwas jünger sterben würden. Der Erste sagte: "Man muss die Pest auf die Erde

schicken." Die anderen Teufel sagten: "Dieser Rat hilft nicht, denn die Pest lässt noch Menschen nach, die doch alt werden." Dann sagte der zweite Teufel: "Vielleicht hilft meine Weisheit? Wir müssen Krieg und Hungersnot auf die Erde schicken." Die anderen sagten wiederum: "Auch dieser Rat hilft nicht; der verdirbt das Land." Der dritte Teufel sagte: "Aber vielleicht hilft meine Weisheit. Bauen wir eine Schnapsbrennerei. Dadurch verlieren die Menschen ihre Gesundheit und Kraft und fangen an jünger zu sterben." Die anderen Teufel waren damit zufrieden und ehren diesen einen Teufel jetzt als den höchsten und weisesten, der auf diese Weisheit kam.

Einmal traf ein Teufel einen frommen Mann, machte ihn stolz auf sein Geld und sagte ihm: "Du hast Geld wie Quark. Was willst du jetzt am liebsten tun—trinken oder huren oder stehlen, lügen oder betrügen?" Der Mann dachte etwas nach und sagte dann: "Am liebsten fange ich an zu trinken, trinken kann ich für mein Geld." Der Teufel sagte: "Du bist jetzt wirklich ein Mann, weil du nur wenigstens etwas versprochen hast. Du bist reich, du kannst trinken und lasse keinen nicht dürsten, der dir mit trockenem Munde zuschaut." Der Mann fing an zu trinken und im trunkenen Mute zu huren. Endlich ging sein Geld zu Ende, bald hatte er kein Geld mehr um Branntwein zu kaufen. Dann fing der Mann an zu stehlen, zu lügen und andere zu betrügen, wo er nur die Möglichkeit hatte. So hatte der Mann durch das Trinken alle die Aufgaben erfüllt, die der alte Böse ihm vorgelegt hatte. Darum hüte sich jederman vor Branntweintrinken, denn das ist das erste Netz, welches der Teufel den Menschen ausbreitet.

Before concluding it is necessary to examine hastily a tale with a long history which has been frequently associated and confused with that of the hermit's three sins. In the version of the *Vie des anciens pères* it is known as "Coq"; in the *exempla* of Jaques de Vitry it is given the title "De heremita cui dyabolus in specie hominis ministrabat, et quomodo decepit eum."<sup>1</sup> The substance of the *exemplum* is as follows:

The Devil had long sought to delude a hermit and observing that the hermit was finding difficulty in waking in the morning, he suggested the pur-

<sup>1</sup> *Jaques de Vitry* (ed. Frenken, *Quellen u. Unters. sur lat. Philo.*, V, 1, Munich, 1914, pp. 111-12, No. 25 and see also p. 61; ed. Greven, *Samml. mittellat. Texte*, 9, pp. 21-22, No. 25). The version in *Bibl. nat. fonds lat. 18134*, cited as A.N. 7 by Frenken, is summarized by P. Meyer, in *Les contes moralisés de Nicole Bozon*, 1886, p. 297. In an abridgement of the work of Etienne de Bourbon, preserved in a British Museum manuscript (Add. 28682), this story is ascribed to Jaques de Vitry; see Herbert, *Cat. of Rom.*, III, 87, No. 52.

It is clear that Jaques de Vitry's tale is a combination of two themes, for Bozon tells the episode of the cock and hen independently; see *Contes moralisés*, pp. 186-88, 297 and Etienne's version, *loc. cit.*

chase of a cock. The cock crowed for some time and when it stopped the Devil suggested the further purchase of a hen. By the example of the cock and the hen the hermit was led into temptation: he fell with a girl, killed her to conceal the crime, and then realizing the enormity of his sins, prayed to God for forgiveness.

Parallel to Jaques de Vitry, but apparently neither his source nor derived from him, is the contemporary Old French narrative in the *Vie des anciens pères*, termed "Coq" and having the title "De l'ermite que le deable conchia du coc et de la geline."<sup>1</sup> The French tale has no reawakening of the girl in answer to the hermit's prayers, and is therefore, thinks Frenken, unoriginal, for the Italian prose and verse legends of St. Albano and St. Chrysostom contain the conclusion with the death of the girl. Juan Ruiz' version in the *Libro de Buen Amor*,<sup>2</sup> which was finally brought to an end in 1343, must however, be derived from the tradition represented by the *Vie des anciens pères*, for it contains both the incident of the cock and the hen—somewhat abbreviated, to be sure—and there is no mention of the resuscitation of the girl. It is entirely possible that the Arch-priest of Hita took the story from the French compilation, either in a French or a Spanish version, inasmuch as the somewhat earlier *Castigos é Documentos de Don Rey Sancho* frankly acknowledge their indebtedness as regards this particular story to "las historias de las vidas de los santos padres."<sup>3</sup> Also analogous to the narrative in the Old French version and pretty certainly tracing its origin from the same source is the *Leggenda divota del Romito de' Pulcini*, first published in 1572.<sup>4</sup> D'Ancona, the editor, remarks that it is not derived "dalla vita dei Santi padri"; but gives no reason for his opinion. Inasmuch as it appears regularly in the Old French *Vie des anciens pères* (but not in the *Vitas Patrum*), there would seem to be no difficulty about its source.

<sup>1</sup> Méon, *Nouveau recueil de fabliaux*, II (1823), 362 ff.; Legrand d'Aussy, IV (1779-81), 134 ff., V, 179; *Romania*, XIII (1884), 240, No. 64; Tobler, *Jahrb. f. rom. u. eng. Lit.*, VII (1866), 419. Méon's text is 120 lines longer than Tobler's.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Cejador y Frauca (*Clásicos Castellanos*, 14), I (Madrid, 1913), 195-98; ed. Janer (*Bibl. de aut. esp.*, 57), p. 243; ed. J. Ducamin (*Bibl. méridionale*, Ser. 1, 6), 1901, str. 528-47.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibl. de aut. esp.*, LI, 163 (*Castigos*, c. xxxix).

<sup>4</sup> See d'Ancona, *Poemetti pop. ital.*, pp. 6-14, where the *Leggenda* is reprinted from his *Due farse del sec. XVI*, Bologna, 1882, pp. 130 ff.

Into an examination of the other stories with which the *exemplum* of the three sins has been associated by commentators it does not seem profitable to enter. The results of the foregoing exhibit may now be brought together. The wide dissemination in Europe of the *exemplum* started presumably with its inclusion in the Old French *Vie des anciens pères* in the latter half of the thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup> From that time until now the story has been widely known and told. The obvious unfamiliarity of the Italian *novellieri* is strange; I have not noted its appearance in one of the many Italian collections. The folk-versions seem to be more or less remote descendants of "Ivresse" and presuppose no other source. The advance of the story into Poland and Esthonia shows the influence of Western Europe on folk-tradition in those countries, a familiar fact. The *exemplum* rises once, in the hands of Lessing, to the antechamber of literature.

In the Near East the story was told in two forms, both still current as folk-story, the Hārūt-Mārūt versions and the legend of Barṣāṣā. The former will be passed over for the time being. The Barṣāṣā stories containing the familiar triad of drunkenness, adultery (fornication), and murder, with the added motive of the sinner's worship of the Devil made their way by translation into seventeenth-century Europe and maintained themselves in literary circles until given final and permanent form in *The Monk* and *Die Eliziere des Teufels*. These stories, although current among the Mohammedan folk, never became popular in Europe. The history of the legend of Barṣāṣā is rather obscure and difficult to trace. Perhaps it will be simpler to go backward. Within the present generation the story of the three sins has been told in Africa in a form which does not vary

<sup>1</sup> This dissemination did not begin in Spain and spread thence to the North, as B. Heller (p. 672: "Die Erzählung drang durch Spanien in die Nationalliteraturen der romanischen Völker") would have it. The version he ascribes to Don Juan Manuel, i.e., *El Libro de los Enziemplos*, has long been recognized as a translation of the *Alphabetum Narrationum*. Although the *exemplum* in question is not found in the Latin *Alphabetum* there is no reason for believing it to be Spanish. By the time of the appearance of the *Libro* the *exemplum* had become part of the general stock in trade of the preaching orders, for it is found in the contemporary *Speculum Laicorum* and in a French translation of the *Alphabetum*. Juan Ruiz must have taken the story in the *Libro de Buen Amor* from the *Vie des anciens pères*; at any rate the version of the *Vie* was known in Spain before the publication of the *Libro de Buen Amor*; and finally Juan Ruiz' tale is not the same thing as the *exemplum*. The third and last early Spanish allusion is the passage in the *Libro de Apollonio*, and this is so brief that it merely proves that the story was then known in Spain. The story is not more popular in Spain than elsewhere and it is not found there in forms which can be shown to antedate those current farther north either in regard to structure or in regard to time.

essentially from that current in Europe. It is rather widely distributed along the east coast for it has been reported as current among the Suaheli and farther south in Zanzibar. There is no reason for thinking that these versions are of European origin. And any doubt on this point is put at rest when one recalls that the legend of Barşışâ came into Europe with full acknowledgment of its indebtedness to a Turkish source, the *Forty Veziers* of the fifteenth century. About this time, that is to say the middle of the fifteenth century, we are told that the story of the three sins was a hackneyed theme in Turkish literature. The story is, therefore, a familiar one in the Levant where it appears in forms with greater or less resemblance to the European *exemplum* while in Europe all existing versions can without much effort be referred to a single prototype, the *exemplum* of the three sins. According there can be no reason for doubting that the story of the three sins came from the East to Europe, although the route is not entirely clear.

On recalling the legend of Barşışâ in detail once more it will be noticed that it exhibits some striking differences from the *exemplum* of the three sins, and by considering these it is possible to push farther back in the antecedent history of the story. In the legend of Barşışâ the number *three* has receded into the background, the fall of the Turkish holy man exemplifies the frailty of man and not, as in the European and later Arabic texts, the dangers of wine-bibbing and the succession of sins that develop therefrom. In other words the history of the *exemplum* in Europe deals with a narrative underscoring the regular progression from drunkenness to murder, a narrative which is, notwithstanding the many minor variations I have noted, practically the same from its first appearance in the thirteenth century down to the latest collection of folk-tales. The interest hinges on explaining how the hermit got into the scrape, how the Devil was able to exert pressure on him. The Levantine and Mohammedan versions on the other hand include recent texts of popular origin which do not differ greatly from the European stories and then prior thereto a series of tales which are closely linked together by the employment of the same name, Barşışâ, and which diverge, as we go back, increasingly from the outline of the *exemplum*. The interest here turns on the illustrating of the Devil's success in tempting man.

To attempt to trace the story farther is a rather vain task. The early versions of the legend of Baršišâ do not display the individuality characteristic of the *exemplum*. Bernhard Heller points out that the earliest versions of the tale told by Al Samarqandî may be found in the *Tafsîr* of Tabarî (839-921) in explanation of Surah 59, 16; but here they are no longer connected with the name Baršišâ. These as the earliest attainable forms of the story I quote from Heller:

(1) A hermit served God for 60 years. Satan lay long in wait for him, clouded the senses of a girl, recommended her sisters to send her to the hermit. The hermit overpowered her, killed, and concealed her. On the threshold of the court he acknowledged Satan, but the Devil denied him.

(2) The hermit sinned with a shepherdess. Satan made the crime known to her four sisters by a dream. All were surprised to learn that the dreams were identical and demanded the punishment of the hermit from the king. He was denied by Satan.

(3) Three brothers went on a journey and left their sister with a hermit. He buried his victim under a tree, etc.

(4) The hermit has power over the Jinn. He sinned with an insane girl and in prison gave himself up to Satan.

Beyond these, the oldest known versions of the story which developed in the fulness of time into the *exemplum* of the three sins, it is probably impossible to go without entering upon the discussion of a different story, the incident of the saint's (hermit's) temptation and thereby upon a hagiological study.

The story of Hārūt and Mārūt has been passed over for the time being, and there is no space for an elaborate examination of it. The three most significant studies of the tale, those by Max Grünbaum, Enno Littmann, and Bernhard Heller, are entirely independent of one another and are far from exhausting the subject which has the most surprising ramifications. The established facts seem to be (1) that the Hārūt-Mārūt story is ultimately of Persian origin; (2) that it is intimately associated with the mythology of the stars, especially of the planet Venus; and finally (3) that the story has been much modified in its various forms, having attracted to itself a considerable amount of extraneous matter. The simplest version of the story, which Heller evidently considers very much like the primitive form of the myth, is as follows:

The angels Hārūt and Mārūt laid suit to Zuharat, a Persian beauty. Zuharat learned from them the magic name of God, by virtue of which the

ascended to Heaven. She uttered it, ascended, and took her place among the stars, i.e., as Venus.

This may be compared with the greatly expanded version I have printed above, but there is no occasion to discuss the differences.<sup>1</sup> In point of time this material long antedates the earliest mention of the legend of Barșîșâ and B. Heller holds (p. 671) that the legend is an outgrowth of it. But this complex of mythology and hagiology was the parent of more than the *exemplum* of three sins; to it may be traced the legends of saints tempted by devils, and particularly such narratives as the legends of SS. Jehan Paulus,<sup>2</sup> Albano, John Chrysostomus, and Giovanni Boccadoro. And these legends others have promised to examine.

The following points have, I think, been established: the *exemplum* of the three sins is a distinct and readily recognizable story which has maintained itself in Europe for seven centuries, to this *exemplum* there are Levantine parallels which, the farther back one traces them, become involved in greater and greater obscurity and which tend toward increasing disintegration and instability as regards the incidents composing the *exemplum*. Thus one may justly say that the whole history of the *exemplum* has here been laid before us, from its evolvement out of a chaos of hagiological incidents down to its fixation in literature.<sup>3</sup>

ARCHER TAYLOR

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, ST. LOUIS

<sup>1</sup> This legend was taken over by the Jews, see B. Heller, "La chute des anges Schem-hazai, Quzze et Azaël," *Rev. des études juives*, LXI (1910), 202-12.

<sup>2</sup> Important as being the first vernacular version; see *Rev. des lang. rom.*, LVI (1913), 425-45.

<sup>3</sup> Since this article has been set Professor George L. Hamilton has sent me still another version, which is pretty certainly the source of the tale in the *Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry* (on which see above, p. 69). It is reprinted by V. Hasak (*Die Himmelstrasse oder die Evangelien des Jahres in Erklärungen für das christliche Volk nach d. deutschen Plenarien*, Regensburg, 1882, pp. 139-40) from *Spiegel menschlicher Behaltunz*, 1500, fol. lxxv, "Ueber das Evangelium an Quinquagesimae, Lukas XVIII." The *Spiegel* is the German version of the *Speculum salvationis humanae*; but, since the Latin text is not accessible to me, I cannot say whether it is to be found there. Characteristic of this version is the commission of all the mortal sins. The text is as follows: Vnd das haben wir ein urkund an einen Einsiedel, dem ward ein Geteiltes gegeben, weillich todsünd er wölte wählen. Da sprach er, er wolte lieber truncken werden, dann das er ein mord begleng, oder unkeuschheit thät. Und darnach do er truncken ward, do begleng er die todsünden all mit einander, und auch ein mord. Und wie das käme, das findet man "in miraculis."



## SOME PROVENÇAL ETYMOLOGIES

### *enclutge* OR *encluge*

The word *inclusor* is recorded in Du Cange, Vol. III, page 798, as meaning a goldsmith or one who sets gems. Examples of its use may be found in the following: "Juxta istam sit disposita alia cella, ubi aurifices vel *inclusores* seu vitrei magistri convenient ad faciendam ipsam artem" (*Guidonis Discipl. Farfensis*, cap. 1). In the *Vocabulary* of Joannus de Janua and Guillelmus Bretoni we also find the word *inclusor* defined as: "qui aliquid *includit* sicut auri faber qui *includit* gemmam in anulo." A number of other examples may be found in Du Cange. It is apparent from this that the verb *includo* itself was a technical term used of making a gold or other metal setting for a gem. Now the commonest tool of a goldsmith or any other smith is his anvil or *incus* > *incudo*. In the case of a goldsmith this would invariably be of small size, and such a diminutive as *\*incudicum* could well have been used. If the smith himself were an *inclusor*, if one of his most frequent operations is to be expressed by *includo*, if he did his work upon an *\*incudicum*, is it not reasonable to suppose that this last could be readily influenced and changed to *\*includicum*? Another word which could have helped in this analogy is *enclastre* which is defined in Du Cange, also on page 798 of Vol. III as: "*enclastre* dici videtur vel pala quae *includit*, vel lapellus seu gemma quae *includitur*." *\*Includicum* develops regularly into *enclutge* or *encluge* as *medicus* does to *metge* or *mege*. It remains to prove that the goldsmith's art was a widespread one, but this I do not consider necessary. But even so, the armorer too must have had frequent occasion to use this same word *includo* in the foregoing connection. How many swords were inlaid and set with gems and other precious things—even relics as the famous sword of Charlemagne would seem to suggest, which according to the *Chanson de Roland* and other epics was inlaid with a piece of the "true lance." If this explanation of the inserted *l* holds good, the French *enclume* can also be explained by the use of a different suffix.

*soanar*, "TO REJECT"

There is in Vulgar Latin a suffix *-anus* which is capable of making an adjective out of a preposition. The most notable example is probably <sup>1</sup>*\*superanus* > Tusc. *soprano*; Fr. *souverain* (> Ital. *sovrano*), Prov. *sobran*, Span. *sobrano*.

Now there could very easily have existed a similarly made form *\*sub-anus*, based on the preposition *sub*, meaning that which is "under quality," "under the average," "rejected." A verb formed from this on the model of the first conjugation would give *\*subanare* > *\*soβanar* > *soanar* (the bilabial spirant being regularly absorbed by the preceding labial vowel, as is the case with a bilabial spirant before the accent).

The first objection which one might put forward to this theory is: What has become of the intervening noun or adjective *\*soβanus* upon which the verb was made? There does exist a noun *soan* in Provençal which is commonly believed to be a postverbal to *soanar*. There are two examples of it in Appel's *Provenzalische Chrestomathie* (to use a convenient reference):

Sel qui no val ni ten pro per semblan,  
pro ni valen no's tanh que hom l'apel,  
ni dreiturier, quan met dreg *en soan*,  
ni vertadier, quan vertat non espel;

[*Peire Cardenal. 77. 41.*]

lo nom de ̣la donna<sup>c</sup> desman,  
que'l nom pert, pos met *en soan*  
cavalhiers, don lo noms li sors.

[*Lo Dalfin d' Alvernhe and Perdigo. 95. 34.*]

There is no legitimate reason why this *soan* should not represent the noun *\*soβanus* upon which *\*soβanare* was made.

*olifan*

Meyer-Lübke in Part III of his *Etymologisches Wörterbuch* gives the Provençal forms *olifan* and *aurif(l)an* as derived from *elephas*, No. 2841. A very common combination in ancient art was the so-called *chryselephantine* from the Greek χρυσελεφάντινος, that is of gold and ivory. The famous Phidian statues, the Olympian

<sup>1</sup> See W. Meyer-Lübke's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch* under *\*superanus*.

Zeus, the Argive Hera, and the Athena Parthenos were made of this material. Since ivory was also used quite freely during the early Middle Ages, it is natural to suppose that it was fitted together in the old traditional way, with gold or some other precious metal. Indeed in that passage of the *Roland*, beginning at line 2295, where Roland has just broken his *olifant* on a pagan head, we find:

Fenduz en est mes olifanz el gros,  
Ça jus en est li cristals et li ors.

In early French and Provençal, then, we might reasonably suppose such a form as *\*aúriéléphant*, which would be somewhat similar to the formation *ori-flamme* (*\*auriflamma*). This would become successively *\*auriléphant* > *\*aúrilfant* > *aúrif(l)an* (which is one of the forms recorded). In Northern France this would have given the form *orifant* or *olifant*, and when carried to the Provençal districts this form as it seems would have eventually supplanted such a formation as *aurif(l)an*. The word *olifan* would mean therefore, if exactly translated, *of gold and ivory* instead of *of ivory* alone.

URBAN T. HOLMES, JR.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY



## REVIEWS AND NOTICES

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*Le Mémoire de Mahelot, Laurent et d'autres Décorateurs.* Publié par  
H. C. LANCASTER. Paris: Champion, 1920. Pp. 147.

All students of the French drama will be grateful to Professor Lancaster for the publication of this valuable monograph. During the seventeenth century the stage decorators of the Hôtel de Bourgogne (and then of the Comédie Française) kept a written account of the plays performed on its stage and of the various "properties" used for such plays. This account, of which the first "complete" edition lies before us, is called the *Mémoire de Laurent Mahelot et de Michel Laurent*, in honor of the only two collaborators of the manuscript whose names we know. The manuscript itself contains the titles of 268 plays, the stage setting and costuming for 192 of these, and drawings illustrating the scenery of 47 out of the 192. The importance of such a document is obvious; as Lancaster observes: "Sans elle on est exposé à regarder le théâtre de Corneille et de Racine d'un point de vue livresque, un peu comme les critiques de la Renaissance ont compris le théâtre grec." Henceforth there will be no excuse for this rather frequent mistake; the Classical French drama owes its successful dramaturgic form not only to Aristotelian "rules" but also, and perhaps primarily, to the practical exigencies of the stage. This has long been the theory of Rigal, a theory which the *Mémoire* enables Lancaster to corroborate.

In an excellent Introduction (pp. 7-33), Lancaster gives the main facts concerning the authors of the *Mémoire*, the periods in the history of the drama which it covers, and the significance of the scenery and settings which it describes.

The bulk of the manuscript is by three persons, of whom the first and the third are respectively Mahelot and Laurent. Mahelot begins the "account" with a record of the years 1633-34, so fruitful in the production of plays (p. 71). Having determined these dates for the first collaborator, Lancaster points out incidentally that the *Mélite* mentioned by Mahelot is not the well-known comedy by Corneille but a tragi-comedy by Rampalle, entitled *Bélinde* (1630), in which there is a *Mélite* whom Mahelot took for the title heroine. The interesting fact, however, is that Mahelot gives the list of plays which were then in the repertory of the Hôtel de Bourgogne, many of which had not yet been printed. Thus Lancaster is able to date for this period the following plays: Durval's *Agarite*, Beys' *Céline* and *Jaloux sans sujet*, Rayssiguier's *Calerie*, Benserade's *Heureuse Constance*, and Rotrou's

*Amélie*. Further, it becomes clear that a given theater had the exclusive right to a play until it was to be printed.

The second collaborator on the *Mémoire* gives no descriptions of plays; he is anonymous and confines himself to a list of seventy-one titles, belonging, as Lancaster shows, to the years 1646-47. But this list shows us that the early, irregular plays of Rotrou, Scudéry, and Du Ryer were no longer being performed, while the more regular drama, including Corneille, Mairêt, the *Visionnaires* of Desmaretz, and the *Ménechmes* of Rotrou, was now in vogue.

Laurent, the third collaborator, begins with forty-nine descriptions, belonging to January-November, 1678, and these are followed by seventy-five additional descriptions, some by himself and some by other unknown persons. The outstanding feature of this section is the mention of plays given at the Hôtel de la Rue Guénégaud after the union of its troupe, in 1680, with that of the Hôtel de Bourgogne (the Comédie Française). Thus the *Mémoire* has in reality four parts, of which Lancaster gives a convenient tabular view on page 32.

It is clear that the first and third parts of the *Mémoire* have the greatest general interest. The first, which contains the forty-nine facsimile illustrations of the *Mémoire*, gives us a clear idea of the multiplex stage-setting, so well adapted to the romanesque tragi-comedy that forms the link between the medieval drama and the plays of Corneille, Racine, and Molière. While the third part is devoid of such illustrations, the descriptions it gives show just where the "unities" triumphed and where not; and in the case of the *Cid*, for example, instead of the simultaneous representation of four localities, as in 1636 or 1637, the directions for the stage now read: "[Le] théâtre est une chambre à 4 porte[s]. Il faut un fauteuil(le) pour le Roy." Thus, with the *Mémoire* in hand, the student should be able to reconstruct, in its main outlines, the history of the Classical stage.

The more significant points in that history are brought by Lancaster himself (pp. 33-45). In the first place, it is shown that in the beginning the Hôtel de Bourgogne had a stage surrounded symmetrically by an average of five "compartments" (the number varied from three to seven.) As it was frequently impossible for an actor to be heard in the particular compartment in which his action was placed, the general practice was that he emerged from his compartment and stepped into the center of the stage (left vacant for this purpose) where all of the spectators could hear him. To produce a simplification, Mahelot had indicated two methods, realized by his successors, especially by Laurent. Either the stage-manager made use of so-called *fermes* by hiding a compartment beneath a curtain representing a change-of-scene (see *Calerie*, mentioned above), or he eliminated all compartments except one, which was sufficiently enlarged to occupy the entire stage. Hence it happens that the *Cocher supposé*, played in 1684, still has the stage

direction that "*une ferme s'ouvre pour faire voir la chambre*," whereas, at the same time, most of the successors of Molière employ a single *tableau*, often in the form of the *palais à volonté* as exemplified by Corneille.

The second important point made by Lancaster is that the unified *tableau* came to the French largely from the ancients, through the medium of the Italian Pastoral. Mairet, a practical writer, had imitated the Italians. Doubtless, the critics, especially Chapelain, were also a strong influence for dramatic unity. But it was mainly the representation of regular plays, written in direct imitation of ancient and Italian models, that led to the simplification in question. We must agree with Lancaster that the "unities," powerful as they were, never held complete sway: the *Comte d'Essex*, a tragedy by Thomas Corneille in 1678, still calls for changes of scenery. On the other hand, the tendency was toward simplification, and Lancaster might fittingly have mentioned the preoccupation the elder Corneille reveals in his early *Examens* as to the unity of place—a preoccupation which again may have been due to practical stage considerations.

Unfortunately there is no room to dwell here on the many other matters—costuming, individual properties, artistic qualities—upon which the *Mémoire* throws light. Suffice it to add that Professor Lancaster's edition is a model (in everything except binding) of what such an edition should be. The text is clearly and accurately printed, the Introduction and the Notes are adequate and to the point, and the arrangement of the volume makes it handy for reference. The material aspect of the book owes much to its progressive French publisher, M. Champion, who has thus again shown his interest in the products of American scholarship.

WILLIAM A. NITZE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Forschungen zur Artusepik: I. Ivainstudien.* By RUDOLPH ZENKER.

(Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, No. 70.)

Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1921. Pp. viii+356.

The value of attempting a critical appraisal of so important a question as the origin of the *Ivain* is self-evident. Where conflicting views abound it is especially worth while to take stock, particularly when the reviewer is as gracious and open-minded a person as Professor Zenker. But the present volume is more than a mere survey. It is divided into three clear-cut parts: (1) a complete bibliography; (2) a discussion of the various theories as to the source of the Old French poem; and (3) an attempt to settle the relationship of the *Ivain* to the Welsh *Owain*. In this last part of his study Zenker agrees with A. C. L. Brown (*Romanic Review*, III) that the two works were derived from a common source, now lost; but he reaches

this conclusion after independent research, which enables him not only to confirm but to enrich Brown's arguments in several respects.

If there is one fact that stands out clearly after a perusal of Zenker's treatise, it is that the *Ivain* (like most of Chrétien de Troyes' romances) is a composite work, consisting of two—I should prefer to say "three"—fairly distinct strains. The most obvious strain is of course Chrétien's interpretation of his material in terms of chivalric romance—in short, the love-story. The second strain, pointed out too recently for Zenker to take account of it (see F. E. Guyer, *Romanic Review*, XII), is Chrétien's enrichment of his material with stylistic borrowings from Ovid and possibly Vergil. And, finally, there is the underlying material itself, beyond the peradventure of a doubt, an original folk-tale.

According to Brown, this folk-tale is of Celtic origin. The proof of this fact lies in the "scenario" of the *Ivain* with its well-developed Fairy Mistress theme and its otherworld appurtenances. This view Zenker accepts, although it should be noted that, while Brown repeatedly speaks of the folk-tale as "a Celtic fairy mistress story of the type of the Irish *Serglige Conculaind* and the Welsh 'Pwyll and Arawn'" (*Romanic Review*, III, 151), Zenker derives the folk-tale from "einer nicht erhaltenen irischen Erzählung von der Fahrt Cuchulinn's, des Haupthelden der älteren irischen Sage, in die andere Welt" (p. 169). In this case, clearly, Brown's statement is justified, whereas Zenker's is not. If the *Ivain* were actually derived from a version of the Cuchulinn legend, we should expect it to contain actual vestiges of borrowing from the *Serglige* (such as names, incidents, and so on), and that is not the case. The *Serglige* furnishes the closest parallel to the "scenario" of the *Ivain* that has yet been found, a "scenario" found in other Fairy Mistress tales of the Irish and the Welsh; hence Brown's contention that the type of story represented by the *Serglige* is also the type of story found in the *Ivain*.

But another type of story paralleling the *Ivain* is the Arician Diana myth and, in part at least, the Phrygian tale of Cybele and Attis. The former was pointed out by me (*Modern Philology*, III and VII) and the latter by Settegast (*Antike Elemente im altfranzösischen Merowingerzyklus*, 1907, and *Das Polyphemmärchen in altfranzösischen Gedichten*, 1917). Both of these tales are discussed by Zenker, who, besides adducing all available material, shows that the "vegetation" rites underlying them reappear in the following details of the *Ivain*: (1) the defense of the fountain, involving the challenge, the combat and the succession of "the slain by the slayer"; Esclados = the Rex Nemorensis (Diana story); (2) the sacred tree, whose branches are covered with song birds (Attis story); (3) the desertion, madness, and return of the lover (Attis story); (4) the *Dameisele sauvage* and the Giant Herdsman as parallel figures to *Silvanus* (Diana story) and to Pan (Cybele story); (5) the Forest of Broceliande and its fountain compared to the sacred Grove of Aricia and the spring *Egeria* (Diana story);



(6) the rain-making fountain compared with the fact that both Diana and Cybele have the power to make rain (Zenker, pp. 100 and 116); (7) the curious *Fil au Netun* (*Ivain*, ll. 5512 ff.) resembling in their armor and general behavior the ancient Kouretes and Korybantes, attached to the worship of Cybele (see now Miss Weston, *From Ritual to Romance*, p. 85).

When I wrote my last article on *Ivain* (1909) I was of the opinion that Chrétien, or rather the *conteur* who served as his immediate source, had retold a local Gallic fountain story (similar to the Diana story) in terms of a Celtic Fairy Mistress plot. Since the Fairy Mistress plot occurs in all of Chrétien's Arthurian romances except the *Cligès*, such a hypothesis is not unreasonable. At the same time, I tried to guard against error by concluding: "All I have sought to establish is that the kernel of the *Yvain* consists in the Defense of the Lady of the Fountain, the *theme* of the Arician Diana myth." On the other hand, Zenker now propounds the theory that since the oriental cults were carried westward by the Romans (see Cumont and others), we may assume that the Attis and Diana stories underlay the particular form of the *Serglige Conculaind* from which the *Ivain* was ultimately derived.

It is true Zenker expresses this view as a working hypothesis and not as an established fact. But even with this necessary reservation the theory seems to me unsound. As Brown has shown, a study of the stories connected with Cuchulinn show two facts as regards the source of the *Ivain*: (1) that it was an Otherworld-story; (2) that it was Celtic. Since the Welsh and the Bretons are Celts, and since Broceliande lies in Brittany, this source, whatever the ultimate origin of the story, probably was Welsh or Breton, i.e., before it was taken up by the *conteurs*. Hence if a vegetation-cult lay back of the source (and this seems probable), why go to Ireland to seek it rather than to Wales or Brittany? Fountain stories were common in Wales and Gaul (see *Modern Philology*, VII, and Hamilton, *Romanic Review*, II); they may have originated there in response to imported oriental cults; more likely they were due to a contamination of oriental cults with local forms of nature-worship. If Zenker will take account of the new material adduced by Miss Weston (*From Ritual to Romance*), he will realize more fully than at present the popular ritualistic elements in the Grail story (see *Modern Language Notes*, XXXV, 352 ff.). Some connection there is, too, between Wolfram's *Imâne von der Beifontane* (*Parzival*, Book III), the various *puelles as puits* of the Arthurian romances, and the *Imona* of the Poitou tablet transcribed by Jullian (*Revue Celtique*, XIX, 172). However this may be, the fact is that neither the Irish *Serglige* nor the Roman Diana story needs to have been an actual source of the *Ivain*; its origin is amply explained if we assume that it was derived from a Celtic (i.e., Welsh or Breton) folk-tale having otherworld, ritualistic characteristics—characteristics which the *Serglige* and the Diana myth help us to understand. It is this important conclusion that Zenker's treatise permits us to reach, and

until further new material is discovered no other conclusion seems to me possible.

As to the second part of Zenker's study, there is room to state only that he makes out an excellent case for Brown's theory "Of the Independent Character of the Welsh *Owain*." In arriving at this decision Zenker adduces material found not only in the *Mabinogion* but also in the Middle High German *Wolfdietrich*, Hartmann's *Iwein*, and Füetrer's *Iban* (about 1500). While several of his arguments are doubtless open to question, his main contention seems to me sound, particularly in view of Chrétien's method of making a *belle conjointure* (see Erec) out of the story-material he had at hand. In the Welsh the separate episodes are still woven loosely about the name of the hero, whereas in *Irain* we have a conscious artist's attempt to unite them into a connected whole. But true fairy stories can be told only by those who believe in them; this fact accounts for the marked inconsistencies of detail in which most of Chrétien's romances abound. In spite of this fact the *Irain* still is unmistakably the tale of

cele qui prist  
Celui qui son seignor ocist.

WILLIAM A. NITZE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*Die irische Helden- und Königsage bis zum siebenzehnten Jahrhundert.*

By RUDOLPH THURNEYSEN. Teil I und II. Halle (Saale):  
Max Niemeyer, 1921. Pp. xii+708.

*Die irische König- und Heldensage*, by Professor Rudolph Thurneysen, is the most significant work on the epic literature of Ireland that has appeared since O'Curry's well-known *Manners and Customs* and *Manuscript Materials*, published nearly a century ago. It admirably fulfils its purpose, which, as set forth by the author, is to investigate the methods of Irish saga writers and to facilitate the study of literary sources and derivatives by determining as far as possible the interrelations of the documents examined.

The volume under consideration is divided into two sections. The first discusses the manuscript sources, the chronology of early Irish literature, and the status of the poet in early Ireland; the second contains summaries of the chief sagas of the Ulster and allied cycles, and points out evidences of literary interdependence. Similar investigations of the Finn saga, the so-called Mythological Cycle, and the Irish redactions and translations of foreign romances are in preparation, but whether, under present conditions, they can be completed in the near future, is, in the author's opinion, doubtful.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Of the unpublished parts Professor Thurneysen writes: "Es soll . . . der Titel ja nicht etwa andere abhalten, den Teilen, die ich als III-V ausangesetzt hatte, ihre Arbeit zuzuwenden, und sie in meinem Sinn oder in anderer Gestaltung auszuführen" (p. iv). A study of the Finn saga along lines somewhat similar to those followed by Professor Thurneysen was begun at my suggestion several years ago by Professor R. D. Scott, of the University of Nebraska, and is now nearing completion.

The main body of Professor Thurneysen's book is occupied by a systematic account of the more important sagas of the Ulster and related cycles. For each saga the author gives a list of the manuscript sources, an indication of the date as estimated on the basis of linguistic or archaeological evidence, a careful analysis of the extant versions, and a discussion of the relation of the versions to each other and to other documents.

Whatever may have been the character of the native traditions which antedated the written vestiges of early Irish literature, it is obvious from Professor Thurneysen's conclusions that even the earliest of the great Irish sagas are a far cry from the naïve folk narratives on which they are ultimately based and with which they are sometimes identified.

One of Professor Thurneysen's most valuable contributions is the establishment of a more definite chronology for early Irish literature than has yet been possible. The application of linguistic criteria such as those discussed by Strachan (*Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1894, 1896) serves to fix the dates of early Irish documents only within wide limits; hence, if any consecutive account of the literary development is to be written, it must be based at least in part on data other than linguistic. An important advance in this direction is made by Professor Thurneysen's discoveries (see especially pp. 666 f.).

Professor Thurneysen's study is all the more important because it stands so nearly alone in the domain of Celtic literary history.<sup>1</sup> Most of the important literary monuments of medieval Ireland have, it is true, been published from one or more manuscripts and are available in translation, but the texts are frequently uncritical and the fundamental literary problems—those of sources and influence—have received little attention. Instead of attempting to arrange in chronological order the accessible mass of Irish saga and romance, scholars have too often busied themselves with attempts at reconstructing the pre-literary forms of the stories involved, although it should have been obvious at the outset that no thoroughly reliable analysis can be made of the popular elements in written literature until account is taken of the relative parts played by originality and compilation in the narratives discussed. Investigators who use early Irish documents for purposes of comparative literary investigation have sometimes erred grievously in assuming an essential connection between episodes simply because those episodes occur in the same saga. Now that Professor Thurneysen's book has appeared, such errors should be less frequent.

<sup>1</sup> In this connection attention should be called to Professor Thurneysen's earlier work, *Abhandl. königl. Gesell. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, "Phil. -Hist. Klasse" N.F. XIV, 1912-13. Zimmer's well-known monograph on the compilatory character of the sagas in the *Lebor na h-Uidre*, Kuhn's *Zt.*, XXVIII (1887), is untrustworthy because of the author's failure to distinguish between the compiler and the redactor of that famous codex, and Windisch's study, "Das keltische Britannien bis zu Kaiser Arthur" (*Abhandl. königl. sächs. Gesell. der Wiss.*, "Phil. -Hist. Klasse," XXIX, 1912), contains little constructive scholarship in the domain treated for Irish by Professor Thurneysen.

Unlike most technical treatises on Celtic literature, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage* is designed to appeal not only to the specialist in Celtic but also to the general student of epic origins. As a further concession to the needs of those unacquainted with Irish, the author normalizes the spelling of the Celtic words used and adds an explanatory note on personal and place-names (pp. 85 f.).

In spite of the importance of Professor Thurneysen's general contribution to our knowledge of Irish literary history, his individual conclusions should in some instances be accepted with reservation. Like other scholars who fix their attention too long on written documents, the author is liable to underestimate the part played by oral transmission in the development of stories which are based on popular tradition and which exist or existed both in written and in oral form. Again, the tendency to attribute to a single author several anonymous works which were written during the same period simply because they show a certain degree of similarity in style and vocabulary is fraught with grave dangers, especially in a field where, as in Irish, so little is known of the relative proportions of originality and current convention in literary compositions. Certain of Professor Thurneysen's alleged indications of literary influence are also open to suspicion. See especially pages 33, 73, 112 f., 309, 311, note 1, pages 382, 397 f.

TOM PEETE CROSS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*Walther von der Vogelweide.* Von S. SINGER. Vortrag gehalten in der Casinogesellschaft am 21. Oktober 1919. "Schriften der Casinogesellschaft," Heft 2. Burgdorf: Langlois, 1919. Pp. 24. 8°.

Eine knappe und populär gehaltene Zusammenfassung dessen, was wir über Walthers Leben und Werdegang als einigermaßen gesichert bezeichnen können. Als Heimat des Dichters wird das Rheinland angenommen, wohin er als junger Mann, noch ehe er Ritter wurde, nach Wien gewandert ist. Eine eigentliche schulmässige Bildung hat er wohl nicht genossen, sondern auf seiner Wanderschaft im Verkehr mit den Vaganten "die ersten Rudimente einer höheren Bildung" sich angeeignet, die er später durch den Umgang mit den führenden Geistern seiner Zeit zu vertiefen wusste. Am Wiener Hof angekommen, fand er den Elsässer Reinmar, den ersten Lyriker seiner Zeit, schon als Hofdichter tätig. Von diesem lernt Walther die Kunst des höfischen Minnesangs, wie denn seine ersten Erzeugnisse die unverkennbaren Merkmale der Reinmarischen Dichtungsart tragen. Die Rolle eines Nachahmers spielt er aber nicht lange, sondern steigt zu bisher ungeahnten Höhen empor, und aus dem bescheidenen Schüler ist der gefährliche Gegner und Nebenbuhler geworden, was zu dem späteren feindlichen Zusammenprall der beiden Dichter geführt hat. Mit dem Tode seines Gönners, des Herzogs

Friedrich im Jahre 1197, nimmt Walther Abschied von Wien. Das Jahr 1200 bezeichnet den ersten Aufenthalt am Thüringer Hof, wo nach einer Abwesenheit von einigen Jahren, wir den Dichter 1207 wiederfinden. Wahrscheinlich war er 1212 im Gefolge des Dietrich von Meissen, des Landgrafen von Thüringen Schwiegersohn, wo er den vielseitigen Lyriker Heinrich von Morungen kennen lernte. Von dieser Zeit bis zum Jahre 1225 lässt sich nichts mit Bestimmtheit über seinen Aufenthaltsort sagen. Ungefähr zu dieser Zeit, nicht um 1220, wie bisher angenommen, erhält der Dichter seinen lang ersehnten festen Wohnsitz, wahrscheinlich nicht weit von Würzburg, wo er auch gestorben und begraben ist. Den Kreuzzug Kaiser Friedrichs, 1227 unternommen, dann wegen Erkrankung des Monarchs auf ein Jahr verschoben, hat er wohl nicht mitgemacht. Bald nach dieser Zeit, aus der seine herrliche Elegie stammt, wird Walther wohl gestorben sein. Sein Kreuzlied, dessen Melodie durch das Münstersche Fragment bewahrt wird und das er "für den Einzug ins Heilige Land geschrieben," gibt Singer in einer von Kühn (*Z. f. d. A.*, 53, 357) vielfach abweichenden modernen Notenumschrift wieder.

Als Zielscheibe des Heiligenstädter Spruchs wird der Reichsmarschall Heinrich von Pappenheim bezeichnet. Man darf aber ebensogut an den dieselbe Würde kleidenden Heinrich von Kalden denken, der nach Ermordung Philipps (1208) eine so bedeutende Rolle spielte, und den Mörder in seinem Versteck aufsuchte und eigenhändig tötete. Wegen dieser Deutung vgl. Frantzen, *Neophilologus* (1915), 1, 28.

JOHN L. CAMPION

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

*Mittelhochdeutsche Übungsstücke.* Zusammengestellt von HEINRICH MEYER-BENFEY. Zweite Auflage. Halle: Niemeyer, 1921. Pp. viii+183. I.

Über die erste Ausgabe (1909) dieser sehr brauchbaren Auswahl diplomatischer Abdrücke bietet diese zweite nichts wesentlich neues, und ist sogar um eine Nummer verkürzt worden. Denn die Neuausgabe des "Mönch Felix" von Erich Mai (Berlin, 1912) hat den Herausgeber dazu veranlasst diesen Text zu streichen. Die früher verschollen geglaubte Hs. des "Busant" ist in der Bremer Stadtbibliothek wieder aufgetaucht, so dass es möglich war für diese interessante Dichtung auf die Überlieferung zurückzugehen. Auch für Nr. 2 "Vom jüngsten Gericht," sowie für das Fragment B des "Segremors" war es möglich die Hss. neu zu vergleichen. Die Fragmente von "Tirol und Fridebrant" erscheinen jetzt auf die ausgezeichnete Ausgabe Maynes (Tübingen, 1910) gestützt, welche auch Abbildungen der Handschrift G bringt. So viel ich sehe, wird die Neuausgabe des "Segremors" von Beyer (Marburger Diss., 1909) gänzlich übersehen.

JOHN L. CAMPION

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

*The Life of Henry, Third Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's Patron.*

By CHARLOTTE CARMICHAEL STOPES. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1922. Pp. xi+544.

The appearance of a detailed life of the Third Earl of Southampton naturally arouses the keenest interest in every student of Elizabethan history and literature because of the possibility that such a study may throw light on Southampton's association with Shakespeare during the poet's formative period and on important movements in the crucial years that saw the closing of the Tudor dynasty and the establishment of the Stuarts. Mrs. Stopes warns the reader, however, in her Preface that no new documents have been discovered to fill in the almost colorless chronicle of Southampton's life. Further she declares that she has merely arranged the facts in chronological order, giving "but a mosaic with many lacunae," and that she has not attempted to "fill in the blanks as if with oil colors to make a complete 'portrait'" or done more than tell the story as a background to Shakespeare's and a help toward "the writing of the Life of the Earl of Essex, which awaits some eager student." Thus Mrs. Stopes's characterization of her work is calculated to disarm the critic and to excuse any falling short of the true historian's task—to make his material present the "complete portrait" and the logical story.

The volume is beyond question valuable as a collection of historical material and will be welcomed by students as a reference work. For the period of Southampton's early manhood, when Shakespeare dedicated a poem to him and probably addressed sonnets to him, an attempt is made to gather all extant records, unfortunately quite meager. The more numerous records of his later life are surveyed fully though not exhaustively. Into this material are woven all the known facts in regard to Shakespeare's life and works on which the careers of Southampton and his associates have a possible bearing. There are discussions of the dedications of the poems, the allusions of the sonnets, the presentation of the *Comedy of Errors* in 1594, the acting of Shakespeare's plays in connection with Essex's rebellion, the relation of the *Tempest* to the English pioneering in the New World, etc. In all of this it is clear that an honest effort has been made to present only such inferences from the facts as will be acceptable to the majority of readers. Certain passages containing elaborate conjectures in regard to Shakespeare's relations to Southampton which Mrs. Stopes adds as a result of her long study of the problems of the poet's life have been placed in brackets to separate them from the conclusions that she considers more authoritative. There are, however, a number of moot points about which she makes rather decided pronouncements. For instance, she accepts the tradition in regard to Surrey and his Geraldine without question.

As a constructive study the work is disappointing even after Mrs. Stopes's modest disclaimers. Often the material is given in disjointed

paragraphs in which no pretense at organization is made though there is an approximation to a chronological order. Other sections have been organized into a more coherent narrative, but most readers will feel that the work as a whole lacks skilful interlinking and orderly development. A related weakness in the general impression which the volume makes lies in the fact that, though the literary background is definite and though much light is thrown on the social life of Southampton's group and on political movements, the sections dealing with Southampton's circle and his public life fail of that clear-cut statement and vividness in detail which can come only from an overflowing knowledge of the political and social background of the era. Consequently, the book, though in the main a faithful chronicle, lacks the inspiring quality of a constructive historical study.

C. R. BASKERVILL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*The Way of Saint James.* By GEORGIANA GODDARD KING. Peninsular Series I, 3 vols., New York and London, 1920. Under the auspices of the Hispanic Society of New York.

These three handsome volumes are a labor of love. Miss King is well known for her researches in the early church architecture of Spain. Desiring to disentangle the various cross-influences which affected the early builders, she has undertaken a systematic study of that region where these currents met—the ancient pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela. For medieval builders and sculptors were ever on the road, notebook in hand, sketching what they saw, and often accepting employment in foreign parts. Miss King's important contribution, then, is her detailed study of each of the architectural monuments along the *camino francés*. How well she has succeeded must be left for ecclesiologists to determine. But the book also has interest for the student of medieval literature, now that the close connection between pilgrimage routes and epic song is so generally accepted.

Miss King devoted three tours and seven years of study to *The Way of Saint James*. Her method is that of a Richard Ford: field work supplemented by closet study. She approaches her subject from every angle, archaeology, history, church history including the survival of ancient cults, folk-lore, literature. She deserves praise for her adventurous spirit, perseverance in overcoming obstacles, endurance of discomfort, and industry in collecting material from recondite works. The result is a book, very readable, if diffuse and miscellaneous in content. Her range of reading is vast. It includes everything important bearing on her subject from the crabbed Latin documents collected in *España Sagrada* down to *Les légendes épiques*. The Old French and Provençal poets, the Spanish ballads, Chaucer, and many a medieval chronicler, traveler, and saint provide grist for her mill.

Only a very captious critic would object to the inclusion of so many of the author's personal experiences as beneath the dignity of scholarship. On the contrary the reviewer thinks that for the literary reader these are the passages of greatest interest. For Miss King vitalizes *The Way of Saint James*. The student of Bédier will find it no longer a mere itinerary, a catalogue of *étapes*. Her descriptions of the scenery along the way, helped out by well-chosen illustrations, bring the reader into close touch with the old pilgrim life.

GEORGE T. NORTHUP

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Gustavo Adolfo Bécquers Leben und Schaffen unter besonderer Betonung des chronologischen Elementes. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktor-würde der hohen philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Leipzig, vorgelegt von FRANZ SCHNEIDER. Leipzig, 1914.*

This dissertation, for reasons connected with the war and reconstruction, has only recently been put into circulation. It is the most important piece of research in the modern Hispanic field that has appeared within the year. The author, now an instructor in German at the University of California, has shown once more how much may be done in connection with Spanish authors of the nineteenth century by those students able to work in the Madrid libraries. Even the greatest authors of the period are still uncritically edited, and the Biblioteca Nacional contains much unexploited material which the earlier critics have in their indolence neglected.

Mr. Schneider had the good fortune to discover an autograph MS of Bécquer's entitled "*Libro de los gorriones*," which contains the full text of the "*Rimas*." He establishes the fact that the first editor of the "*Rimas*," Ferrán, drew from this MS and did not collect the poems from newspapers, as had been supposed. Furthermore, like most editors of the time, he was unscrupulous in the handling of his text. Arbitrary "improvements" were introduced into at least half the poems. Three were omitted, and these Mr. Schneider now prints for the first time. In an Appendix he lists the more important variants. The "*Libro de los gorriones*" alone possesses textual authority. Bécquer made this copy with the utmost care and it should be published in its entirety. It is to be hoped that Mr. Schneider will complete his labors by giving us a critical text of Bécquer.

The dissertation contains the fullest biography of Bécquer yet written. The author has controlled all the printed and manuscript material, and has besides interviewed the few surviving acquaintances of the poet. Many details are added to what Blanco García, Valera, Nombela, Olmsted, and



others have contributed. The Heine influence has been studied. In the Appendix those "Rimas" which are of Heinesque inspiration are conveniently printed under the Heine titles. Comparison is thus facilitated.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

GEORGE T. NORTHUP

*La Estrella de Sevilla.* Édition critique publiée par R. FOULCHÉ-DELBOSC, *Revue Hispanique*, XLVIII.

M. R. Foulché-Delbosc has given us a model critical text of this dramatic masterpiece. All editions previously published had been based upon a single *suelta*, as unreliable as these careless prints almost invariably were. The editor possesses another version, an "*arrachement*" torn from a volume of the "Flor de las Comedias" collection. The volume in question, in mutilated form and lacking "*La estrella de Sevilla*," exists in the Munich State Library. Foulché-Delbosc dates the printing between 1625 and 1634. Both *suelta* and *arrachement* derive from a lost printed *princeps* which the present text attempts to reconstruct. The *arrachement* supplies many missing lines and corrects erroneous readings.

The most important result is the establishment of the fact that Lope cannot have written the piece. Though the *suelta* credits the play to Lope, the more reliable *arrachement* names as author a certain Cardenio. It is impossible to identify Cardenio. Certainly Lope never employed this pseudonym. The evidence of the rhymes shows that the work was written by an Andalusian. Though the dramatic technique of "*La estrella de Sevilla*" is of a high order, the versification is weak, as Menéndez y Pelayo has previously indicated. Foulché-Delbosc's researches confirm this judgment strikingly.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

GEORGE T. NORTHUP

*La Oración y sus partes.* Por RODOLFO LENZ. Madrid: Centro de estudios históricos, 1920. Pp. viii+338.

This important work deserves a detailed review; space is available for a brief notice only. Lenz is one of those few scholars equally famous as an exponent of the "direct method" and as a scientific grammarian. His belief is that the beginner should be offered a minimum of formal grammar, but the advanced worker should study it with scientific method and thoroughness. The present work, as the title shows, is a treatise on Spanish syntax. He approaches the subject primarily from the viewpoint of psychology, basing his conclusions on the results published by Wundt in his "*Völkerpsychologie*" and other writings, Delbrück's "*Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen*

Sprachen," and the works of Sütterlin, Sechehaye, van Ginneken, Steintal, Fink, Sweet, and others. This is the first time that any of the modern Romance languages has received such a thorough study from this point of view. Without the aid of psychology the student of syntax runs the risk of making false analyses. It will soon be as disreputable to treat of syntax without some notions of psychology as it is now to deal with pronunciation without a background of physiological phonetics. This book is therefore a valuable supplement and often a corrective to the works of Bello, Cuervo, Hanssen, Menéndez Pidal, and other scholars who have relied mainly on the historical method.

Of course the historical method is as important as ever, and the same is true of the comparative method. Lenz makes less use of the former than his predecessors have done, doubtless feeling that his personal contribution should be to stress sides hitherto less fully treated. His vast knowledge of tongues, ancient and modern, has fitted him to apply the comparative method to an extent hitherto unknown in works on Spanish grammar. Apposite illustrations are taken from Greek, Latin, Sanscrit, the Semitic tongues, English, German, French, Italian, and even numerous aboriginal dialects. For example he has used the results obtained by Boas and his students from their study of North American Indian tongues. He himself is an authority on the Mapuche language of Chile, and gives rather more illustrations from it than are necessary. But as the earliest monuments of the Indo-European languages date from times of comparative sophistication, the speech-habits of savages often throw light upon our own linguistic origins.

Lenz handles all his material critically. No rule, no definition laid down by his predecessors is accepted without first being subjected to subtle analysis. Few books are so fruitful in suggestion. There is scarcely a page but offers some novel point of view. It is also very readable. This is a work which every teacher of Spanish should add to his library.

GEORGE T. NORTUP

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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## WARNER AND THE VOYAGERS

William Warner's historical poem, *Albions England*, was issued piece-meal. The first edition, containing four books, appeared in 1586, the second, six books, in 1589, the third, nine books, in 1592, and the fourth, twelve books, in 1596. Before the last two editions, in 1589, Richard Hakluyt had published his epoch-making work, *Principall Navigations*,<sup>1</sup> and Warner, on the alert for materials of English history, adapted extracts from it to his purpose. The connection he established with the foregoing books is somewhat tenuous. It is Sir John Mandeville, who, having jousted in disguise to win Eleanor's love, sets forth on a quest.

Now let us say the lands, the seas,  
The people, and their lore,  
This knight did see: whom, touching which,  
Not storie shall we more:  
But to our English voyages,  
Euen in our times, shall frame  
Our Muse: and what you heare of theirs,  
Of his the like do ame,  
For countries, not for customes (then,  
And now, not still the same).  
Yeat interlace we shall, among,  
The love of her and him.<sup>2</sup>

The chapters from lxii through lxxi then deal alternately with Mandeville's love and the English voyagers. For facts concerning

<sup>1</sup> *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation made by Sea or over Land . . . at any time within the compasses of these 1600 yeeres.* London, 1589. Unless otherwise specified, references throughout will be to the Hakluyt Society reprint, 12 volumes published at Glasgow, 1903-4.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. LXII, p. 634. Pages are in Chalmers *English Poets*, Vol. IV. *Albions England* was printed originally as fourteen-syllable verse, but Chalmers divided the lines and printed them in four- or six-line stanzas.

the latter, our poet borrowed extensively from *Principall Navigations*. The purpose of this study will be to indicate the nature of that borrowing, largely by use of parallel passages, which will require a minimum of comment.

Beginning in chapter lxiii, Warner first praises Cabot, whose "selfe prooffe brake the ise," and then passes to his successors.

By his [Cabot's] *instructions* and their costs  
*Three ships* were rigged out,  
*Hugh Willoughby the admyrall*,  
*A knight* both wise and stoute.<sup>1</sup>

Cabot's "Ordinances, *instructions* and advertisements of and for the direction of the intended voyage for Cathay" are given in Hakluyt just before Willoughby's account.<sup>2</sup> His share in the voyage is again mentioned at the beginning of the account itself: "The voiage intended for the discoverie of Cathay and divers other regions . . . set forth by the right worshipful, master Sebastian Cabota."<sup>3</sup>

The "three ships" are named on the same and following two pages,<sup>4</sup> while the admiral has been previously alluded to as *Sir Hugh Willoughby knight*.<sup>5</sup> He is again referred to by title on page 239: "Enterprized by Sir Hugh Willoughbie knight"; and in the same line, "performed by Richard Chancellor, pilot major of the voyage." Warner says:

To Chancellor, grand pilot for  
 That voyage.<sup>6</sup>

## W

Now sayle they for the *North-east*  
*parts*,  
*Cathaya's* shores to finde:  
 Incounter'd with huge seas of ise,  
 With stormy gusts and winde.  
*Shotland, Aegeland, Halgland, th' isles*  
*Of Roste, and Lofoot* past.<sup>9</sup>

## H

Letters . . . sent to the kings  
 . . . inhabiting the *North-east partes*  
 of the worlde toward the mighty  
 Empire of *Cathay*.<sup>7</sup>

We could not fetch *Shotland*.<sup>8</sup>  
 The land was all full of little Islands  
 . . . which were called . . .  
*Aegeland* and *Halgeland*. . . . In  
 which place were . . . the *Isles of*  
*Rost* . . . the land being Islands  
 were called *Lewfoot* or *Lofoot*.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 634.

<sup>2</sup> P.N., II, 195-205.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 212-14. "3 ships furnished for the discoverie," is likewise designated in the margin, p. 240.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 209.

<sup>7</sup> P.N., II, 209.

<sup>8</sup> P. 634.

<sup>6</sup> P. 634.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 219.

<sup>10</sup> P.N., II, 219.

The details of ice and gusts remain unmentioned by Hakluyt, but are quite natural insertions considering the regions in which the voyage took place. Moreover, *winde* rhymes with *finde*.

W

Tempestiously *Arzina's* rhode  
Received sir *Hugh* at last.  
Theare he and *all of two his ships*  
Attempting bootles shiftes,  
Weare in that climate frozen dead  
Shut up with isie driftes.<sup>1</sup>

H

The river or haven wherein Sir  
*Hugh Willoughbie with the company*  
of his *two ships* perished for cold  
is called *Arzina* in Lapland.<sup>2</sup>

Warner's method of condensing is illustrated by his last three lines, which were doubtless suggested by this passage:

Thus remaining in this haven the space of a weeke, seeing the years farre spent and also very evill weather, as frost, snow, and haile as though it had beene the deepe of winter we thought best to winter there. Wherefore, we sent out three men Southsouthwest to search if they could find people, who went three days journey, but could find none: after that we sent other three Westward foure daies journey, which also returned without finding any people. Then sent we three men Southeast three dayes journey, who in like sorte returned without finding of people or any similitude of habitation.<sup>3</sup>

W

Then Chancelor his onely ship  
Remayning of that fleete,  
For *Fynmarke* at the Wardhouse  
sayles  
With his consorts to meete.<sup>4</sup>

H

Nowe Richard Chancelor with his  
shippe and company being thus left  
alone . . . shapeth his course for  
Wardhouse in Norway, there to expect  
and abide the arrivall of the rest  
of the shippes.<sup>5</sup>

Willoughby previously mentions "the wardhouse, which is the strongest holde in *Finmarke*."<sup>6</sup>

The account of Chancelor has no exact parallel to the next line: "There day it is *two months* of length." It merely says: "Hee came at last to the place where hee found no night at all, but a continuall light and brightness of the Sunne."<sup>7</sup>

But Jenkinson, traveling in those same regions, gives the exact time limit: "Here the Sunne continueth in sight above the horizon almost *2 months* together, day and night."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 634.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 223.

<sup>3</sup> P.N., II, 247.

<sup>4</sup> P.N., II, 224.

<sup>5</sup> P. 634.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 220.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 248.

<sup>8</sup> 1589 ed., p. 334. For some reason this sentence was omitted from the 1598-1600 edition. Cf. 1904 ed. P.N., II, 415.

It may have been his own marginal notation which referred Warner to the other passage. It is clear, at any rate, that he did consult the other passage since his next lines are taken from the same page:

W	H
And <i>Mal-strand's</i> poole it makes Such <i>hidious</i> rore; devouring floods, That <i>tenne</i> miles' distance shakes. <sup>1</sup>	Note that there is between the said Rost Islands and Lofoot a whirle poole called <i>Malestrand</i> which . . . <i>maketh</i> such a terrible noise that it <i>shaketh</i> the rings in the doors . . . <i>tenne</i> miles off. <sup>2</sup>

Warner is here either remembering details he had previously read, or he is consulting several accounts of the same regions before he writes.

W	H
He for <i>the course</i> preposed did His ventrous sayles direct. <sup>3</sup>	Hee determined at length to pro- ceede alone in <i>the purposed voyage</i> . <sup>4</sup>

The preceding lines:

Wheare frustrate of his friends in quest,  
With courage not deject,

were doubtless suggested by, "having . . . looked in vaine for their comming," and a relation on the same page (247) of the courageous manner in which Chancelor met his dangers.

Warner then inserts some apparently irrelevant lines:

King Arthur, Malgo, Edgar, once  
To have subdued are saide,  
Orkney, Gotland, Island, and  
Those former in that traide:  
Gronland, Wireland, Curland, and  
Colde *Scrifyn* them obayde.<sup>5</sup>

The connection in the poet's mind was probably through *Scrifyn*, another name for Lapland. The country in which Willoughby died suggested to him the conquests of Arthur, Malgo, and Edgar, with which Hakluyt began the Second Part of his *Principall Navigations*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 634.    <sup>2</sup> P.N., II, 415.    <sup>3</sup> P. 634.    <sup>4</sup> P.N., II, 247.    <sup>5</sup> P. 634.

<sup>6</sup> In the edition of 1598-1600, of which the 1903-4 edition is a reprint, Hakluyt changed the order, putting the voyages to the north and northeast first.

In that place<sup>1</sup> are mentioned all the acquisitions in Warner's list, all of them except Orkney being mentioned in one sentence. It is significant that when Warner resumes his narrative, he alludes at once to Laplanders.

## W

Now Chancelor, ariving mong'st

The Laplanders, at last,  
*They seeing uncouth men and shippes,*  
*Wears wondrously agaste,*  
 (For eare that day was heard no  
 shippe  
 That churlish pole had past).<sup>2</sup>

The Lapland bay wheare he arived  
 Now cald *Saint Nicholas bay*,  
 Though Russian, *fifteene hundreth*  
*miles*  
 From Mosco is away.<sup>4</sup>

## H

. . . . but *they being amazed with*  
*the strange greatnesse of his shippe*  
 (for in those partes before that time  
 they had never seene the like).<sup>3</sup>

They arrive in the *Bay of St.*  
*Nicholas*.<sup>5</sup>  
 . . . . (for they had traveled very  
 neere *fifteene hundred miles*).<sup>6</sup>

Warner's next line is, "Theare wintred he at Newnox." Newnox is not mentioned in the account of Chancelor, but the fact of his having stopped there is recorded by Hakluyt in the later voyage of Southam and Sparke, who traveled in the same country: "At this towne Newnox Richard Chancellor in his first voyage with his company ashipboard were relieved."<sup>7</sup>

Here then is another proof of Warner's having correlated two versions of the same story.

## W

*Safe-conduct* being sent,  
 Thence *to their king* on swift-drawne  
*sleads*  
 Through frozen ways he went.<sup>8</sup>

## H

They at last resolved to . . . .  
*conduct* them by land *to the presence*  
*of their king*. . . . He had the  
 use of certaine *sleds* . . . the  
 people almost not knowing any other  
 manner of carriage, the cause whereof  
 is the *exceeding hardness of the ground*  
*congealed* in the winter time by the  
 force of the cold.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I, 6.

<sup>2</sup> P. 635.

<sup>3</sup> P.N., II, 248.

<sup>4</sup> P. 635.

<sup>5</sup> P.N., II, 248, marg. note.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 251.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 74, marg. note.

<sup>8</sup> P. 635.

<sup>9</sup> P.N., II, 250-51.

With the lines,

He found them . . . much  
In *pompe* to overflow,<sup>1</sup>

compare, "The meate is then distributed to the ghests with the like *pompe* and ceremonies."<sup>2</sup> And Warner's next lines,

His intertainment therefore was  
As stately as might be,<sup>3</sup>

summarize an elaborate description of three pages in Hakluyt.<sup>4</sup>

### W

In sundrie roomes weare *hundreds*  
seene  
*In gold and tissue clad:*  
*A maiestie*, Augustus-like,  
Their king *enthroned* had.<sup>5</sup>

Full well could Chancelor demeane  
Himselfe in every thing.<sup>7</sup>

### H

There sate a very honorable com-  
panie of Courtiers, to the number of  
one *hundred*, all *apparelled in cloth*  
*of golde* . . . our men began to  
wonder at the *Majestie* of the  
Emperor: his seate was aloft in a  
very royall *throne*.<sup>6</sup>

But notwithstanding Master  
Chancelor being therewithall nothing  
dismaied saluted and did his duty to  
the Emperor after the maner of  
England.<sup>8</sup>

English pride in the ability of their emissaries to demean them-  
selves properly is a constant note in the voyagers.

The following stanza illustrates Warner's ability to summarize,  
though he does it in somewhat pedestrian verse:

Let passe how in Basilius' court  
Most royally he fead:  
Suffise it that our agent of  
His arrant thither spead:  
That is, that ours might trade with them,  
Of which large leave is read.<sup>9</sup>

The "feeding royally" is treated at length in Hakluyt, pages  
256-57, and the name *Basilius* is mentioned on page 257. Chan-

<sup>1</sup> P. 635.

<sup>2</sup> P.N., II, 257.

<sup>3</sup> P. 635.

<sup>4</sup> P.N., II, 255-58.

<sup>5</sup> P. 635.

<sup>6</sup> P.N., II, 255.

<sup>7</sup> P. 635.

<sup>8</sup> P.N., II, 255-56.

<sup>9</sup> P. 635.



celor's success in his mission is attested by the printing<sup>1</sup> of the "Duke of Moscovie and Emperour of Russia his letters, sent to King Edward the sixth, by the hands of Richard Chancelour."

## W

*A vaste and spacious empier is  
Moscovie, in the same  
Bee rivers Tanais, Volga, and  
Boristhenes of fame.*<sup>2</sup>

With yearly hallowed Mosca, which  
The primate having blest,  
(Whom to attend the clergie, lords,  
And king himself be prest)  
He thinks himselfe an happie man  
May touch the yse-heuene pit,  
But him in Heaven already whom  
The Primat sprinkles with it.<sup>4</sup>

## H

*Moscovie . . . . is a very large and  
spacious Countrey. . . . And as  
for the rivers the greatest . . . . is  
that which the Russes in their own  
tongue call Volga. . . . Next unto  
it in fame is Tanais . . . . and the  
third Boristhenes.*<sup>3</sup>

*Every yeare upon the 12 day they  
use to bless or sanctifie the river  
Moscu. . . . First they make a  
square hole in the ice. . . . After the  
images follow certaine priests . . . .  
after them the Metropolitan . . . .  
and after the Metropolitan came the  
Emperor . . . . and after his Majes-  
tie all his noblemen orderly. . . .  
After this the priests began to sing,  
to blesse and to sense, and did their  
service, and so by that time that they  
had done the water was holy, which  
being sanctified, the Metropolitan  
tooke a little thereof in his hands,  
and cast it on the Emperor, likewise  
upon certaine of the Dukes . . . .  
that Muscovite which hath no part  
of that water thinkes himself un-  
happy.*<sup>5</sup>

This story of the hallowing of the River Moscow does not follow in Hakluyt the mention of the other rivers. Tanais, Volga, and Boristhenes are referred to in the Chancelor narrative, whereas Moscow and its rites are described in "Osep Napea's Return to Russia." This represents, in the edition Warner used, a leap of 56 pages.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P.N., II, 271-72.

<sup>2</sup> P.N., II, 251-52.

<sup>3</sup> Chap. lrv, p. 636.

<sup>4</sup> P. 636.

<sup>5</sup> P.N., II, 432-33.

<sup>6</sup> Edition of 1589. The other rivers are mentioned, p. 285, Moscow, p. 341.



Warner does not miss that detail:

And sport with their face-painted wives,  
Hild thear a comely thing.<sup>1</sup>

W

H

In customes of *the Greeke church*,  
much  
Corrupted, are they lead:  
*Monkes, friers*, and priests swarme  
theare, not more  
Than in their portesse reade.<sup>2</sup>

They maintaine the opinions of  
*the Greeke Church*; . . . for the  
*Friers* and the *Monkes* do at the  
least possesse the third part of the  
livings throughout the whole Mus-  
covite Empire.<sup>3</sup>

Grosse worshippers of *images*,  
Which in *their houses* are.<sup>4</sup>

In *their private houses* they have  
*images* for their household saints.<sup>5</sup>

Though the pope  
Theare stickell not. . . .<sup>6</sup>

Neither have they to doe with the  
Pope of Rome.<sup>7</sup>

Besides these Christians (for unto  
Themselves they arrogate  
The soundest Christianitie)  
Are subject to their state  
*Idolators* that doe adore  
Even *divels*, or did of late.<sup>8</sup>

They hold opinion that we are  
but halfe Christians, and themselves  
only to be the true and perfect  
church. . . . There is a certaine  
part of Muscovie . . . wherein  
those Muscovites that dwell are very  
great *idolators*.<sup>9</sup>

The narrator then goes on to tell how these "idolaters" wor-  
shipped the *aurea vetula*, and concludes: "I know not by what  
illusions of the *devill*, or *idole*, he is againe restored to life."

In his next lines Warner passes from Chancellor to Stephen  
Burrough:

Not of the Samoeds' rude wrought gods,  
Or blood-rites will we tarry.<sup>10</sup>

The corresponding passage in Hakluyt, representing a difference  
of 27 pages,<sup>11</sup> is this: "Hee brought mee to a heap of the Samoeds  
idols . . . the eyes and mouths of sundrie of them were bloodie."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 636.

<sup>2</sup> P.N., II, 265, 267.

<sup>3</sup> P.N., II, 265.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> P. 636.

<sup>6</sup> P. 636.

<sup>7</sup> P.N., II, 346. This sentence occurs in some notes written by Richard Johnson,  
who was "servant to Master Richard Chancelour."

<sup>8</sup> P. 636.

<sup>9</sup> P.N., II, 268-69.

<sup>10</sup> P. 636.

<sup>11</sup> In 1589 ed. Chancellor passage, p. 291; Burrough, p. 318.

<sup>12</sup> P.N., II, 338.

The poet makes still another leap, of seventeen pages,<sup>1</sup> in his next detail, and borrows this time from Jenkinson:

W

Or of the *stone* neere unto which  
Did *Willoughby* miscarry,  
To which bring saylers whit-  
meats least  
Their ships should tempests harrie.<sup>2</sup>

H

At this cape lie h a great *stone*, to  
the which the barks that passed  
thereby were wont to make offerings  
of butter, meale and other victuals,  
thinking that, unlesse they did so,  
their barks or vessels should there  
perish. . . . Note that the sixt  
day we passed by the place where  
Sir Hugh *Willoughbie* with all his  
company perished.<sup>3</sup>

Having introduced the foregoing facts from two quite separate narratives, Warner reverts to Chancelor:

W

But that same *female-idoll* call'd  
*Zelotibab*, in part  
Of Russia, or the divell himselve  
Acting in it his arte,  
Is worth the note. When ought  
amisse  
Amongst them doth befall,  
An instrument of musicke and  
*A silver toade* withall  
They lay before the idoll and  
*Before her prostrate fall*.  
Then, *musicke sounded*, he to whom  
*The toade shall come is slaine*,  
(For come it will) when presently  
*The man revives againe*,  
And tells the *cause* why hapt the ill,  
And *how to pacifie*  
*The angrie idoll*: which is done,  
Though some for it should die.<sup>4</sup>

H

They have one famous *idole*  
amongst them, which they call the  
*Golden Old Wife* [in margin, *Aurea*  
*Vetula* or *Zelotibaba*]; and they have  
a custome that whensoever any  
plague or any calamitie doth afflict  
the countrey . . . then they go to  
consult with their idol . . . they  
*fall down prostrate before the idoll*  
. . . and put in the presence of the  
same a cymbal. . . . Upon their  
cymbal they place a *silver toade*  
and sound the cymbal, and to whom  
*soever . . . that tode goeth*, he is  
taken, and by and by *slain*: and  
immediately . . . he is *again*e re-  
stored to life, and then doth reveale  
and deliver the *causes* of the present  
calamitie. And by this means know-  
ing *how to pacifie the idole*, they are  
delivered from imminent danger.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In 1589 ed. Burrough, p. 318; Jenkinson, p. 335.

<sup>2</sup> P. 636.

<sup>3</sup> P.N., II, 417.

<sup>4</sup> P. 637.

<sup>5</sup> P.N., II, 269.

The foregoing passage shows Warner following his source more closely than usual; and it affords at the same time a good example of his power of condensing. There is no inconsiderable art displayed in the choice of details, and in the shaving them to fit his lines. If he had owned a finer musical sense, he might have produced real poetry instead of "an accompaniment to stocking-weaving," as Professor Sir Walter Raleigh calls it.<sup>1</sup>

Warner continues his description of Muscovy:

The king by monarchia rules,  
More absolutely none,  
*Great duke of Russia late* his stile,  
*Imperiall now* his throne.<sup>2</sup>

The change of title is thus explained in Hakluyt:

And this word Otesara his majesties interpreters have of *late dayes* interpreted to be *Emperour*, so that *now hee is called Emperor* and *great Duke of all Russia*. Before his father they were neither called Emperors nor kings but only Ruese Velike, that is to say, *great Duke*.<sup>3</sup>

More attributes of the Emperor are mentioned:

Himselfe, both judge and juror, ends  
With equitie debates.<sup>4</sup>

Compare, "His majesty heareth all complaints himselfe, and with his owne mouth giveth sentence and judgment of all matters, and that with expedition."<sup>5</sup>

For the facts contained in the last two passages cited, our poet consulted "A Large Description of Russia," removed by 52 pages.<sup>6</sup> He was obviously supplementing one account with the other. The next two lines introduce a third source, Jenkinson:<sup>7</sup>

## W

Armipotent in warre and hath  
Subdewed mightie states.<sup>8</sup>

## H

This Emperor is of great power:  
for he hath conquered much, as well  
of the Lieflanders, Poles, Lettoes  
and Swethens as also of the Tartars  
and gentiles.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *P.N.*, XII, 97.    <sup>2</sup> *P.* 637.    <sup>3</sup> *P.N.*, II, 438.    <sup>4</sup> *P.* 637.    <sup>5</sup> *P.N.*, II, 439.

<sup>6</sup> 1589 ed., Chancellor, p. 291; Description, p. 343.

<sup>7</sup> 1589 ed., p. 337.

<sup>8</sup> *P.* 637.

<sup>9</sup> *P.N.*, II, 423.

In the next lines he is back to Chancellor once more:

W

*An hundred thousand* leads he forth  
*Against his foes* to fight,  
 That scorne both *hunger*, thirst, and  
*cold*,  
 Wounds, yeelding, feare and flight.  
*Of cloth of gold*, *rich stones*, and  
*plumes*,  
 His royall *tent* is pight:  
 Nor to his souldiers skants he gifts,  
 That well themselves acquite.<sup>1</sup>

H

Hee never armeth a lesse number  
*against theemie* then 300 thousand  
 soldiery, *100 thousand* whereof he  
 carrieth out into the feeld with him.  
 . . . They are a kinde of people  
 most *sparing* in diet, and most  
 patient in extremitie of *cold*, above  
 all others. . . . The coverings of  
 his [Emperor's] *tent* for the most  
 part are all of *gold* adorned with  
*stones of great price*, and with the  
 curious workmanship of *plumasiers*.  
 . . . If any man behave himselfe  
 valiantly in the feilde . . . he be-  
 stoweth upon him, in recompense of  
 his service, some farm.<sup>2</sup>

The following stanza lauds Chancellor for having "obtaind for our merchants, as He wished, everything."

With letters then of credence for  
 Himselfe and *marte* for them,  
 He puts to sea for England, whome  
 The yse about did hem.<sup>3</sup>

The letters follow the Chancellor account.<sup>4</sup> Compare, "They [English merchants] shall have their free *Marte* with all free liberties through my whole dominions with all kinde of wares to come and goe at their pleasure."<sup>5</sup>

In the next stanza Chancellor returns safe to London, and,

Thence, after some aboade, with new  
 Consorts, an other fleete,  
 And notes digested for their new  
 Attempted traffique meete.<sup>6</sup>

The notes referred to are printed on pages 281-89. The "new consorts" are doubtless Gray and Killingworth, mentioned in the next stanza, and linked thus in the notes: "First the Governor, Consuls, Assistants and whole company assembled this day in open

<sup>1</sup> P. 637.

<sup>2</sup> P. 637.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 272.

<sup>4</sup> P.N., II, 258-59.

<sup>5</sup> P.N., II, 271-72.

<sup>6</sup> P. 637.

court, committeth and authorizeth Richard *Gray* and George *Killingworth*, jointly and severally to be agents."<sup>1</sup>

To proceed with Chancellor:

He did resayle to Russia, there  
Received as before:  
Cheefe agents *Gray and Killingworth*,  
*Bearded five foote and more.*<sup>2</sup>

With the first two lines, compare, "But the next day we were sent for to the Emperor his secretarie, and he bade us welcome with a cheerefull countenance and cheerefull wordes."<sup>3</sup>

For the detail of Killingworth's beard Warner then leaps to a passage some 200 pages farther on,<sup>4</sup> in a letter of Henry Lane's to William Sanderson:

At their rising the prince . . . . tooke into his hand *Master George Killingworth's beard*, which reached over the table. . . . At that time it was not onely thicke, broad and yellow-coloured, but in length *five foot and two inches of assize.*<sup>5</sup>

It is noteworthy that Warner often transplants details of striking nature like this, and that to most of them Hakluyt has called attention in his marginal comments. His finger post in this instance reads: "M. Killingworth's beard of a marveilous length."<sup>6</sup> And in the case of the transplanted Maelstrom, it was: "Malestrand a strange whirle poole."<sup>7</sup> These facts lead us to suppose that Warner was reading all accounts of the country he was describing, and that he was materially aided in this process by the crude index of Hakluyt's first edition.

With the next lines,

In all things with the king for ours  
Did Chancellor prevaile,  
And now our agents knew their homes,  
And where to make their saile,<sup>8</sup>

compare,

The Chancelour willed us to bethinke us where we would desire to have a house or houses, that wee might come to them as to our owne house, and

<sup>1</sup> *P.N.*, II, 281.

<sup>2</sup> *P.* 637.

<sup>3</sup> *P.N.*, II, 291-92.

<sup>4</sup> 1589 ed., Chancellor, p. 299, Lane, p. 497.

<sup>5</sup> *P.N.*, III, 333.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *P.N.*, II p. 415.

<sup>8</sup> *P.* 637.

for marchandize to be made preparation for us, and they would know our prises of our wares and frise.<sup>1</sup>

Lane's résumé of this portion is, "with houses and diet appointed,"<sup>2</sup> with no suggestion for the line, "And where to make their saile." It appears, therefore, that Warner has reverted to the longer narrative.

The story of Chancellor's death is taken from "The First Ambassage from Russia":<sup>3</sup>

## W

Returning homewards, neere at  
home,  
Even on *the Scottish cost*,  
Did wracke, and those aboard his  
ship  
Then *perished* for most.  
But that he drown'd, his care to save  
The Russie, sent to us  
In his conduct, is said the cause:  
But drown'd he was, and thus.<sup>4</sup>

## H

The Edward Bonaventure traversing the seas . . . . arrived within *the Scottish coast* . . . . where by outrageous tempests . . . . the said ship . . . . was driven upon the rockes. . . . The Grand Pilot using all carefulnesse for the safetie of the bodie of the sayd Ambassadour . . . . taking the boate of the said shippe . . . . to save and preserve the bodie . . . . of the saide Ambassador . . . . the saide boat . . . . was . . . . overwhelmed and drowned wherein *perished* not only the . . . . grand Pilot . . . . but also divers of the maryners.<sup>5</sup>

The first two stanzas of chapter lxvii are general in nature, praising Stephen Burrough:

It is no common labour to  
The *river Ob* to sayle,  
Howbeit Burrough did therein,  
*Not dangerlesse*, prevaile.  
He through the foresayd *frozen seas*  
In Lapland did arrive,  
And thence, to expedite for Ob,  
His labours did revive.<sup>6</sup>

The only two specific references in the above passage are "frozen seas" and "the river Ob," both of which figure margi-

<sup>1</sup> *P.N.*, II, 293-94.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 350-62.

<sup>3</sup> *P.N.*, II, 351-52.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 332.

<sup>5</sup> *P.* 637.

<sup>6</sup> Chap. lxvii, p. 638.



nally in Hakluyt. The word "ice" in the margin points to the following:

Within a little more than halfe an houre after we first saw this ice, we were inclosed within it before we were aware of it, which was a fearefull sight to see; for, for the space of sixe hours, it was as much as we could doe to keepe our shippe aloofe from one heape of ice. . . . And when we had past from the *danger* of this ice, we lay to the Eastwards close by the wind.

The next day we were againe troubled with the ice.<sup>1</sup>

These lines account sufficiently for "frozen seas" and "not dangerlesse." The other definite allusion is indicated in the margin by, "the way to the river of Ob."<sup>2</sup> And a marginal comment on the same page refers to "The Islands of Vaigats," mentioned in Warner's next line:

What he amongst the *Vaigats*, and  
The barbarous Samoeds notes.<sup>3</sup>

The Samoeds are described by Hakluyt on the next page,<sup>4</sup> and once more attention is drawn in the margin: "Samoeds," and "The maners of the Samoeds."

## W

Their *idols*, *deer-skin tents*, how on  
*Their backs they bare their botes*,<sup>5</sup>  
. . . .

## H

Hee brought me to a heap of the  
Samoeds *idols*. . . . They have  
no houses . . . . but onely *tents*  
*made of Deers skins*, . . . . and  
when they come on shoare *they*  
*carry their boates* with them *upon*  
*their backes*.<sup>6</sup>

Warner goes on to describe the boats:

In which, but hides, securely they  
Doe fish those seas all day.<sup>7</sup>

This is obviously taken from "their boats are made of Deers skins."<sup>8</sup>

But the detail of the Samoeds' fishing all day is not given in this account, and only incidentally referred to in other accounts of these

<sup>1</sup> P.N., II, 335.

<sup>4</sup> P.N., II, 338.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 337.

<sup>6</sup> P. 638.

<sup>7</sup> P. 638.

<sup>8</sup> P. 638.

<sup>6</sup> P.N., II, 338-39.

<sup>8</sup> P.N., II, 339.

barbarians. For instance, Giles Fletcher thus describes their means of livelihood: "They live by hunting, and trading with their fures,"<sup>1</sup> with no suggestion of fishing. But on the next page he remarks: "There is a rocke . . . where the Obdorian Samoites use much to resort by reason of the commoditie of the place for fishing."<sup>2</sup>

Richard Johnson's Notes,<sup>3</sup> which Warner unquestionably made use of a little later, has this: "3 Item, beyond these people, on the sea coast, there is another kinde of Samoeds, their meate is flesh and fish."<sup>4</sup>

In view of the casualness with which voyagers refer to this aspect of the Samoeds' life, it may be that Warner used the detail from elsewhere, in fusion or confusion. For instance, it is remarked of islands adjoining Wardhouse: "The inhabitants of those three Islands live onely by fishing."<sup>5</sup>

Now Wardhouse was invariably the stopping place of traders en route to Vaigats; and consequently the two are often referred to in the same account. Lifting the detail from this passage is made more likely by the fact that it occurs on the same page<sup>6</sup> as the Maelstrom description, which we know he read.

It may seem that I have raised a great cloud of dust about a trivial matter. But my aim has been to illustrate Warner's typical methods. And here he has done one of two things: he has either transplanted a detail from another context treating of substantially the same regions; or he has inserted that detail because he thought it fitted, as he has done several times before.

The poet continues his description of the Vaigats:

And how on deere they ride and all  
On sleds by deere convey.<sup>7</sup>

Compare with this: "for their cariages they have no other beasts to serve them, but Deere only."<sup>8</sup> And also, in Richard Johnson's Notes: "And have all their cariages with deere for they have no horses."<sup>9</sup> The sleds have been previously mentioned: "I saw . . . the sleds that they ride in."<sup>10</sup> The actual conjunction of the deer and

<sup>1</sup> *P.N.*, III, 402.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 484.

<sup>3</sup> *P.* 638.

<sup>4</sup> *P.N.*, III, 402-3.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 416.

<sup>6</sup> *P.N.*, II, 339.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 480-84.

<sup>8</sup> 1589 ed., p. 334.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 346.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 338.

sleds is made by Giles Fletcher: "Their travaile to and fro is upon sleddes drawn by the Olen Deere."<sup>1</sup>

W

*Do eate their dead, to feast their friends  
Their children sometime slay,  
Their store of sables, fures, and  
    pealls,  
Fetcht thence from farre away.*<sup>2</sup>

H

And if any Merchants come unto them, then *they kill one of their children* for their sakes to feast them withall. . . . *They eate them of their own country.* . . . Their merchan-dize are *sables*, white and blacke Foxes (which the Russes call *Psells*).<sup>3</sup>

Burrough is then spoken of,

As master in that ship with him  
That first did Russia finde.<sup>4</sup>

Their respective rôles are thus given in Hakluyt: "Richard Chancelor Captaine of the Edward Bonaventure and Pilot generall of the fleete . . . Stephen Burrough Master of the Edward Bonaventure."<sup>5</sup> The two names are brought immediately together in Hugh Willoughby's note: "Richard Chancelor, Captaine and Pilot major of the fleete. Stephen Borowgh, Master of the ship."<sup>6</sup>

Pet and Jackman are then introduced:

And in this northeast *trade*, with praise,  
Do *Pet and Jackman* mind.<sup>7</sup>

Compare, "Commission given . . . for discovery of new *trades* unto *Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman*."<sup>8</sup>

Warner then passes on to Jenkinson:

But where shall we  
Begin his lawdes to tell?  
In Europe, Asia, Affrick? for  
These all he saw.<sup>9</sup>

Under "The names of such countries as I, Anthony Jenkinson have traveled unto,"<sup>10</sup> the voyager explicitly mentions having traveled in all three continents.

Now, under his conduct, was hence  
Unto his home conveide  
The Russian first ambassador  
Heere *honor'd*, whilst he staide.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 405.

<sup>2</sup> P. 639.

<sup>3</sup> P. 639.

<sup>4</sup> P. 638.

<sup>5</sup> *P.N.*, II, 206.

<sup>6</sup> *P.N.*, III, 251.

<sup>10</sup> *P.N.*, III, 195.

<sup>7</sup> *P.N.*, II, 483-84.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 213.

<sup>9</sup> P. 639.

<sup>11</sup> P. 639.

This circumstance is narrated by Jenkinson himself under title of "Osepe Napea's Return Home."<sup>1</sup> With the last line compare this marginal notation: "His honorable receiving into the citie of London."<sup>2</sup>

Nor captaine Jenkinson was there  
 Lesse graced, where he wrought,  
 That all things to a wished end  
 Were for our traffique brought.  
 Heere-hence also a friendly league  
 Twixt either prince effected.<sup>3</sup>

Jenkinson's reception is described on page 173 of Volume III. While his success in the mission is evinced by a list of requests submitted to the Emperor,<sup>4</sup> and the latter's concessions,<sup>5</sup> in every respect satisfactory to the Englishmen.

From Mosco then by journies long  
*The Caspian Sea* he crost.<sup>6</sup>

Compare the marginal note, "They enter into *the Caspian Sea*."<sup>7</sup>

Himselfe and goods by Tartars oft  
 In danger to be lost.<sup>8</sup>

One incident of being attacked and robbed by Tartar thieves is recounted by Jenkinson, pages 466-68; another, on page 458.

## W

Their hordes of carted tents like towns  
 Which camels drew.<sup>9</sup>

By names of *murses*,<sup>11</sup> soltans, cans,  
 To whom for passe he brings  
*The Russian King his letters*.<sup>12</sup>

## H

Wee sawe a great heard of Nagay-  
 ans pasturing . . . above a thou-  
 sand *Camels drawing of cartes* with  
 houses upon them like *tents* . . .  
 seeming to bee a farre off a *towne*:  
 that *Hord* was belonging to a great  
*Murse*.<sup>10</sup>

Wee . . . arrived at a castle  
 . . . where ye king called Azim  
*Can*<sup>13</sup> remained . . . to whom I  
 delivered *the Emperor's Letters of*  
*Russia*.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *P.N.*, II, 425 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 180-86.

<sup>7</sup> *P.N.*, II, 456.

<sup>2</sup> *P.N.*, II, 355.

<sup>5</sup> *P.N.*, III, 189-92.

<sup>8</sup> *P.* 639.

<sup>3</sup> *P.* 639.

<sup>6</sup> *P.* 639.

<sup>9</sup> *P.* 639.

<sup>10</sup> *P.N.*, II, 454.

<sup>11</sup> The title *murse*, besides being used in the foregoing passage, is explained on page 452: "Every Hord had a ruler, whom they obeyed as their king, and was called a *Murse*."

<sup>12</sup> *P.* 639.

<sup>13</sup> It is noteworthy that this word *Can*, with its infinite variety of spellings, should be spelled alike by Warner and Hakluyt.

<sup>14</sup> *P.N.*, II, 461.

## W

*With wild-horse flesh and mare's milke, him*

The kings did banquet tho,  
Their hawking for the wild-horse, (for  
Their hawks will seaze upon  
The horse's neck, who chaffing tiers,  
And so is kild anon).<sup>1</sup>

Their oft removes for pastures fresh,  
(Nor grasse their pasture is,  
But heathie brush, few cattell<sup>4</sup> though  
Doe thrive as theirs with this).<sup>5</sup>

Their naither use of coyne, or corne,<sup>7</sup>  
(For tillage none is theare)

Such warriors, and horse-archers, as  
They live not whom they feare,  
Their crosse-leg eating on the ground,

Pluralitie of wives,  
In Turkeman (so the whole is sayd)  
And more of their rude lives,

## H

[The Emperor] caused me to eate in  
his presence . . . . feasting me *with  
flesh of a wilde horse and mares milk.*<sup>1</sup>

There are many *wild horses* which  
the Tartars doe many times *kil* with  
their hawkes. . . . . The *hawkes* are  
lured to *seaze upon the beasts neckes*  
or heads, which with *chafing* of  
themselves . . . . are *tired*: then  
the hunter following his game doeth  
slay the horse.<sup>2</sup>

The people live without towne or  
habitation in the wilde fields, *remov-  
ing* from one place to another . . . .  
with their cattel. . . . . In all this  
lande there groweth *no grasse*, but a  
certaine *brush or heath*, whereon the *cat-  
tell*<sup>4</sup> feeding become very fat. . . . .<sup>6</sup>

These people have not the *use* of  
golde, silver, or any other *coyne*.  
. . . . *Bread* they have none, for  
they *neither till nor sow*.<sup>8</sup>

They are good *archers* both on  
*horse-backe* and on foote also. . . . .  
They *eate* their meate *upon the  
ground*, sitting with their *legs double  
under them*.<sup>9</sup>

All the land . . . . is called the  
land of Turkeman. . . . . *Every Can  
or Sultan hath at the least 4 or 5 wives*  
. . . . living most viciously: and  
when there are warres betwixt these  
brethren . . . . he that is overcome  
. . . . *flieth* . . . . and *robbeth*  
. . . . as many *Caravans of Mar-  
chants* . . . . as they be able to  
overcome, continuing in this sort  
his *wicked life*.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 461.

<sup>2</sup> P. 639.

<sup>3</sup> P.N., II, 464.

<sup>7</sup> The substitution of *corne* for *bread* is of interest, in light of the former's generic sense.

<sup>8</sup> P.N., II, 464.

<sup>4</sup> Similarity of spelling is again noticeable.

<sup>5</sup> P. 639.

<sup>6</sup> P.N., II, 463-64.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> P.N., II, 463.

## W

And how the *marchants travailing*  
*By caravan*, that is,  
*Great droves of laden camels, meate*  
*And water oft en mis,*

And how for us did Jenkinson  
*In Bactra* mart begin,  
*Let passe, to passe* to it for us  
*He did in Persia win.*<sup>1</sup>

The story of Jenkinson's trading is told on page 474. With Warner's last two lines, compare the marginal notation, "Request to *passe into Persia* through *Moscovie*."<sup>4</sup>

## W

With this memento, in returne  
*From Bactra*, divers kings  
*Sent in his charge* their legates, whom  
*To Mosco* safe he brings.

Thence did he sayle for England,  
 hence  
*For Mosco* back againe,  
*And with our queene Elizabeth*  
*Her letters*, did obtaine  
*The Mosick's letters* to the kings,  
*By whom* he then should *pas*  
*For Persian traffique*: and for this  
*He thence imbarked was.*<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 639.<sup>2</sup> P.N., II, 465.<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 469.<sup>4</sup> P.N., III, 17.

## H

There *travaile* few people . . . .  
 in that Countrey, but *in companie* of  
*Cararan*, where *there be many camels.*<sup>2</sup>

We then as before were *in neede* of  
*water*, and of other victuals, being  
 forced to kill our horses and camels  
 to eate.<sup>3</sup>

So upon the 23 day of December  
 wee arrived at the citie of Boghar  
 in the lande of *Bactria.*<sup>5</sup>

## H

There were in my company, and  
*committed to my charge*, two ambassa-  
 dors, the one from the king of  
 Boghar, the other from the king  
 of Balke, and were *sent* unto the  
 Emperor of Russia.<sup>5</sup>

The second of September we  
 arrived at the citie of *Mosco*. . . .  
*I brought* before him [Emperor] all the  
 Ambassadors that were *committed to*  
*my charge.*<sup>6</sup>

I therewith departed toward the  
 city of *Mosco* . . . . I . . . . de-  
 clared the cause of my comming, signi-  
 fied by the *Queenes Majesties letters*.  
 . . . . He [Osep Napea] declared  
 that the Emperours pleasure was  
 that I should not onely *passe* thorow  
 his dominions *into Persia*, but also  
 have his Graces letters of commenda-  
 tions to forren princes. . . . I  
 departed from the city of *Mosco* the  
 27 day of April 1562, downe by the  
 great river of *Volga.*<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., II, 475.<sup>6</sup> P.N., II, 478.<sup>7</sup> P. 639.<sup>8</sup> P.N., III, 15-18.

Warner's powers of condensation are well illustrated by the foregoing passage.

## W

Now in *Hyrana*, *Shyrvan*,  
Or *Media*, all as one,  
Suppose our *Jenkinson* before  
*King Obdowcan's* throne.  
Though sumptuous cities he possest,  
Yeat for the summer's heate,  
On airesome mountaines held he then  
His court, in pleasures greate.  
Of silke and gold imbroyderie  
His tents, his robes inchact  
With pearles and pretious stones, and  
looks  
Of maiestie him grac't:  
On carpets rich they trode, rich  
traines  
On him attendance gave,  
With sixe score concubines, that  
seem'd  
So many queens for brave.  
Before his faire pavilion was  
Of water cleere a fount,  
Drinke for himselfe and his (for most  
Of water they account).<sup>1</sup>

## H

I came to a city called *Shamaky*,  
in the said countrey of *Hircan*, other-  
wise called *Shirvan*. . . . I was sent  
for to come to the king, named  
*Obdowcan*, who kept his court at  
that time in the high mountains in  
tents . . . . to avoyd the injury of  
the heat: . . . . This king did sit in  
a very rich pavilion wrought with  
silke and golde, placed very pleasantly  
upon a hillside, . . . . having before  
him a goodly fountaine of faire water;  
whereof he and his nobility did  
drink, he being . . . . richly ap-  
parelled with long garments of  
silke and cloth of gold, imbrodred  
with pearles and stone: . . . . and on  
the left side of his tolipane stood a  
plume of feathers, set in a trunke  
of golde richly inameled, and set  
with precious stones: . . . . all the  
ground within his pavilion was  
covered with rich carpets.<sup>2</sup>

(For his [king's] maner is that  
watching in the night, and then  
banketting with his women,<sup>3</sup> being  
an hundred and forty in number, he  
sleepeth most in the day).<sup>4</sup>

This is, perhaps, the passage which best illustrates Warner's use of his material. It shows his capacity for swift transition, pointed résumé of incident which to him seems non-essential, and lavish use of other incident. He has *Jenkinson* before the king in the wink of an eye, whereas *Hakluyt* expends several pages. But the details of gorgeous furniture impress him, and he helps himself freely to the rich trappings. There is, in fact, scarcely any picturesque detail which he omits. The echo of words in his mind is also obvious.

<sup>1</sup> P. 639.

<sup>2</sup> P.N., III, 21.

<sup>3</sup> In the margin, "Multitude of concubines."

<sup>4</sup> P.N., III, 23.

It is the king's garments which are "imbrodred"; but Warner transfers the word to describe the royal tent, "of silke and gold *imbroyderie*." The fountain is "goodly" and the water "faire"; but Warner makes the fountain "faire" and the water "cleere." The very shifting of the fountain from its position *in mediis rebus* to the end is significant. Its logical place, and its place in Hakluyt, was just after the first mention of the pavilion; it therefore seems as though the poet had reviewed the description, found that he had overlooked a picturesque detail, and had included it at the end.

There are other slight but significant changes. The king's garments were embroidered with "pearles and stone"; but "the stone" becomes "pretious stones," used in another connection by Jenkinson six lines farther on. "Placed very *pleasantly* upon a hillside" may have suggested "in *pleasures* greate" since the two occur in exactly parallel contexts. It is amusing to note that Abd'ulloh Khan is deprived of twenty of his concubines because "seven score" would not suit the metre. Alliteration may have determined Warner in favor of *six* where one might expect *eight*.

In a passage like the above Warner's supplementations are few indeed. Barring a few such lines as "looks of Maiestie him gract"<sup>1</sup> and "So many queenes for brave," he is merely the accurate transcriber.

The next four lines describe in very general terms Jenkinson's dinner with the king, an account of which is given in Hakluyt, III, 23. Then,

In formall *hawking*, hunting, chace,  
Not then came Tristram neere.<sup>2</sup>

Compare, "The king . . . did give one commandment that I should ride on *hawking* with many gentlemen of his court."<sup>3</sup>

### W

He of the Persian *sophie* held  
His land, *subdued late*.<sup>4</sup>

### H

The king is subject to the sayd  
*Sophie* . . . who *conquered them*  
*not many years past*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Even this may have been suggested by the marginal note: "*Majesty and attire of King Obdolowcan*" (p. 21).

<sup>2</sup> P. 639.

<sup>3</sup> P.N., III, 23.

<sup>4</sup> P. 639.

<sup>5</sup> P.N., III, 24.



W

Him often questioned this king,  
Of us and Europe's strength,

And him, with gifts and privilege,  
For mart *dismissed* at length.

*Silks, raw, and wrought, spices and  
drugs,*  
And *more-els* worth the mart,  
Our marchants fetch from thence.<sup>1</sup>

With men for his defence,  
And letters from that king unto  
The shaugh, he traveld thence.

In travell thitherwards he grieves,  
In wonder, to behold  
The *down-fals* of those stately towns  
And *castles, which of old,*  
Whilst Persia held the monarchie,  
Were famous over all.  
Nor *Alexander* wonne of those  
One peece, with labour small.<sup>2</sup>

The second of the two cities mentioned in the next lines gives trouble:

The mightie citties Tauris, and  
Persipolis, he past.<sup>3</sup>

Hakluyt calls attention in the margin to "the city Tebris or Tauris," and Jenkinson speaks of it as "the citie Tebris in olde time called Tauris, the greatest citie in Persia."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P.N., III, 22.

<sup>2</sup> P.N., III, 23.

<sup>3</sup> P. 640.

<sup>4</sup> P.N., III, 24.

<sup>5</sup> P.N., III, 23.

<sup>6</sup> P. 640.

H

Then he proponed unto me sundry  
questions, both touching religion  
and also the state of our countreys,  
and further questioned whether the  
Emperor of Almaine, the Emperor of  
Russia, or the Great Turke were of  
most power.<sup>1</sup>

Who *dismissing* me with great  
favour . . . . gave me at my depar-  
ture a faire horse with all furniture,  
and custome free from thence with  
all my goods.<sup>2</sup>

There be also . . . . necessary  
commodities . . . . in this sayd  
realm: viz. . . . . *raw silke* . . . .  
besides, neere all kinde of *spices and  
drugges, and some other commodities.*<sup>3</sup>

I required his highnesse safecon-  
duct for to depart towards the  
Sophy, who . . . . appointing his  
Ambassadour . . . . and others to  
safeconduct me, he gave . . . . etc.<sup>4</sup>

There was an *olde castle* called  
Gullistone, now *beaten downe* by this  
Sophy, which was esteemed to be  
one of the strongest castles in the  
world, and was besieged by *Alexander*  
the Great long time before he could  
win it.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>7</sup> P.N., III, 25.

<sup>8</sup> P. 640.

<sup>9</sup> P.N., III, 26.

Persipolis is not so easy to identify. Jenkinson mentions passing only one other city between Shamaki and Casbin, and that is Ardouil, which Warner obviously could not have meant. What he thought of, without much doubt, was the ancient city of Persepolis, now Shiraz. But how does he happen to use it here? The circumstance with which he associates it,

Two ruined gates, sundred twelve miles,  
Yet extant of this last,<sup>1</sup>

does not occur in Hakluyt in connection with Jenkinson's journey from Shamaki to Casbin. But something similar is recorded on the previous page<sup>2</sup> about the same man's voyage from Astracan to Shabran:

The city of Derbent is an ancient towne having an olde castle therein, being situated upon an hill called Castow, builded all of free stone much after our building, the walles very high and thicke, and was first erected by *king Alexander the Great*, when he warred against the Persians and Medians, and then hee made a wall of a wonderfule height and thicknesse, extending from the same citie to the Georgians, yea unto the principall citie thereof named *Tewflish*, which wall though it be now rased or otherwise decayed, yet the foundation remaineth, and the walle was made to the intent that the inhabitants of that countrey then newly conquered by the said *Alexander* should not lightly flee, nor his enemies easily invade.<sup>3</sup>

It will be noticed that there is no specific reference to "two ruined gates, sundred twelve miles." But there is a wall of great length extending between two cities. And it is "yet extant" or "yet the foundation remaineth."

How "Tewflish" becomes "Persipolis" is another matter. Hakluyt helps to bring the two closer by writing "Or Tiphlis" in the margin. And in the 1589 edition, not only are the two words printed close together, but the old character *O* resembles a *P*. With the *r* of *or* we then have a word resembling *Persepolis*. It is noteworthy that Warner spells it with an *i*, "Persipolis."

A conjecture may be advanced as to how the two circumstances got confused in the poet's mind. The missing link is Alexander. For in the previous instance he had besieged "an olde castle" "long time before he could win it"; and in this instance he built of "an

<sup>1</sup> P. 640.

<sup>2</sup> 1589 ed., p. 367.

<sup>3</sup> P.N., III, 20.

olde castle" "the walles very high and thicke." It is little wonder that, given two so similar descriptions, Warner should have confounded them.<sup>1</sup>

Having introduced this extraneous detail, the poet reverts at once to the very passage in Hakluyt he had been consulting:

## W

The *gyant's* wonders on the *hill*  
Of *Quiquiffs* heard he tolde.<sup>2</sup>

And of the *yearely* obit, which  
Their *maides* to *Channa* hold.  
This was indeed a wonder, for  
This virgin so was bent  
To *chastitie* that by selfe-death,  
She marriage did prevent.<sup>4</sup>

Whilst Jenkinson  
Rests at his jornie's end,  
With *Obdowcan's sonne*, that on  
The *sophie* did attend.<sup>6</sup>

At *Casben* hild the *shawgh* his court,  
Who *thirty yeares* and odd,  
Had not been seene abroad, thereof  
By *prophesie* forbodd.

## H

Also in the sayd countrey there is  
an high *hill* called *Quiquifs*, upon  
the toppe whereof (as it is *commonly*  
*reported*) did dwell a great *Giant*,  
named *Arneoste*, having upon his  
head two great hornes, and eares  
and eyes like a Horse, and a taile  
like a Cowe.<sup>3</sup>

And not farre from the sayd castle  
was a Nunry of sumptuous building,  
wherein was buried a kings daughter,  
named *Ameleck Channa*, who slew  
herselfe with a knife for that her  
father would have forced her (she  
professing *chastity*) to have married  
with a king of Tartarie: upon which  
occasion the *maidens* of that countrey  
do resort thither *once every yere* to  
lament her death.<sup>5</sup>

We arrived at the foresayd citie  
of *Casbin*, where the sayd *Sophie*  
keepeth his court, . . . and within  
two dayes after the *Sophie* com-  
manded a prince called *Shalli*  
*Murzey*, *sonne to Obdowcan* . . . to  
send for me to his house, who . . .  
invited me to dinner.<sup>7</sup>

The king of Persia . . . is called  
the *Shaugh*. . . . He lieth at a  
towne called *Casbin*. . . . The  
king hath not come out of the com-

<sup>1</sup> Persepolis would not, of course, lie en route between Shamaki and Casbin. See Jenkinson's Map of Russia, *P.N.*, III, back. But Warner was oblivious of geography as was his rival and friend, Drayton.

<sup>2</sup> P. 640.

<sup>3</sup> *P.N.*, III, 25.

<sup>4</sup> P. 640.

<sup>5</sup> *P.N.*, III, 25.

<sup>6</sup> P. 640.

<sup>7</sup> *P.N.*, III, 27.

## W

Like Maiestie he kept, as those  
 Great monarchs did before  
 The Macedons subdued them,  
 Of *wives* he had like store,  
 Besides most bewtious *concubines*,  
*Not lesse than fifteen score*;  
 And *yearely of the fairest maides*,  
 And *wives* doth make new choyce:  
 When much the friends and *husbands*  
     of  
 Those chosen doe *rejoice*.  
 Him blesseth he to whome doth he  
*One of his relicts give*:  
 Yeat Persian shaughs esteeme them-  
     selves  
 The holiest kings that live.  
 For when a *Christian* (whom they call  
 An infidel because  
 He not beleeves in *Mahomet*,  
 Nor *Mortezalies* lawes)  
 Is called to audience, least the same  
 Prophaine wheare he doth stand,  
 Must doffe his shoes, and to and fro  
*Treade on new-sifted sand*.<sup>1</sup>

## H

passee of his owne house in *33 or 34*  
*yeeres*, whereof the cause is not  
 knowne, but as they say it is upon a  
 superstition of certaine *prophesies*  
 to which they are greatly addicted.  
 . . . He hath *4 wives* alwayes, and  
*about 300 concubines*, and once in  
 the yeere he hath all the *faire maidens*  
 and *wives* that may be found a great  
 way about brought unto him, whom  
 he diligently peruseth . . . taking  
 such as he liketh. . . . And if he  
 chance to take any man's wife, her  
*husband is very glad* thereof, and  
 in recompense of her, oftentimes he  
*giveth the husband one of his old store*,  
 whom he thankfully receiveth.

If any stranger being a *Christian*  
 shall come before him, he must put  
 on a new paire of shooes made in that  
 cuntry, and from the place where  
 he entreth, there is digged as it were  
 a causey all the way until he come  
 to the place where he shal talke with  
 the king . . . : and when the  
 stranger is departed, then is the  
 causey cast downe, and the ground  
 made even againe.<sup>2</sup>

It will be noticed that in the foregoing passage Warner follows closely Geoffrey Ducket's observations as printed in Hakluyt<sup>3</sup> until he comes to the last eight lines. Ducket is silent about the Christians being considered infidels; and, though he mentions a causeway dug as an approach for the Christian, says nothing specifically about "new-sifted sand." But Warner did not invent those details. He derived them, after his usual procedure, from a different account of like circumstances. The connection this time was through Mahomet and Mortezali, whom Ducket alludes to on the very page on which he describes the Christian's reception. This gave Warner his chance for a cross-reference to a passage which definitely refers to infidels,

<sup>1</sup> Chap. lxi. p. 641.<sup>2</sup> P. N., III, 158-59.<sup>3</sup> P. N., III, 158-66.

and to "new-sifted sand" as well. Fifty-two pages earlier,<sup>1</sup> on the page following the story of Jenkinson's reception by Obdolowcan's son, a story which the poet used, Jenkinson has this:

Before my feet touched the ground, a paire of the Sophies owne shoes . . . were put upon my feet, for without the same shoes I might not be suffred to tread upon his holy ground, being a *Christian* and called amongst them Gower, that is unbelcever, and uncleane; esteeming all to be *infidels* and Pagans which do not beleeve as they do, in *their false, filthie prophets, Mahomet and Murtezalli*.<sup>2</sup>

And, near the bottom of the following page, he concludes:

I being glad thereof did reverence and went my way, . . . and after me followed a man with a Basanet of *sand*, *sifting* all the way that I had gone within the said pallace, even from the said Sophies sight unto the court gate.<sup>3</sup>

The incident of doffing shoes and the mention of Mortezaali in Duckett's story must have recalled to Warner the similar incident in connection with Jenkinson. He turns back to the latter, and engrafts the further details of Mortezaali and the sifted sand.

Our soveraigne's letters to the shaugh  
So Jenkinson presents,  
Who, being askt his arrant, said,  
"Those letters like contents."<sup>4</sup>

With the first two lines compare, "I delivered the Queens Majesties letters with my present."<sup>5</sup> The noun *present* may have evoked the verb *presents*. With the last two lines compare, "Hee . . . demanded of me . . . what affairs I had there to doe? Unto whom I answered," etc.<sup>6</sup> "Those letters like contents" is a neat summary of ten lines in Hakluyt, which explain fully the nature of Jenkinson's "arrant."

The tendency, noticeable in the last-quoted stanza, to summarize and generalize increases from this point to the end of the chapter. Warner is obviously growing a little weary of his task.

<sup>1</sup> 1589 ed., Jenkinson, p. 370; Duckett, p. 422. It is noteworthy that in the later account the name is spelled *Mortus Ali* while it is spelled by Jenkinson, *Murtezalli*. Warner gives *Mortezalie*.

<sup>2</sup> *P.N.*, III, 29.

<sup>3</sup> *P.* 641.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

<sup>5</sup> *P.N.*, III, 29.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

## W

But new-made *peace* with *Turkie* him  
Of new-sought trade prevents.  
*The Turkish marchants*, fearing least  
*Their traffique might decrease*,  
Had, by that *basha*, mard his mart  
That then had made that *peace*.<sup>1</sup>

The shaugh did also question his  
Beleeve, and quarrell it:  
So, well appaid is Jenkinson,  
If safe away he git,

Whome, *with our letters to the Turke*,  
The shaugh to send was bent,  
Had not the *Hyrane Murzey posts*  
*Unto his father sent*.<sup>4</sup>

## H

For the *Turks* Ambassador being  
arrived and the *peace* concluded, *the*  
*Turkish merchants* . . . declared  
to the same Ambassadour that my  
coming thither . . . would in great  
part *destroy their trade*, and that it  
should be good for him to persuade  
the *Sophie* not to favor me, . . .  
which request of the *Turkish mer-*  
*chants* the same Ambassadour  
earnestly preferred, and being after-  
wards dismissed with great honour,  
he departed out of the *Realme*.<sup>2</sup>

Then he reasoned with mee much  
of Religion, demanding whether I  
were a Gower, that is to say, an  
unbeleever. . . . Unto whom I  
answered that I was . . . a Chris-  
tian. . . . Does thou beleieve so,  
said the *Sophie* unto me? Yea, that  
I do, said I: Oh thou unbeleever,  
said he, we have no neede to have  
friendship with the unbeleivers,  
and so willed me to depart.<sup>3</sup>

[The *Sophy's* nobility] persuaded  
that he should not entertaine me  
wel . . . and that it was best for  
him to send me *with my letters unto*  
*the said great Turke* for a present,  
which he was fully determined to  
have done. . . . But the king  
of *Hircanes* sonne aforesaide, under-  
standing this deliberation, *sent* a  
man *in post unto his father*.<sup>5</sup>

And Obdolowcan's letters then  
Disswaded that intent.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 641.

<sup>2</sup> P.N., III, 29.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> P. 641.

<sup>5</sup> P.N., III, 31-32.

<sup>6</sup> P. 641.

The foregoing lines summarize page 32 in Hakluyt.

When, with a present for himselfe,  
He thence to Hyrcan went,  
And theare did him the heart-trew king  
*Most kindly intertayne*,  
And thence *dismissee* with gifts, when he  
No longer would remayne:  
Nor onely his ambassadors  
Unto his care commends,  
But moment of that ambassie  
Which he to Mosco sends.<sup>1</sup>

The foregoing lines summarize a passage in Hakluyt, pages 32 and 33, beginning "the thirtieth day" and ending "committed the chieftest secret of his affaires unto mee." In two cases words were suggested to Warner: "he *intreated* mee very gently," and "so *dismissed* me with great favour."

There now suppose them well ariv'd,  
And bringing gratefull newes  
Of waightie messages, whearein  
The Mosick did him use.<sup>2</sup>

With the foregoing lines compare a passage in Hakluyt, page 37, beginning "Shortly after my comming to Moscow," and ending "he was minded to employ mee."

Convenient time he nerethelesse,  
For Persian trade attends,

are lines which summarize, "A copie of the priviledges given by Obdolowcan, King of Hircania, to the company of English merchants."<sup>3</sup> While the rest of the stanza,

Which Arthur Edwards, thither sent,  
Successfully theare ends,

reflects, "The thirde voyage into Persia . . . by Richard Johnson, Alexander Kitchin and Arthur Edwards,"<sup>4</sup> as well as the letters of Edward's which follow<sup>5</sup> and describe Persian commodities.

Warner next pauses to praise the work of Hakluyt, to laud again achievements of the northern voyagers, and finally to mention

<sup>1</sup> P. 641.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*    <sup>3</sup> P.N., III, 39-40.    <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.    <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 54-67.

with pride his father, himself a voyager. Then he reverts to Jenkinson:

And here, from out those churlish seas,  
To London, there an aged man,  
To tell this youthfull taile:  
How he had past all Europe, seene  
All Levant Islands, and  
Greece, Turkey, Affrick, India, Sur,  
Aegypt, the holie land,  
  
Rest may thy honorable boanes,  
Good *old-man*, in sweet peace.<sup>1</sup>

For his summary Warner has used Jenkinson's own,<sup>2</sup> in which all the countries mentioned are listed, and in almost the same order. Jenkinson's last words are: "And thus being weary and growing *old*, I am content to take my *rest* in mine owne house."

The following stanza has a covert allusion to Drake:

But late had we a fowle like rare,  
Us'd oftner sea than shore,  
Ofte swam he into golden strands,  
But now will so no more.<sup>3</sup>

Drake had perished January 28, 1596, on the ill-fated voyage with Hawkins. The fourth edition of *Albions England*, containing Book XI (in which the foregoing passage occurs), appeared in that very year.

Of "other later voyages" with which Warner concerns himself in chapter lxxi of the next book (XII), it is significant to note that Macham is the first selected. For he is made similarly conspicuous by Hakluyt in being placed first of the more modern voyagers whose exploits were told in English.

## W

Like amorous scape from England as  
Of Elenor to Rome,  
Made *Macham* in *Madera* reare  
His hence-*stolne* lover's toome,  
Then raigned here third Edward,  
when  
So traveled Mandevil,

## H

The island of *Madera* . . . was  
discovered by an Englishman, which  
was named *Macham*, who sailing out  
of England into Spaine, with a  
woman that he had *stollen*, arrived  
by tempest in that Island, and did  
cast anker in that haven or bay

<sup>1</sup> P. 642.

<sup>2</sup> P. N., III, 195-96.

<sup>3</sup> P. 642.



## W

And in those days th'interring there  
Of Macham's love befell.

*A chappell built he there, his name  
And hers ingraven in stone,  
To Jesus dedicated (then,  
And England, there unknowne.)  
Of him this island's porte is cal'd  
Machico to this day,  
Whom Affrick Mores to Castile, as  
A wonder, did convey:  
For in an hallowed tree or trough,  
Not having sayle or oares,  
(The shippe they came in leaving him)  
Discovered he the Mores.<sup>1</sup>*

## H

which now is called *Machico* after the name of *Macham*. And because his lover was sea-sicke, he went on land with some of his company, and the shippe with a good winde made saile away, and the woman died for thought. *Macham*, which loved her dearely, built a *chapell* or hermitage to bury her in, calling it by the name of *Jesus*, and caused his name and hers to be written or graven upon the stone of her tombe. . . . And afterwards he ordained a boat made of one tree . . . and went to sea in it . . . and came upon the coast of *Africke*, without saile or oare. And the *Moors* which saw it tooke it to be a marvelous thing, and presented him unto the king of that countrey for a wonder, and that king also sent him and his companions for a miracle unto the king of *Castile*.<sup>2</sup>

The juxtaposing of these two passages well illustrates the curious jumbling process to which Warner often subjected his material. Details get included somehow, often as if by afterthought. "The shippe they came in leaving him" is a case in point, though here the new place is not illogical. Hakluyt's "marvelous thing," "wonder," and "miracle" are epitomized into "wonder." The passage also reproduces something of the voyager's terse, pithy directness.<sup>3</sup>

## W

By which *discovery*, and by his  
Instructions, did ensue,  
Th' Iberians did Madera and  
*Canaries-isles* subdew.<sup>4</sup>

## H

In the yeere 1395 . . . the information which *Macham* gave of this Iland . . . mooved many of France and *Castile* to go and *discover*

<sup>1</sup> P. 643.

<sup>2</sup> P.N., VI, 119-20.

<sup>3</sup> This is the very quality in which Drayton, who reproduced the same story from the same source, was lacking. See "Poly-olbion," Song XIX. The divergencies of treatment form the basis for an interesting comparative study of these two contemporary poets.

<sup>4</sup> P. 643.

## W

## H

it, and also the great Canaria. . . .  
 One Monsieur Ruben . . . . de-  
 manding the conquest of the *Ilands*  
*of the Canaries* . . . . departed from  
 Sivil with a good army.<sup>1</sup>

Hence (els had Macham past our penne)  
 Did time effect our trade  
 For *Guinie*, in her highnes' raigne  
 Acquir'd, and patent made.<sup>2</sup>

On the page<sup>3</sup> facing the story of Macham, Hakluyt prints:

The Ambassage which king John the second, king of Portugall, sent to Edward the fourth, King of England, which in part was to stay one John Tintam and one William Fabian Englishmen from proceeding in a voyage which they were preparing for *Ginne*.<sup>4</sup>

And on the next page but one<sup>5</sup> begin the various voyages in quest of Guinea trade.

## W

## H

To wit (although *an alien*) good  
*Pintado*, abus'd  
 By moodie *Windham*, *Guinie* first,  
 And *Benyn* these perused.<sup>6</sup>

The *first voiage to Guinea and Benin* . . . . having also two cap-  
 taines, the one *a stranger* called  
 Anthonie Anes *Pintado*, . . . . a  
 wise, discreet, and sober man.<sup>7</sup>

*Windham*, not assenting hereunto,  
 fell into a sudden rage, reviling the  
 sayd *Pintado*, calling him Jew, with  
 other opprobrious words.<sup>8</sup>

Next Gainsh, then Towrson, divers times,  
 And theare my father dide:  
 Since, rife that voyage, Brasile, and  
 To Cape-verd isles beside.<sup>9</sup>

Mention of Gainsh may afford an instance of Warner's dependence on the margins. For Gainsh was but the master of a ship in the Second Voyage to Guinea,<sup>10</sup> of which the captain was John Lok.

<sup>1</sup> *P.N.*, VI, 120.

<sup>4</sup> *P.N.*, VI, 123.

<sup>7</sup> *P.N.*, VI, 145.

<sup>2</sup> *P.* 643.

<sup>5</sup> In 1589 ed., p. 83.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 148.

<sup>3</sup> 1589, ed., p. 81.

<sup>6</sup> *P.* 643.

<sup>9</sup> *P.* 643.

<sup>10</sup> *P.N.*, VI, 154 ff.

He is, however, the first to be named in the margin: "Robert Gainsh was master of the John Evangelist."<sup>1</sup> It may also be that he held a prominent place in Warner's memory because he was practically the beginner of slave trade, a rôle in which Hakluyt later refers to him.<sup>2</sup>

Warner's next hero is Towerson, the account of whose important voyages is printed in Hakluyt, VI, 177-252. "Cape-verd isles" is a covert allusion to George Fenner. Compare, "The voyage of M. George Fenner to Guinie, and the *Islands of Cape Verde*."<sup>3</sup> While "Brasile" may allude to the common slave-trading practice of putting into Guinea to capture slaves, which were sold at fabulous profits in America.

The single detail in the stanza about which Hakluyt is silent is the death of Warner's father, a touching *in memoriam* by the poet, who had once before expressed pride in his parent's achievements.<sup>4</sup>

The following is Warner's list of products of the Cape Verde Islands:

Gold, civet, muske, graines, pepper, woad,  
And ivory.<sup>5</sup>

This list is nearly duplicated by Hakluyt: "Civet, muske, gold and grains, the commodities of Cape Verde."<sup>6</sup> The other products may be found elsewhere in accounts of Cape Verde and Africa. Ivory in particular is often mentioned.<sup>7</sup>

In Barbarie, old Mauritaine,  
Like trade this raigne hath wrought.<sup>8</sup>

The above was doubtless suggested to Warner by a sentence in Richard Eden's "Description of Affrike," printed as a preface to the Guinea voyages: "*Mauritania (now called Barbaria)* is divided into two partes."<sup>9</sup>

From this point it is dangerous to attempt to track the poet step by step. For he has come down to events almost contemporary; and furthermore, he seems in a hurry to let the curtain fall. His allusions are, in consequence, general. He pays tribute once more

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. lxi, p. 642.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *P.N.*, VI, 163, 166, 184.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 207.

<sup>5</sup> P. 644.

<sup>6</sup> P. 644.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 266.

<sup>8</sup> *P.N.*, VI, 271, marg. note.

<sup>9</sup> *P.N.*, VI, 143.

to Drake, the "world admired," and to "his brave breeder Hawkins."<sup>1</sup> Then, his eagerness to have done is exemplified in the following passage:

Adde Gilbert, Greenville, Frobisher,  
Adde Chilton, Oxnam, Fenton, Ward,  
Davis, an other Drake,  
With divers here not catalog'd,  
And for a chiefest take  
All-actions Candish.<sup>2</sup>

All these voyagers have prominent places in Hakluyt except Ward, whose chief claim to this niche seems to be that he wrote the story of Fenton's voyage.<sup>3</sup>

In the next stanza Warner lauds Francis Walsingham, the man to whom Hakluyt dedicated the first edition of his *magnum opus*, and who had the project of the northwest passage to India particularly under his wing.<sup>4</sup>

The poet has now recorded exploits of voyagers included in two parts of the *Principall Navigations*. Of voyages to the South and Southeast, of which the other part consists, he has had little to say. And he decides to pass them over:

Of these, *East-Indian Goa*, south,  
And south-east people moe,  
And of their memorable names  
*Those toyles* did undergoe,  
In one elaborated pen  
Compendiously doth floe.  
Omitted then, and named men,  
And lands (not here, indeede,  
So written of as they deserve)  
At large in Hakluyt reede.<sup>5</sup>

The stanzas prove, however, that he had some acquaintance with the portion of his source which he chose to omit. The first line doubtless refers to the voyage of Ralph Fitch "by way of Tripolis in Syria, to Ormus, and so to *Goa in the East India*."<sup>6</sup> And it was from

<sup>1</sup> P. 644.

<sup>2</sup> P.N., XI, 172-202.

<sup>3</sup> P. 644.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 440.

<sup>6</sup> P.N., V, 465.

this city of Goa that John Newberry wrote his tale of woe, to which the poet is perhaps alluding in "those toyles." This is Newberry's eloquent summary:

It were long for me to write and tedious for you to read of all things that have passed since my parting from you. But of all the troubles that have chanced since mine arrivall in Ormus, this bringer is able to certifie you.<sup>1</sup>

Warner's lines in praise of Hakluyt conclude his story of the voyagers. His procedure throughout has been made tolerably clear. It is obvious that, prompted by patriotism, he determined to record the feats of great sea-farers, whose tales he then read in that acknowledged authority, *Principall Navigations*. Having studied several accounts bearing on the same subject, he collated them, and enhanced the interest of his story by transplanting an impressive detail, a Maelstrom or a five-foot beard, which seemed, and often was, indigenous to its new place. In this collating, Hakluyt's crude index and marginal notes were helpful.

The closeness, amounting at times to servility, with which Warner follows his source is no proof that his knowledge of the voyagers was extensive. We can only conclude that he had read carefully, and for the occasion, the stories of Chancelor, Burrough, Jenkinson, and Macham. Outside the four chapters, there are no significant allusions to such stuff as the voyagers' tales were made of.

ROBERT RALSTON CAWLEY

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 462.



## LE MOUVEMENT ROUSSEAUISTE DU DERNIER QUART DE SIÈCLE: ESSAI DE BIBLIOGRAPHIE CRITIQUE

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Jamais depuis 1760-62, date de la publication de *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, d'*Émile* et du *Contrat social*, la discussion n'a cessé des idées de Rousseau. Mais il y a eu des heures où celles-ci ont été agitées avec une particulière passion. Cela a été chronique; et cela n'a pas été l'effet du hasard. Ce fut toujours aux heures où—après une période de positivisme philosophique et de réalisme moral—l'humanité se sentait prête à reprendre un élan vers l'idéal; ne craignons pas le mot, qu'on agite comme un drapeau rouge pour exciter la haine contre Rousseau: ce fut toujours aux heures de *mysticisme*. Et, qu'on y croie ou non au mysticisme rousseauiste—et ajoutons (car il y aurait beaucoup à dire à ce sujet) que le mysticisme rousseauiste soit dans Rousseau ou qu'il ait été inventé par les commentateurs—le fait reste: Rousseau demeure aux yeux de la postérité le plus éloquent théoricien des rêves ou réalités que l'humanité poursuit depuis les révolutions américaine de 1776 et française de 1789: on revient toujours à lui.

Du reste, il faut s'entendre. Nous avons trop de siècles de philosophie et de critique dans notre système pour souffrir d'être encore dupes de certains mots. Ce fut proprement du "mysticisme," ou comme l'appelait Mme de Staël, de l'enthousiasme," c.à.d. une disposition amenée par des motifs en partie inconscients mais qu'on sent d'un ordre non bas, qui a poussé l'humanité tour à tour vers le christianisme naissant et plus tard aux croisades, puis vers la renaissance classique, puis vers la science et le culte de la raison aux XVII<sup>me</sup> et XVIII<sup>me</sup> siècles, puis vers les révolutions sociales. C'est du mysticisme qui pendant les années de la Grande Guerre nous inspirait la consécration de nos forces à une grande cause; et qui hier nous inspirait, quand nous espérions de la Confédération de Washington, l'avènement d'un monde nouveau. Montaigne fut un mystique du bon sens: Calvin fut un mystique de la conscience individuelle; Bossuet fut un mystique de l'autorité; et si on veut appeler Rousseau un mystique

de la nature, Voltaire fut un mystique de l'intellect. Il y a même des mystiques de destruction; nous le savions par l'histoire, et si nous doutions qu'il en fût de même dans le domaine de la pensée, nous le saurions aujourd'hui après avoir assisté au spectacle d'une épidémie violente de *mysticisme anti-rousseauiste*.

C'est à peu près régulièrement tous les vingt ou vingt-cinq ans que ces vagues rousseauistes se produisent.

Rousseau mourut en 1778.

En 1800 c'est le grand mouvement préromantique de Madame de Staël et de Chateaubriand—car de fréquentes tentatives d'opposer Chateaubriand et Rousseau sous prétexte que l'un est catholique et l'autre protestant, ont été définitivement réduites à néant par les travaux récents de P. Maurice Masson.

Dé 1820 à 1830 ce fut la grande poussée romantique proprement dite, d'où, dans le domaine de l'érudition, sortit l'important ouvrage de Musset-Pathay, *Vie et Œuvres de J.-J. Rousseau* (2 vols., 1821).

Au milieu du siècle, c'est l'ère de nouvelles révolutions sociales; lorsque des hommes comme Louis Blanc—pourquoi pas Victor Hugo?—rêvent pour le monde le mysticisme politique et social qu'on rattache volontiers à Rousseau. Ce fut le temps où Sainte-Beuve consacra quatre articles de ses *Lundis* et *Nouveaux Lundis* à Rousseau, et où Vinet publie son grand chapitre sur le philosophe de Genève dans son *Cours de Littérature du Dix-huitième siècle*: travaux sévères souvent, mais en un style grave et sans cette passion à laquelle nous avons dû nous habituer depuis.<sup>1</sup> De même encore Nisard exprimait en 1861 (l'ayant écrit dix ans auparavant), mais en un langage autrement mesuré, tout ce que les fanatiques ennemis de Rousseau reprirent plus tard: il fait allusion en ces termes à la vague rousseauiste de la période révolutionnaire dont on sortait alors: "Par malheur, des esprits éminents ont cru l'exemple bon d'imiter Rousseau; et dans ces dernières années, estimer ses singularités plus que ses qualités, honorer ses erreurs, rechercher le succès de curiosité plutôt que

<sup>1</sup> Nous ne rappelons que pour mémoire l'explosion si fanatique d'antirousseauisme chez Lamartine dans le *Cours familier de Littérature* (commencé en 1856): *Émile* ... "livre que la démence seule peut expliquer"; *Contrat social*, dont "le néant sonore et creux ... confondra d'étonnement." Le meilleur enseignement à tirer de si manifestes exagérations c'est la mesure de l'enthousiasme qui avait précédé et avait provoqué ces extrêmes réactions.



d'approbation, est devenu la faiblesse d'hommes illustres. L'esprit au dix-septième siècle ne se croyait fait que pour le service de la vérité; au dix-huitième siècle, il a commencé à jouir de lui même; au dix-neuvième, grâce à l'exemple de Rousseau, il s'estime plus que la vérité et moins que le bruit qu'il fait" (p. 469, du Vol. IV de l'*Histoire de la Littérature française*). Rappelons, comme se rattachant à cette phase de l'histoire du rousseauisme, le livre charmant d'Arsène Houssaye, *Les Charmettes* (1863), et les deux fort importants volumes de documentation: Streckheisen-Moultou, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau, ses amis, ses ennemis* (1864).

Mais déjà un formidable mouvement dans la direction opposée avait commencé à se faire sentir—mouvement dû en partie à l'échec (au moins momentané) de l'utopie socialiste, en partie à l'enivrement produit par le triomphe de la science,<sup>1</sup> et dont la répercussion se fait sentir en littérature dans le réalisme et le naturalisme.

Il semblait que "la religion de la science" devait tout balayer. Mais non! Seulement un double phénomène se produisit. D'une part, la prochaine vague rousseauiste allait passer presque inaperçue. Elle se produisit cependant, et fut marquée par trois œuvres capitales, en France, en Angleterre, en Allemagne: En 1874 paraissaient, en deux volumes, les magistrales études que Saint-Marc Girardin avait déjà publiées dans la *Revue des Deux Mondes*, "J.-J. Rousseau, sa vie, ses œuvres"; la mort interrompît l'auteur avant l'achèvement. En même temps, en Angleterre John Morley avait préparé son ouvrage classique, en deux volumes *J.-J. Rousseau* (1873). En Allemagne c'était le jeune maître Erich Schmidt qui produisait pour son coup d'essai, à Jéna, *Richardson, Rousseau und Goethe* (1875). Notons qu'aucun de ces trois hommes célèbres n'est un grand admirateur de Rousseau; Saint-Marc Girardin lui est nettement hostile; Morley n'exalte le penseur politique qu'au dépens de l'homme; Schmidt ne voit dans la *Nouvelle Héloïse* qu'un moment dans l'évolution d'un mouvement dont Goethe marque le point d'arrivée—mais Rousseau sollicite l'attention de tous les trois. Outre ces trois volumes, qui tous portent le sceau de la maîtrise il faut mentionner l'ouvrage un

<sup>1</sup> Darwin, *Origine des espèces*, 1859; Taine, *Philosophes classiques*, 1856; *Introduction à la Litt. Anglaise*, 1864; *De l'Intelligence*, 1870; Berthelot, *Origines de la Chimie* (Préface: "Le monde est aujourd'hui sans mystères"), 1885; Renan, *Avenir de la science*, écrit 1848, publié 1890).

peu formidable mais consciencieux de F. Brockhoff qui fut terminé en 1874; *J. J. Rousseau, sein Leben und seine Werke*; il forme trois volumes épais—en tout 1800 pages de texte compact; quoique la science en ait été dépassée sur bien des points, il peut encore rendre de sérieux services.

D'autre part, si la vague rousseauiste du troisième quart du XIX<sup>me</sup> siècle fut moins forte que d'autres, celle du premier quart du XX<sup>me</sup> siècle allait être formidable. Elle suivait elle-même la vague énorme faite d'enthousiasme scientifique, de positivisme et de réalisme—et ne monta pas moins haut. Elle n'a pas passé encore. C'est à en étudier les contours que nous voulons nous attacher.

Quelques remarques avant de nous lancer *in medias res*.

Le réveil rousseauiste de 1870 à 75, dont Saint-Marc Girardin, Morley, et Schmidt avaient été en quelque sorte les protagonistes, faible déjà comparativement à d'autres, s'était continué doucement en dehors de France surtout. Le centenaire de la mort de Rousseau célébré en 1878 sans grand éclat en France, agit comme stimulant en Suisse d'abord, puis ailleurs. Ce fut alors que MM. Ritter, Dufour-Vernes et Théophile Dufour publièrent leur premiers travaux, si érudits, si consciencieux—suivis, d'année en année depuis, d'autres travaux de plus en plus importants (cf. *Annales J.J.R.*, XI, v-vi). La même année, 1878, J. Vuy publiait son curieux opuscule sur les *Origines des idées politiques de Rousseau*. Dès cette époque aussi Fr. Berthoud préparait à Neuchâtel ses deux volumes, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau au Val-de-Travers* (1881), et *J.-J. Rousseau et le pasteur de Montmollin* (1884). Dès 1878, Dietrich donnait son *Kant und Rousseau*; A. Jansen publiait en 1884, à Berlin, *Rousseau als Musiker*, et en 1885, *Rousseau als Botaniker*; et en 1889 c'était l'ouvrage capital de Möbius, *Rousseau's Krankheit's Geschichte*. En France, de timides travaux seulement, comme ceux de Metzger et de Buffenoir qui ne réussirent pas à renverser le mur d'indifférence ou d'hostilité qui semblait dressé alors. De fait, en France la critique semblait disposée à faire revivre le rationalisme voltairien en partie comme étant parent de l'esprit scientifique nouveau, et en partie comme antidote à l'esprit d'utopie rousseauiste dans lequel Nisard résumait l'esprit de 1848; et ceci continuait à faire mijoter l'anti-rousseauisme. Le

volume VI du grand ouvrage de Desnoireterres sur Voltaire, *Voltaire et Rousseau* (1875), est tout favorable à Voltaire. Bougeault, *État mental de Rousseau* (1883) est tout à fait défavorable à Rousseau. Et voici, en 1882 et 1883 MM. Perey et Maugras, étudiants diligents des cercles philosophiques du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, qui dans leurs deux volumes sur *Madame d'Epinay* se gardent bien de dire qu'ils s'étaient aperçus des remaniements qu'on avait fait subir aux soi-disants *Mémoires d'Epinay* pour noircir la mémoire de Rousseau, et qui impriment des ouvrages où Rousseau n'a point le beau rôle. Ce n'était là cependant qu'une préparation en quelque sorte au livre de Maugras, *Voltaire et Rousseau* (1886) qui ne peut guère se définir autrement que comme un pamphlet contre Rousseau. En 1887, Edm. Scherer publie son *Melchior Grimm* où il est aussi peu aimable pour Rousseau qu'il l'avait été dès 1865 dans ses deux articles sur les *Mémoires d'Epinay* (voir *Études de litt. contemp.*, Vol. III). En 1888 M. L. Brunel publie dans les *Annales de l'Est*—puis en publication séparée—"La Nouvelle Héloïse et Madame d'Houdetot" où plus que manque l'esprit de charité pour l'amoureux de Sophie. En 1903 les articles et leçons faites par Nourisson dans les années précédentes sont publiées par son fils sous le titre de *Rousseau et le Rousseauisme*; mais si l'animosité contre Rousseau n'est nullement dissimulée, il faut dire cependant que ce n'est plus au profit de Voltaire ou du rationalisme, car ici les études sur Rousseau ne sont que la contrepartie des études du même auteur sur *Voltaire et le Voltairianisme* (1891); Nourisson englobe dans une même réprobation tout l'esprit du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle; nous avons plutôt là un volume avant-coureur, où nous pressentons l'anti-rousseauisme néocatholique des premières années du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Disons-nous que le petit volume excellent de A. Chuquet *J.-J. Rousseau* (dans la collection "Les Grands écrivains français," 1<sup>o</sup> éd. 1893) soit franc de partialité contre Rousseau?—Franchement non.

Lorsque se dessine une nouvelle aurore rousseauiste, ce fut en dehors de France encore qu'en brillèrent les premiers rayons. M. Eugène Ritter faisait une gerbe magnifique d'essais qui parurent, d'abord dans différentes revues (jusqu'en Allemagne), et puis dans le volume, indispensable à tout Rousseauiste, *La Famille et la jeunesse de J.-J. Rousseau* (1896).<sup>1</sup> Et tandis que le compatriote de M. Ritter,

<sup>1</sup> Une nouvelle édition est impatiemment attendue.

M. A. de Montet préparait pour 1891 *Madame de Warens et le pays de Vaud*, Mugnier préparait cet autre livre important *Madame de Warens en Savoie* paru la même année. D'autre part, au Danemark, le célèbre philosophe Hoeffding écrivait en 1897 un livre petit mais pénétrant et judicieux *Rousseau und seine Philosophie* (trad. fr. 1912).

La France demeurait-elle donc étrangère au mouvement qui devait ramener l'attention sur Rousseau au commencement du XX<sup>me</sup> siècle? Point. Au contraire même. Mais si un jour devait venir où la bataille se livrerait en France surtout autour du nom de Rousseau, les penseurs commencèrent par s'y montrer fort indifférents à cet égard. Que ce fût en invoquant Rousseau ou tout autre, le but à poursuivre était alors de réagir contre les tendances présentes du réalisme, du naturalisme déterministe, du matérialisme moral. Dès 1874 Emile Boutroux rédigeait son travail de thèse qui équivalait à un véritable manifeste: *De la contingence des lois de la nature*. En 1882 Pasteur prononçait pour entrer à l'Académie son éloquent discours spiritualiste. En 1883 Pierre Loti signait le premier de ses livres de pitié humaine *Mon frère Ives*; et en 1885 E. Rod lui faisait écho avec *La course à la mort*. En 1887 fut publié le "manifeste des cinq" qui reniaient le naturalisme de leurs jeunes ans et le condamnaient sévèrement. P. Bourget publiait en 1887 *Mensonges*, et en 1889 *Le disciple*. Maeterlinck jetait sa note déconcertante en 1892 avec *Princesse Maleine*. Ajoutons que 1891 est la date du petit volume de Desjardins, *Le devoir présent*; et dès 1892 la *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale* opposait l'esprit nouveau à celui de la *Revue philosophique* (positiviste) fondée en 1876.

Cependant on commençait à trouver goût au spiritualisme ardent de la Russie. *Le roman russe* de Melchior de Vogüé (1886) est une date capitale. La "septentriomanie" suivit bientôt avec le culte de George Eliot, puis d'Ibsen, Bjoernsen, Strinberg, etc., à tel point que Jules Lemaître, tôt après 1890, dans son célèbre article *Influences récentes des littératures du nord* (*Contemporains*, VI) se sentit appelé à réclamer pour la France ce qu'on lui enlevait: son spiritualisme. Tolstoï, George Eliot, Ibsen—qu'y avait-il là qui n'eût été exprimé d'abord par Flaubert (*Education sentimentale*, *Cœur simple*), Dumas Fils, Victor Hugo, Georges Sand? "Mais cet enthousiasme même avec lequel nous avons chéri et célébré l'humanité miséricordieuse

du roman russe et du drame norvégien, ne montre-t-il pas que nous la portions en nous et que nous l'avons seulement reconnue ?" Chose bien curieuse, Lemaître devait quinze ans après, pour une heure au moins, incarner l'opposition à Rousseau; le sentait-il déjà? En tous cas il eût été logique de remonter de l'*Education sentimentale*, des *Misérables*, de Georges Sand surtout, par le romantisme, à Rousseau. Lemaître semble avoir hésité à le faire. Seulement tout à la fin de son article—est-ce un scrupule de conscience intellectuelle?—il mentionne dans une phrase rapide Rousseau: "C'est le sentiment de la nature, c'est la reconnaissance des droits de la passion, c'est l'esprit de révolte, c'est l'exaltation de l'individu: toutes choses dont les germes, et plus que les germes, étaient dans la *Nouvelle Héloïse*, dans les *Confessions*, et dans les *Lettres de la Montagne ...*" (p. 269). C'est tout.

Ce nom de Rousseau, sans qu'aucun effort conscient fût fait pour cela, se trouva mêlé de plus en plus au mouvement anti-réaliste, anti-positiviste, anti-scientifique. C'était fatal. Et de fait, ce fut justement un frère d'armes de Lemaître qui en eut l'intuition nette d'abord, et qui n'eut pas peur du spectre de Rousseau. Brunetière, en ne dissociant point Rousseau et le réveil spiritualiste comme Lemaître déjà tendait à le faire et comme d'autres le feront encore davantage, s'est montré plus perspicace—comme on le verra bien lorsque Masson aura écrit son chapitre nouveau sur ce très grand problème philosophique et littéraire.

Ce fut en effet Brunetière, qui fut à la fois l'inspirateur du livre de Joseph Texte, *J.-J. Rousseau et les origines du cosmopolitisme littéraire*—paru en librairie en 1895, et l'auteur du fameux article sur *La Banqueroute de la science*—paru dans la *Revue des Deux Mondes* en 1895; qui alla attaquer Calvin à Genève (la même année) dans des conférences retentissantes; et qui voulait être l'instigateur de la grande édition scientifique des œuvres de Rousseau. Il est vrai qu'il n'alla pas jusqu'au bout de cette entreprise; il avait demandé déjà la collaboration de M. Eugène Ritter; puis, trouvant que des devoirs plus immédiats l'empêchaient, il renonça. Mais, on le sait, la "Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau" fut fondée avant tout dans le but de réaliser ce qui avait été un des rêves de Brunetière; et la grandeur et la difficulté de ce travail peuvent être mesurées à ce seul fait que

depuis dix-sept ans des savants de toutes les nations y collaborent— et Anne, notre sœur Anne, ne voit rien venir encore.

Parmi les travaux d'approche sérieux qui virent le jour dans ces années, et qui stimulèrent l'intérêt pour Rousseau, rappelons ici, outre Joseph Texte, *J.-J. Rousseau et les origines du cosmopolitisme littéraire* dont il vient d'être question (et qui garde aujourd'hui son importance historique bien que dépassé en érudition), la belle édition du *Contrat social*, par Dreyfus-Brisac (1896), et le volume de J. L. Windenberg, *Essai sur le système de politique étrangère de Rousseau, La république confédérative des petits états* (1900). Pour les articles sur nombre de points spéciaux, on les trouvera naturellement chez Lanson, *Manuel de bibliographie*. Disons seulement ce signe des temps, que les *Mélanges de philologie*, offerts à M. Brunot en 1904, ne contenaient pas moins de trois chapitres consacrés à Rousseau (dont deux sur des questions nettement linguistiques). Autre signe des temps: En 1900, dans la *Grande Encyclopédie*, le travail admirable de haute impartialité, l'article "Rousseau," signé' G. Lanson.<sup>1</sup>

La fondation de la Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 6 juin 1904, est l'aboutissement de ce mouvement. Les adhésions furent nombreuses et significatives. Citons (par ordre alphabétique) quelques uns des plus grands noms: Bédier, Berthelot, Brandès, Brunetière, Chuquet, Compayré, Hoeffding, Lanson, Lefranc, Moebius, Morf, Ed. Rod, Erich Schmidt, Tobler, Tolstoï.

L'activité de la société se manifesta surtout par la publication des *Annales J.-J. Rousseau* (Jullien, Genève). Dès 1905 l'esprit strictement scientifique des éditeurs responsables s'affirme. Ce premier, beau volume de 324 pages, contient des études d'une érudition parfaite: l'article de Lanson, "Quelques documents inédits sur la condamnation et la censure de l'*Emile*, et sur la condamnation des *Lettres écrites de la Montagne*," celui de Philippe Godet, "Madame de

<sup>1</sup> Faut-il citer ici ou ailleurs les deux volumes de H. Beaudouin, *Vie et œuvres de Rousseau* (1891)? L'ouvrage est, en quelque sorte, en marge des mouvements rousseauistes et anti-rousseauistes. L'attitude de l'auteur est celle d'un homme qui désire demeurer libre dans ses jugements; en réalité il adopte assez bien les préjugés à la mode, ceux qui ont la sanction de Sainte-Beuve, de Saint-Marc Girardin, de Morley, etc. On lit cette phrase dans son avant-propos: "Les ouvrages de Rousseau ne seraient-ils pas tout autres si sa conduite avait été honnête et pure"? Au point de vue de l'érudition, il laisse souvent à désirer.

Charrière et J.-J. Rousseau." Un autre sur "Rousseau et le Dr. Tronchin," un autre sur "La partition originale de Pygmalion"; des "Notes inédites de Voltaire sur la *Profession de foi du vicaire savoyard*," etc. La bibliographie est abondante, et le deviendra davantage avec les années.

Le second volume (1906) est digne du premier. On y trouve l'étude remarquable de pénétration de M. Eugène Ritter sur *J.-J. Rousseau et Madame d'Houdetot*. L'auteur y conclut, par simple déduction logique, en computant des faits d'une extrême complexité, à la falsification des soi-disant *Mémoires d'Epinay*—ces Mémoires constituant depuis 1818 le boulevard des critiques (comme Saint-Marc Girardin, Sainte-Beuve, Morley, Schérer, etc.) qui attaquaient la véracité des *Confessions* de Rousseau, et, avec un hâte et un zèle souvent bien surprenants chez des sages, le caractère de Rousseau.

Toute cette minutieuse érudition de M. Ritter allait être confirmée d'une façon éclatante dans ses résultats, et à la fois—mélancolie des choses humaines!—rendue en quelque sorte inutile par la découverte accablante de Madame Macdonald: celle-ci en effet, avait retrouvé non seulement la version originale des *Mémoires d'Epinay* (un roman du genre de la *Nouvelle Héloïse*) mais les "Notes," incontestablement authentiques, de la main de Diderot—lesquelles "notes" indiquaient comment cette "histoire" pouvait être ré-écrite et publiée pour contrebalancer les effets des *Confessions*. Inutile d'insister sur la découverte de Mme Macdonald qui fut rendue publique dans tous ses détails cette même année 1906,<sup>1</sup> aujourd'hui plus ignorée de personne, qui demeure la contribution la plus sensationnelle aux études rousseauistes depuis de longues années, et contre laquelle on n'a rien pu faire valoir sauf qu'elle était exposée dans un livre mal composé, et qu'elle favorisa la tendance chez Mme Macdonald d'exploiter cette affaire sans aucun sens de mesure.<sup>2</sup> Ajoutons cependant que le travail de M. Charlier, dans la *Revue de Belgique*, (octobre et novembre 1909), mérite d'être consulté sur les réserves à faire à la thèse de Mme Macdonald. Il ne nie certes pas la falsi-

<sup>1</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *A New Criticism*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1906, 2 vols. (Traduit et abrégé par G. Rothe, chez Hachette, 1909).

<sup>2</sup> On en trouvera un très rapide exposé dans notre article de *The Nation* (New York) 14 décembre 1918. Voir aussi E. Ritter, dans *Annales J.J.R.*, 1907, pp. 256-67. Mme Macdonald reprend aussi dans son livre la question des enfants de Rousseau (elle est de ceux qui nient l'existence des enfants) et la querelle avec Hume.

fication des *Mémoires d'Epinay*, mais estime qu'il n'y a pas d'argument positif prouvant qu'il y ait eu en 1818 une intention maligne de la part des éditeurs qui publièrent les *Mémoires* tels que Diderot et Grimm les avaient manipulés. Il y aurait eu simple coïncidence selon M. Charlier dans cette succession de publications défavorables à Rousseau qui va de 1812 à 1818. Cependant M. Charlier ne nie pas non plus que, intention ou non, l'effet funeste à la mémoire de Rousseau *fût* produit.

Il faut remarquer d'ailleurs que les défenseurs de Rousseau ont été souvent bien plus sévères pour Madame Macdonald que ses délateurs n'eussent pu l'être. Pourquoi? Pour cette raison que cet ouvrage parut à un moment très psychologique, à la veille d'une grande passe d'armes pour et contre Rousseau et dont nous allons nous occuper tout à l'heure. Or, on ne pouvait nier le grand fait de l'altération frauduleuse, et les adversaires avaient, eux, d'une part avantage à garder un diplomatique silence. D'autre part, toute tendance chez les amis de Rousseau à tirer trop de cette découverte eût été—dans l'atmosphère tendue de la lutte—une arme qu'on livrait aux dérogateurs; il était plus sage de rogner soi-même un peu les possibilités de la découverte Macdonald que de donner à des gens mal intentionnés l'occasion de dire; "Voyez donc comme ils s'échauffent; ils sont obligés de recourir à l'argument *ad hominem*." Notons toutefois, avant de quitter ce sujet, l'opinion d'un critique que personne ne peut accuser de partialité de faveur de Rousseau, Faguet. Celui-ci écrit: "Il ne faut tenir littéralement aucun compte des prétendus mémoires de Madame d'Epinay"; c'est un "roman pamphlet." (Cf. *Annales J.J.R.*, VIII, 335-40.)

A peu près à partir de ce moment deux tendances—déjà perceptibles depuis quelque temps pour un esprit attentif aux travaux concernant Rousseau—vont aller s'accroissant. D'une part se manifestera un très grand intérêt, simplement objectif pour Rousseau, et qui ne s'explique (dans son volume et sa persistance) que comme une sollicitation vigoureuse de la pensée des hommes par les idées du philosophe de Genève; d'autre part se multiplieront des écrits tendancieux, très hostiles à Rousseau, et qui gagneront en passion à mesure que les autres gagneront en puissance.



Les travaux d'érudition, préparés dans le recueillement du cabinet ou de la bibliothèque, sont lents à s'élaborer. Mais en attendant qu'un nouveau rayon de bibliothèque rousseauiste vienne s'ajouter à celui formé par les volumes tout à l'heure indiqués, de Texte, Ritter, Mugnier, Montet, Hoeffding, Dreyfus-Brisac, etc., des livres dits de critique littéraire—très impressionnistes le plus souvent—commencent à jeter des notes discordantes et des cris d'alarme devant un ennemi qui s'annonce de plus en plus menaçant. Signalons en deux.

Voici le volume de Joachim Merlant, *Le roman personnel de Rousseau à Fromentin* (1905). Pour n'être pas, à proprement parler violent, ce livre trahit un esprit peu bienveillant pour Rousseau; sans ignorer tout à fait le moraliste sévère qu'il y a chez le fils spirituel de Calvin, c'est bien le Rousseau romantique qu'on trouve avant tout dépeint par l'auteur et assez malmené; ce Rousseau que bien des polémistes—on peut bien le dire—qui sont au fond préoccupés de problèmes politiques et largement sociaux, n'hésitent pas à mettre en avant pour battre en brèche le Rousseau des problèmes politiques et sociaux.

La même année paraissait un autre ouvrage qui, celui-ci, annonce déjà la chaude bataille. En effet, c'est en 1905 qu'Ernest Seillière publie son second volume de *La Philosophie de l'Impérialisme: Apollon ou Dionysos*. Sous cette forme élégante le problème de la supériorité du classicisme sur le romantisme, du siècle de Louis XIV sur celui de la Révolution est posé. A Apollon, dieu de l'ordre et de la beauté, s'oppose Dionysos, dieu du mysticisme, du sensualisme; et le "berger rousseauiste" est dans la société moderne la réplique du "satyre dionysiaque." Ici donc c'est la provocation violente—et on ne s'arrêtera pas là.

Les hommes qui lisent Rousseau sans parti-pris cèdent rarement à la tentation de riposter; ils poursuivent leur œuvre constructive, recueillant des faits qui feront mieux saisir l'action de Rousseau, chez ses contemporains et puis chez la postérité. Ils voient d'ailleurs leurs rangs grossir sans cesse. Dès 1906 et 1907 la moisson s'annonce riche. Ce ne sont pas seulement en effet, dans divers pays, des éditions d'œuvres de Rousseau préparées pour être lues par la jeunesse des écoles (une des plus notables avait été, dès 1903 l'édition du *Contrat social*, par Beaulavon); mais on étudie Rousseau sous toutes

ses faces (voir la bibliographie dans les *Annales J.J.R.*): Rousseau juriste, Rousseau sourd, Rousseau calomnié, Rousseau dromomane (c.à.d. rêveur et coureur de grands chemins), Rousseau thanatophobe, Rousseau joueur d'échecs, Rousseau et le vin (Dr. E. Régis, *J.J.R. et le vin*, Bordeaux, Gounouilhou, 1907, 11 p.), Rousseau inspirateur de Byron, etc. Tirons hors de pair, parmi toutes ces monographies, l'étude d'A. François, *Provincialismes suisses-romands de Rousseau* (*Annales* III). Parmi les études de plus longue haleine, en voici quelques unes qui méritent de retenir l'attention: E. Rod, *L'affaire J.-J. Rousseau* (1906) dont "l'affaire Dreyfus" à peine terminée, avait été en un sens une ré-édition, mais l'ouvrage est avant tout un travail admirable et fort documenté sur les discussions au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle entre les partisans et les adversaires de Rousseau à Genève; G. Lassudrie-Duchêne, *J.-J. Rousseau et le droit des gens* (1906); Mornet, *Le sentiment de la nature en France de J.-J. Rousseau à Bernardin de Saint-Pierre* (1907), gros ouvrage, crevant de documentation, mais qui montre bien comment l'école de Lanson prétend travailler, c.à.d. non seulement sur une érudition précise, mais large et un peu écrasante parfois; Souriau, édition de Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, *De la vie et des écrits de J. J. Rousseau* (Soc. des Textes modernes, 1907); Culcasi, *Gli influssi italiani nell'opere di G. G. Rousseau* (1907), qui veut faire pour l'Italie ce que Texte avait fait pour l'Angleterre dans l'œuvre de Rousseau; à quoi on peut ajouter: Mario Schiff, *Editions et traductions italiennes des œuvres de J.J.R.* (1908). Enfin le premier volume du grand travail de Ducros, *Rousseau, de Genève à l'Ermitage* (1908) mérite une mention spéciale.

La part de l'Angleterre dans ce mouvement rousseauiste est intéressante: Outre les deux gros volumes de Mme Macdonald, déjà cités (*Rousseau, a New Criticism*), on observe qu'il y eut en Angleterre trois traductions nouvelles du *Contrat social* (1906). Et cela n'est pas encore aussi étonnant—c'est le pays de John Morley—que trois traductions, en 1907, des *Confessions*. En 1908 ce sera Churton Collins, *Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau en Angleterre*. ... Et déjà C. E. Vaughan prépare sa monumentale édition des écrits politiques de Rousseau dont nous reparlerons.

S'étonnera-t-on que, devant cette formidable poussée, les adversaires des idées de Rousseau redoublent d'efforts, et que bientôt débordés,

étourdis, les plus capables oublieront que la passion est une dangereuse alliée ?

C'est l'artillerie lourde qu'on mobilise: Pierre Lasserre, en effet, lance son volume imposant—547 pages—son *Romantisme* (1907), qui se résume en deux thèses; la première, double: "Rien dans le romantisme qui ne soit dans Rousseau, et rien dans Rousseau qui ne soit romantique" (ce second membre de phrase est une affirmation énorme et que même les plus violents critiques se sont généralement bien gardés de répéter); et la seconde: le romantisme apportant un principe de mort pour l'être moral, Rousseau est coupable de prêcher "la ruine de l'individu."<sup>1</sup> Presque en même temps paraît, dans le même esprit, Seillière, *Le mal romantique* (1908)—le quatrième volume de *La Philosophie de l'Impérialisme*, et qui est duement couronné par l'Académie Française; c'est un gros livre aussi, 396 pages in quarto.

A côté de l'artillerie lourde, voici le 75 rageur: Lemaitre, avec son retentissant *Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (1907).<sup>2</sup>

Et il y a aussi la lâche torpille—sous-marine—qui exploite noblement les petits côtés des grands hommes, en prêtant l'oreille aux médisances et aux calomnies: Léo Claretie (fils), *J. J. Rousseau et ses amies* (1907); et surtout le peu intéressant Fr. Gribble, *Rousseau and the Women He Loved* (1908) (le même Gribble qui considère comme de bon aloi un nom gagné en exploitant pour la curiosité du grand public la vie privée de V. Hugo); et le livre qui n'honore point la science française, car cette semence de haine est signée du nom d'un directeur de revue "historique": Dide, *J. J. Rousseau, le Protestantisme et la Révolution Française* (1910).

Enfin il y aurait encore le crapouillot, aboyant et mordant,—dont certains des représentants les plus notoires se sont trouvés en Amérique,—mais auxquels nous ne nous arrêterons point ici.<sup>3</sup>

Comme si toute cette pétarade destinée vraiment à étouffer la voix de Rousseau n'était au contraire qu'un grand feu d'artifice en son honneur, Rousseau semblera s'imposer davantage encore à l'attention du monde pensant dans les années qui suivirent. Des

<sup>1</sup> Parodi discute Lasserre dans *Revue* du mois 10 juin 1907; Lasserre répond, même revue, 10 septembre.

<sup>2</sup> Voir *Bookman* (New York), September, 1907, "J. Lemaitre versus Democracy."

<sup>3</sup> On trouvera mentionnées bien des pièces relatives à ces polémiques dans les *Annales J.J.R.*, IV, 323-28.

travaux de plus en plus nombreux et de plus en plus creusés sortent de presse: D. Mornet donne son étude si érudite sur "Les éditions du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle de la Nouvelle Héloïse" (*Annales J.J.R.*, V, et publiée à part), préparation à la grande édition de cette œuvre à la quelle il travaille. (Voir aussi *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, novembre et décembre 1921). Jean Morel fait une recherche sur les *Sources du Second Discours* (*ibid.*). L'étude minutieuse sur "Rousseau en Angleterre," par M. Courtois (*Annales J.J.R.*, VI), complétant celles de Churton Collins sur le même sujet, est un modèle d'érudition concise. Aug. Rey livre son utile monographie sur *J. J. Rousseau dans la Vallée de Montmorency* (1909), suite de *Le Château de la Chevrette et Mme d'Epinay* (1904). La même année paraît H. Rodet, *Le Contrat social et les idées politiques de J. J. Rousseau*; et H. Buffenoir, *Le Prestige de Rousseau*. L'année suivante le comte de Girardin publie son *Iconographie de J. J. Rousseau*. Et en 1911 (*Annales J.J.R.*, VII) Gerhard Gran rend publique son interprétation psychologique de "La Crise de Vincennes"—un extrait d'une vie de *Rousseau* qui paraîtra en 1912 (en anglais chez Scribner). C'était l'époque de la grande vogue du pragmatisme; l'auteur de ces pages publiait en 1909: *J. J. Rousseau a Forerunner of Pragmatism* (Open Court Press, Chicago, 1909).

Aussi bien l'approche du bicentenaire de la naissance de Rousseau va stimuler toute cette érudition. On s'y prépare dès 1911 en s'interrogeant: Qu'a-t-on déjà acquis? On trouvera une série d'études synthétiques dans les *Annales J.J.R.* en 1912, par des hommes comme Lanson, Mornet, Hoeffding, Seippel; par Boutroux dans le numéro, spécial de la *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale* (3 mai 1912);<sup>1</sup> dans le livre de Bernard Bouvier, Président de la Société J.J.R., *Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (1912)—et dans le monde entier par des articles innombrables.

Tirons hors de pair un ouvrage qui parut à la veille du bicentenaire, le *Jean-Jacques Rousseau Genevois*, de Gaspard Valette (Plon, 1911). Inspiré en partie par un sentiment de fierté patriotique, ce livre très documenté et très probe restera original en ceci: le plus

<sup>1</sup> Toute une série de revues ont consacré des numéros spéciaux, en entier ou en partie, à Rousseau. Voir *Annales J.J.R.*, IX, 135 ff.

grand grief—et le plus facile—que la critique en France ait adressée à Rousseau comme penseur (et ajoutons, qu'elle persiste à lui adresser jusqu'à ce jour par la plume d'adversaires irréductibles), est d'être étranger et d'être protestant; or, Valette considère lui aussi ces deux choses comme fondamentales dans l'œuvre de Rousseau; mais il n'y voit point un sujet de blâme; il est disposé à voir, au contraire, dans cette pensée "genevoise, protestante, républicaine, et puritaine," le plus solide de Rousseau.<sup>1</sup>

Malgré le désir qu'on éprouve à ne pas insister sur ces choses-là, il faut bien dire, pour ne pas être incomplet, qu'à cette occasion, encore ceux qui ne se résignent pas à constater les faits, s'abandonnent à une parfaite mauvaise humeur. On est affligé des petitesesses auxquelles de grands esprits se sont abaissés—même en tenant compte du fait qu'on vivait à une époque de polémiques ardentes—les Barrès, les Bourget, les Maurras, et ceux de leur bord, contre "l'ennemi de la France" (Ch. Maurras), "Le Mètèque Rousseau" (Proclamation de l'Action Française), "Le chienlit de Rousseau," "Le fou et le singe" (Léon Daudet), "Le chien savant" (Dollfus), etc., etc.<sup>2</sup> Rien autant, du reste, que cette fureur débile ne porte un parlant témoignage à l'extraordinaire vitalité de Rousseau, et on se souvient avec étonnement de la prophétie de Nisard sur la durée de l'influence de Rousseau: "Plus célèbre un moment que Montesquieu, et non moins populaire que Voltaire, Jean-Jacques Rousseau a le plus perdu par le temps ... Jean-Jacques Rousseau a le plus perdu parce que c'est celui auquel la mode a le plus prêté" (*Hist. de la Litt. fr.*, chap. xi, § 1).

Une chose nous est moins compréhensible encore que les violences: c'est qu'à une époque de conscience philosophique et littéraire comme la nôtre, des écrivains de grand talent et qui ont une réputation à conserver, comme Seillière ou plus récemment M. Gillouin, négligent de relire leur Rousseau avant de prendre la plume. Ils y risquent gros jeu, oubliant qu'aujourd'hui ceux qui les lisent eux, lisent aussi

<sup>1</sup> Le livre de G. Valette est très étroitement apparenté d'esprit à celui de son compatriote Seippel et dont nous aurions du peut-être parler plus haut: *Les Deux Frances* (Alcan, 1905). Quand même le nom de Rousseau n'est pas évoqué dans ce titre, l'esprit du philosophe de Genève est tout présent; c'est bien, dans ce livre, à la France livrée à la réaction cléricale marquée par l'affaire Dreyfus, l'opposition de la France émancipée que révait Rousseau.

<sup>2</sup> Voir *Annales J.J.R.*, IX, pour des indications plus détaillées.

celui qu' ils pensent interpréter, et doivent forcément découvrir la distance qui sépare le Rousseau des anti-rousseauistes, du Rousseau des textes.<sup>1</sup> Ils demeureront comme une curiosité littéraire, de gens qui se sont occupés à la tâche inutile d'édifier une réalité contre la vérité.

Entre temps, les travaux objectifs sur Rousseau continuent à paraître. Il ne serait pas juste de ne pas faire ici une place à E. Faguet, et aux cinq volumes (nous disons cinq) que lui inspira le bicentenaire de Rousseau; intéressants ils sont, car d'une très belle impartialité. Evidemment la sympathie de Faguet ne va pas spontanément à Rousseau; mais il sent cela, et virilement il lutte—par crainte d'être, par préjugé, anti-rousseauiste, il est amené par la raison à rendre très souvent justice à Rousseau. Bien plus que d'autre écrivains abondants sur Rousseau, il est au courant de l'érudition moderne, et il sait en tirer parti; mais s'il suggère des aperçus de détail fort intéressants, il ne consacre pas assez de temps à la méditation pour livrer des vues vraiment originales sur la philosophie de Rousseau dans son ensemble. Ses cinq volumes pèsent dans l'opinion, mais ne comptent pas beaucoup pour le savant.

Citons d'ailleurs, dans le grand nombre, seulement quelques uns des volumes marquant dans les années très fécondes du bicentenaire: la traduction française, par Coussanges, du petit ouvrage de Hoeffding, *J. J. Rousseau et sa philosophie*; A. Meynier, *J. J. Rousseau révolutionnaire* (1912); P. Villey, *Influence de Montaigne sur les idées pédagogiques de Locke et de Rousseau* (1911); D. Mornet, *Le Romantisme français au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1912); P. P. Plan, *J. J. Rousseau jugé par les Gazettes de son temps* (1912); J. Tiersot, *J. J. Rousseau musicien*; Benedetto, *Madame de Warens, d'après de nouveaux documents* (1914); Beaulavon, 2<sup>me</sup> édition de son *Contrat social* (1914). Et on trouvera indiquée dans les *Annales J.J.R.* une quantité très grande d'articles apportant de la lumière sur cent questions diverses, tels Delaruelle, "Sources du Premier Discours," (*Revue d'Hist. Litt.*, 1912), Raspail, "Mystère de la mort de Rousseau"

<sup>1</sup> Oserons-nous dire que nous nous accoutumions à voir en M. Gillouin un critique sérieux et consciencieux, et que la lecture de son livre *Une nouvelle Philosophie de l'Histoire moderne et française* (1921) nous a désillusionnés. Comment peut-il apprécier justement l'attitude de Seillière vis à vis de Rousseau sans avoir un peu re-feuilleté son Rousseau. Or, n'ayant pas relu son Rousseau, ou si mal que cela revient au même, il n'a fait que de la critique impressionniste.

(*Grande Revue*, août 1912), Laccassagne, *Mort de J. J. Rousseau* (Lyon, 1915, 57 p.) etc.<sup>1</sup>

La guerre a amené ici comme ailleurs, un grand désarroi. Terminons en mentionnant brièvement quelques uns des événements saillants des dernières années dans ce domaine des études rousseauistes.

Seillière continue sa campagne contre Rousseau. Cependant une note nouvelle: voici qu'il a découvert *Madame Guyon et Fénelon précurseurs de J. J. Rousseau* (1918). Qu'est-ce à dire sinon que Rousseau n'est donc pas le grand criminel, ou en tous cas pas le seul, ni le premier responsable.<sup>2</sup> On trouve dès lors, dans les derniers écrits du baron de Seillière une attitude qui, tout doucement et en partie inconsciemment se substitue à la première, et où Rousseau partage avec d'autres les responsabilités. Il est une autre observation qu'il serait équitable de faire ici, à savoir que pour justifier ses jugements sévères contre Rousseau, Seillière a dû invoquer beaucoup les *Dialogues*; or, d'abord, les *Dialogues* appartiennent, dans l'œuvre de Rousseau, à la plus mauvaise phase—est-ce bien juste d'en tirer parti comme Seillière le fait? Ensuite que, d'ailleurs, peu de personnes lisent les *Dialogues*—lesquels donc n'ont qu'une importance minime dans l'influence de Rousseau sur la postérité.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Oserions-nous relever ici quelques travaux de notre plume publiés dans cette période d'avant-guerre, et où nous nous efforcions d'aborder, en simple étudiant de l'histoire des idées, la philosophie de Rousseau. Ces études nous ont toujours ramené à cette conclusion que la pensée de Rousseau, pas plus que sa personnalité ne se laisse ramener à quelque formule générale dont on ait le droit de tirer des thèmes d'éloquence "pour la louange ou pour le blâme"; et puisque tant est que le monde une fois de plus semble se tourner vers lui, il est de notre devoir de l'étudier consciencieusement et ne pas nous contenter des formules sans nuances d'autrefois. Citons particulièrement: *Revue du Mois*, 10 juin 1912, "Rousseau romain et Rousseau calviniste"; *Mercur de France*, 1 juin 1912, "La notion de vertu dans le premier Discours"; *Revue du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, octobre-décembre 1913, "La théorie de la Bonté naturelle de l'homme chez Rousseau." D'autres études touchent, quoique moins directement cette question fondamentale, ainsi: *Rev. d'Hist. Litt.*, 1910, "La Profession de foi et le Livre de l'Esprit" (l'hypothèse d'une rédaction de la Profession de foi superposée à la rédaction originale a été depuis confirmée par la publication d'une partie du brouillon de l'Emile par P. M. Masson); *Rev. d'Hist. Litt.*, 1912, "La question du Contrat social," (cf. réponse de Beaulavon, Juillet 1913; réplique Janvier 1914). *Revue philosophique*, avril 1914, "Le droit du plus fort et le droit dit naturel."

<sup>2</sup> Ce sont là des précurseurs immédiats, car il ya eu de petites épidémies de romantisme avant, cela va de soi, tel le roman d'aventure (p. ex. *Amadis*, "le beau ténébreux"), ou tel celui de l'hérésiarque Pelasge (Introd. au *Mal Romantique*).

<sup>3</sup> Un nouveau livre de M. de Seillière a paru depuis que ces pages ont été écrites, *J.-J. Rousseau* (Garnier). La même évolution continue. La critique des idées roman-

L. Ducros publie la fin de son grand ouvrage. Le volume II *De l'Ermitage à Motiers-Travers*, et le volume III *De Motiers-Travers à Montmorency* viennent de sortir en même temps de presse. Deux observations s'imposent. (1) Devant l'érudition prodigieuse qui s'est accumulée ces dernières années, Ducros a dû abandonner l'espoir de faire son travail sur le plan du début. Un seul homme n'y suffirait pas. De sorte que, même si la première partie *De Genève à l'Ermitage*, était à jour il y a quelques années, elle ne l'est plus aujourd'hui; et quant aux parties II et III elles ne sont pas à jour même au moment de paraître. Ce n'est pas la faute de l'auteur; l'érudition va trop vite. (2) L'attitude de Ducros vis à vis de Rousseau est bien moins sévère à la fin qu'au commencement. C'est du reste là une expérience souvent répétée: Rousseau étonne et repousse au premier abord, mais si on prend la peine de le relire, et de l'étudier encore, on comprend mieux sa personnalité et apprécie l'intention honnête de ses ouvrages et leur fond. C'est ce qui est arrivé par exemple à Faguet; c'est ce qui pourrait arriver sur une plus grande échelle au public entier.

Il ne reste maintenant qu'à parler des deux ouvrages capitaux des dernières années.

L'un, dû à un Anglais, *Political Writings of Rousseau*, by C. E. Vaughan, M.A., Litt.D., Emeritus Professor, University of Leeds, Cambridge University Press, 1915, 2 vols. (aussi Putnam, New York). C'est un travail de nombreuses années, et constituant dans sa simplicité un imposant monument élevé au génie de Rousseau. L'introduction générale et les introductions spéciales aux différents morceaux réimprimés, sont excellentes de documentation et de jugement. Le même auteur a publié aussi une édition spéciale du *Contrat social*, pour écoles, et qui n'est pas moins remarquable (1918)—et où il tient compte davantage qu'il ne l'avait fait dans le grand ouvrage des travaux faits par des savants français.<sup>1</sup>

L'autre, le travail à peu près parfait de Pierre-Maurice Masson, en quatre volumes. D'abord une édition savante de *La Profession*

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tiques est reléguée au second plan, mais l'auteur se rattrape en renouvelant ses attaques contre l'écrivain des *Confessions* et des *Dialogues*. Il serait à désirer que ce volume fût beaucoup lu, car le parti-pris—sans parler du manque parfait d'esprit chevaleresque vis à vis de celui qu'on définit comme un malade—est si évident que la victime ne pourra qu'en profiter dans l'esprit du lecteur.

<sup>1</sup> Nous avons fait une analyse détaillée de l'ouvrage dans *Philosophical Review*, March, 1917, pp. 214-27; et *Rev. d'Hist. Litt.*, 1920, pp. 290-97.



*de foi du Vicaire savoyard* (Hachette, 1914, grand in 8, 608 p.). Puis trois volumes: *La religion de J. J. Rousseau*: (1) *La formation religieuse*, (2) *La Profession de foi*, (3) *Rousseau et la restauration religieuse* (Hachette, 1916).<sup>1</sup>

Les mots suffisent à peine pour exprimer l'admiration qu'on éprouve devant ce travail prodigieux; prodigieux d'érudition neuve et alerte, prodigieux d'intelligence, apport (et legs) de la génération française de la guerre au monde de la pensée—dont les dernières épreuves ont été corrigées dans les tranchées, peu avant qu'un obus imbécile frappât de mort instantanée le jeune officier.<sup>2</sup>

Masson était un savant qui ne voulait point que son érudition fût stérile, qui n'oubliait point que le présent n'est qu'une continuation du passé, et qui savait qu'il ne fallait point essayer d'aller à l'encontre des faits; et dès lors, sans perdre de temps et d'énergie à maudire ou à bénir, il consacra son temps à *comprendre* comment il se faisait que Rousseau était présent si fort dans la pensée contemporaine: le comprendre, en somme, c'était justifier le fait. Nous avons souligné plus haut comment Brunetière, écrivain catholique, avait, mû par une probité qui l'honore poussé à l'étude du protestant Rousseau, et y avait poussé avec la même énergie avec laquelle il avait poussé à l'étude du catholique Bossuet; c'était surtout la pensée religieuse de Rousseau qui avait retenu son attention. Mais il avait dû renoncer à cette étude profonde. Eh bien, ce que le grand maître Brunetière avait désiré voir accompli, le jeune maître Masson l'a réalisé—et cela dans la même disposition de sévère impartialité. L'esprit de Masson était tourné du même côté que celui de Brunetière; il avait une âme clairement catholique, mais il a rendu un témoignage éclatant à Rousseau. Il a franchement reconnu au philosophe de Genève la part du lion dans la renaissance catholique de la France; il ne s'est pas laissé arrêter dans *Emile*, ou dans le *Contrat*, ou ailleurs encore, par quelques boutades contre les prêtres; mais ayant approfondi les choses, il est arrivé à cette conviction que l'esprit austère et religieux de Rousseau avait sauvé la France du plus grand des périls. Non seulement Masson l'a dit et il l'a cru, mais il en a convaincu les autres. Il a forcé la *Revue des Deux Mondes* (nous disons *La Revue des Deux Mondes*!) à imprimer que Rousseau avait "l'âme trop haute" pour

<sup>1</sup> Compte-rendu dans *Modern Philology*, Nov. 1917, pp. 121-25, par I. Babbitt.

<sup>2</sup> Profondément émue de cette mort, l'université de Paris décerna "post mortem" le diplôme de Docteur ès Lettres à Pierre-Maurice Masson.

être mis à côté de Voltaire et des autres "écraseurs de l'Infâme," car il y a "dans la moindre page de Rousseau plus de résonnance intérieure que dans les 60 volumes de Voltaire." Enfin—le mot y est—Chateaubriand est appelé un "converti de Rousseau" (15 mai 1921, V. Giraud, "J. J. Rousseau, prophète religieux," pp. 430, 441). Est-il besoin de le dire, le Rousseau à la fois austère et religieux, enthousiaste et raisonneur—sinon toujours raisonnable—de Masson est à peu près l'opposé du Rousseau, énergumène romantique, de la critique bruyante.

Nous pouvons être fiers, nous qui faisons de l'érudition, que dans deux domaines déjà, celui de la philosophie religieuse et celui de la philosophie politique, l'érudition ait fait *comprendre* là où jusqu'alors une vaine passion prétendait juger. Peu à peu d'autres domaines seront éclairés et compris grâce à une saine érudition. La critique rousseauiste des dernières années remet curieusement en mémoire le fameux mot de Bacon sur la religion, et nous pourrions dire en nous inspirant de ce mot: "Un peu d'érudition écarte de Rousseau, beaucoup d'érudition y ramène."

Quelle est dans ces dernières décades, la part de l'Amérique dans l'étude des problèmes concernant Rousseau?

La situation est—toutes proportions gardées—à peu près la même qu'en Europe, c'est à dire que les critiques les plus retentissantes ont été ceux qui, disciples dociles des Lemaitre, Lasserre, Seillières, avaient de Rousseau "l'horreur sacrée." Les plus insignes sont Paul Elmer More, l'auteur des *Shelburne Essays*, et qui un jour vida toute son exécution de Rousseau dans un volume spécial *Drift of Romanticism* (1913), et Irving Babbitt, qui a consacré une vie de beau talent à tenter d'exorciser Rousseau du système moral et social de l'Amérique; il le fit dans une succession de volumes dont *Rousseau and Romanticism* (1919) est—peut-être—le dernier; en tous cas ce volume résume tous les autres.<sup>1</sup>

Sur les flancs de ces volcans fument quelques fumerolles. L'une des plus surprenantes manifestations de manque de compréhension sympathique est celle d'un professeur de philosophie (Voir *Journal of Ethics*, October, 1915), ... souvent les professeurs de philosophie en Amérique avaient d'abord étudié la théologie du Dieu de charité. Une autre, affligeante aussi, car ce besoin de juger avant d'avoir

<sup>1</sup> Nous avons apprécié cet ouvrage en détail dans le *Journal of Philosophy* (New York), January, 1920. M. Babbitt a répondu le 25 mars, même revue, pp. 186-91.

compris y est péniblement apparent, se trouve dans un article du *Political Science Quarterly*, September, 1909, J.-J. Rousseau; article reproduit tel quel comme premier chapitre d'un gros ouvrage *Political Theories from Rousseau to Spencer* qui parut chez Macmillan, New York, 1920 (cf. compte rendu, *Annales J.J.R.*, VI, 1910), pp. 325-26.

Or, d'abord, n'oublions pas que l'on doit aux hommes de dispositions si ardentes d'avoir proprement attiré l'attention vers le "fruit défendu." Disons bien ensuite qu'à côté d'eux, il y a ceux aussi qui font moins de bruit, et néanmoins un travail utile. Rappelons la thèse de W. U. D. Vreeland, écrite à l'instigation des professeurs de l'université de Genève, *Etude sur les rapports littéraires entre l'Angleterre et Genève jusqu'à la publication de la Nouvelle Héloïse* (1901), destinée à réfuter Joseph Texte dont les théories (mais non l'érudition) sont de plus en plus abandonnées. Rappelons les noms de Chr. Gauss, de E. L. Shanks, qui par la plume et la parole ont fait connaître mieux Rousseau. Rappelons la publication, en 1920, par S. G. Patterson, chez Putnam à New York, de *Etat de Guerre, and Projet de Paix Perpétuelle*. Rappelons une monographie de Rousseau à Paris de 1770-1778, de Mlle Elizabeth Foster, dans les "Smith College Studies" (1921). Et nous savons que plusieurs savants Américains travaillent sur Rousseau. Dans bien des universités des cours spéciaux sur Rousseau sont offerts. Enfin cette année même 1921-22 deux livres, destinés aux classes américaines sont sorties de presse (l'un édité à la Princeton Press, et l'autre chez D. C. Heath and Co); les directeurs des maisons d'éditions américaines—gens prudents—ne les eussent pas imprimés s'ils n'en eussent senti le besoin.

Donc l'Amérique prend sa part dans le mouvement rousseauiste.<sup>1</sup> Nous voudrions, avant de finir, attirer l'attention sur un travail tout récent: *The Theory of Natural Goodness in Rousseau's "Nouvelle Héloïse,"* par G. R. Havens, *Modern Language Notes*, November, 1921. La signification de cet article est grande; il montre que l'érudition américaine s'est rangée du bon côté finalement—car M. Havens est un jeune—c'est à dire du côté de la science patiente et calme. En somme la lutte mondiale autour du nom de Rousseau avait fini, grâce aux Rousseauphobes semés sur toute la surface du globe, par

<sup>1</sup> On peut le suivre en lisant chaque année les *Annales J.J.R.*, rubrique "Etats-Unis."

se concentrer principalement sur un point: ce qu'on attaquait toujours chez Rousseau, ce qu'on signalait comme dangereux avant tout, c'était ce qu'on désignait d'un mot son "romantisme," c'est à dire d'avoir ouvert la voie à toutes les fantaisies, à toutes les anarchies, à tous les impérialismes. A la fin, il a bien fallu se demander: mais, au fond, l'accusation d'individualisme sans mesure est-elle justifiée? Après tout, il y eut des gens intelligents qui accusèrent Rousseau du contraire; tel Faguet, qui, depuis longtemps soutenait que Rousseau lui apparaissait comme le plus formidable anti-individualiste qui ait jamais écrit, et que le *Contrat social* lui paraissait le code anti-libertaire par excellence. Qui a raison? Donc, en Amérique comme ailleurs—et tandis que ceux que nous avons déjà nommés y allaient de leurs envolées, invoquant tour à tour à propos de Rousseau les philosophies les plus lointaines, l'Alexandrinisme, le Manichéisme, le Gnosticisme, et les écrivains les moins antiques, Walter Pater, Oscar Wilde, Fiona MacLeod, etc.—d'autres étudiaient attentivement les textes de Rousseau. C'est ainsi que M. Havens fut conduit à scruter l'ouvrage le plus suspect, le plus malmené des Rousseauphobes, *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. Si sa méthode de dénombrer, et d'aligner des citations sous des chefs différents n'avait rien d'autre en sa faveur, elle garderait au moins contre l'impressionisme. Le résultat, c'est que l'auteur se voit forcé d'écrire des phrases comme celles-ci: "In support of the combat theory of virtue [que la vertu consiste en un combat contre les sollicitations des instincts de la nature] there are, strange as that may seem in the light of traditional views regarding Jean-Jacques, many more passages than there are in favor of other theories of life and conduct" (p. 390). "Explanation may account for the fact, it does not dispose of it" (p. 392). "He [Rousseau] is more conservative than radical, clinging instinctively to much of his calvinistic heritage" (p. 393). Une citations encore: Rousseau estime que "man now is not good, but possesses bad tendencies and must fight to overcome these evil inclinations. Hence virtue requires a moral struggle (pp. 393-94)." Alors, si, par hasard, il prenait fantaisie aux pourfendeurs de Rousseau de relire Rousseau tout simplement, sans idées préconçues ... Mais, trêve de rêveries "romantiques."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nous savons bien ce que les critiques de Rousseau, qui ne veulent voir en lui qu'un dangereux individualiste répondront—ce que M. Seillière a répondu d'avance dans ses *Étapes du Mysticisme passionnel* (1919): "... Milord Edouard aura pourtant ses heures

Les travaux de la jeune génération de professeurs américains comme Havens, Patterson, E. H. Wright, Goodyear, font favorablement augurer de l'avenir. Cette constatation, qui est une garantie, nous suffit. Et après tout, ne l'oublions pas, c'est en Amérique que fut écrit par l'une des plus grandes autorités; l'une des rares appréciations impartiales de Rousseau en pays anglo-saxon. Nous voulons parler de l'essai de James Russell Lowell: *Rousseau and the Sentimentalists* (1867). Sans doute, on peut penser que l'Amérique est de tous les pays de la terre celui où règne le plus de misère, est le plus retardé en progrès de toute sorte; mais si on ne le pense pas ces mots de Lowell sont intéressants (Lowell rappelle un passage de Boswell):

One evening at the Mitre, Johnson said sarcastically to me, "It seems, sir, you have kept very good company abroad—Rousseau and Wilkes!" I answered with a smile, "My dear sir, you don't call Rousseau bad company; do you really think him a bad man?" Johnson: "Sir, if you are talking jestingly of this, I don't talk with you. If you mean to be serious, I think him one of the worst men, a rascal who ought to be hunted out of society, as he has been. Three or four nations have expelled him, and it is a shame that he is protected in this country. Rousseau, sir, is a very bad man. I would sooner sign a sentence for his transportation, than that of any felon who has gone from Old Bayley these many years. Yes, I should like to have him work in the plantations."—We were the plantations then, and Rousseau was destined to work there in another and much more wonderful fashion than the gruff old Ursa Major imagined" [pp. 176-77].

Lowell n'est pas un fanatique de Rousseau. Oh non! Qu'on lise seulement sa page 187. Mais il est équitable. Il reconnaît qu'on peut sans être malhonnête en morale et ignoble en intellect, voir en

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de clairvoyance puisque certain jour il s'adresse en ces termes à l'amant de Julie: 'Voyons ton ouvrage? Quelle réponse tiens-tu prête au Juge suprême qui te demandera compte de ton temps? ... J'ai séduit une honnête fille. ... J'ai perdu l'espoir de corrompre une honnête femme. Me voilà forcé d'être homme de bien. J'aime mieux mourir ... Homme petit et faible ... Sors de l'enfance! Sois homme une fois avant la mort! ... Malheureux si Julie était faible tu succomberais demain et tu ne serais qu'un vil adultère!' Mais Rousseau ne parle ainsi de son *alter ego* que du bout des lèvres et sans désirer qu'on le prenne au sérieux ...' (p. 25). Comme c'est simple! Pourquoi se gêner? Quand Rousseau écrit quelque chose qui est d'accord avec l'opinion que M. Seillière s'est faite de lui, on cite Rousseau. Et quand Rousseau écrit quelque chose qui n'est pas d'accord avec cette opinion faite d'avance, on le cite encore—ajoutant seulement: Mais Rousseau n'en pense pas un mot; tout à l'heure il disait ce qu'il pensait; cette fois il dit ce qu'il ne pense pas. Et d'ailleurs, foin de tous ceux qui jusqu'aujourd'hui ont pensé que Rousseau avait quelque admiration pour les Anglais. (Du reste, il y a dans cette citation par M. Seillière une petite façon de cuisiner les phrases de Rousseau dont nous aurons peut-être à dire un mot quelque jour).

Rousseau un homme sérieux. "In nearly all that he wrote his leading object was the good of his kind. . . . There is no such thing as scoffing in his writings" (p. 188). Il insiste sur ceci que Rousseau n'était pas un écrivain à s'abandonner à la divagation, mais au contraire, il était conséquent: "He had the fortitude to follow his logic wherever it led him" (p. 188). D'ailleurs il ne croit pas que Rousseau fût aussi responsable de sa notoriété dans la persécution que ceux qui le persécutèrent; et si on veut nommer le vrai père spirituel de René le quel: "dans son délire avait été jusqu'à désirer d'éprouver un malheur pour avoir du moins un objet réel de souffrance," c'est Pétrarque qu'il faut nommer: voilà le "first great example of the degenerate modern tendency" (p. 199). Cela ne nous regarde plus—mais comme c'est vrai! Enfin, supposé que Rousseau prêchât des choses inconcevables à certains esprits, Lowell ose écrire ces mots qui doivent faire réfléchir certains écrivains qui versent leur mépris sur Rousseau du haut de leur propre aristocratie intellectuelle: "Have we any right to judge this man after our blunt English fashion, and condemn him, as we are wont to do, on the finding of a jury of average householders?" (p. 214).

On lit peu Lowell aujourd'hui en Amérique, on préfère les critiques plus "excitantes"—mais on le relira puisqu'on commence à relire Rousseau.

ALBERT SCHINZ

SMITH COLLEGE

## THE FORMATION OF VOICELESS CONSONANTS IN FRENCH AND ENGLISH

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It is instructive to note the different manner in which the French and English employ the lips in pronouncing words like *bow*, *beau*; *few*, *feu*; etc. In English, the lips, not being required in advanced position for the production of the consonant, are close against the gums for *b* and *f* and, following the explosion of the consonant, advance slowly into the forward position required by the vowel. This slow changing movement renders the production of a pure vowel impossible. The French manner is quite different: in order to facilitate the rapidity of transition from consonant to vowel, the consonant is pronounced with the lips anticipating the position requisite for the vowel: thus, in *beau*, the lips are advanced before pronouncing *b*, in such manner that during the explosion of the *b*, as a result of a slight separation, they assume the position for *ô(eau)*.

This preparation of the vowel before pronouncing the preceding consonant is not confined to the action of the lips alone. In the production of the voiceless consonants, the vocal cords may be in a state of relaxation leaving a large V-shaped opening through which the air may pass, or on the contrary, the vocal cords may be under tension and partly closed in preparation for the following vowel.

If *fine* and *vine* are pronounced one after the other, holding the back of the hand half an inch in front of the mouth, a much stronger current of air is felt accompanying the explosion of the *f* than of the *v*. The vocal cords are relaxed and wide open for the *f* and considerable time is required to change from this open position to the narrow slit necessary for the production of the following diphthong; but *v* in *vine* being a voiced consonant, the vocal cords form a narrow slit during its production as well as during the articulation of the following diphthong. With the same pressure exerted on the air in the lungs, much air may pass through the large opening of the vocal cords for *f* and relatively little through the narrow slit for *v*.

When *f* and *v* are pronounced by a Frenchman, there is little or no appreciable difference in the amount of air accompanying their production. As with the lips in the pronunciation of *beau*, the Frenchman anticipates the following vowel with the vocal cords in such manner as to permit of a rapid transition from consonant to vowel: the cords are under tension and the opening is narrowed as much as possible without causing the voiceless consonant to go over into the corresponding voiced consonant.

English-speaking people may try the following experiment: pronounce *fine* and *vine* noticing with the back of the hand the difference in the volume of air emitted during the production of each; then, prepare to pronounce *vine* until a feeling of tension and muscular effort is felt in the larynx; maintain this feeling of tension and pronounce *fine*. The "breathiness" of the *f* will have disappeared. The same experiment with *b*, *p*; *d*, *t*; *g*, *k*; *j*, *ch*; *z*, *s*; is equally successful.

Nevertheless, a certain amount of breath accompanies the production of the French voiceless consonants and from a comparison of the tracings for French *face* (Fig. 1a) pronounced by Mr. Paillard and English *face* (Fig. 1b) by Mr. Bovée (American), or of *théâtre* and *theater*<sup>1</sup> or of *tremble* (Fig. 2a) pronounced by Mr. Paillard and English *tremble* (Fig. 2b), it will be seen that the difference in the amount of the explosion in French and English is not always very appreciable. Usually, however, the explosion is not so marked in French (cf. Figs. 3, *cette*, Abbé Rousselot, and 4, *sage*, Mr. Jackson; 5, *fermer*, Abbé Rousselot, and 6, *former*, Mr. Jackson; 7a, *tome*, Mr. Lote, and 7b, *tome*, Mr. Jackson; 8a [il se] *couche*, Mr. Paillard; and Fig. 8b, *couch*, Mr. Bovée), and it never lasts so long. If the enunciations are equally energetic, the explosion accompanying voiceless consonants is stronger and lasts longer in English than it does in French.

The experiment frequently recommended of holding a lighted match in front of the lips to test for French *p*, *t*, *k* is worthless. By pronouncing gently, an American may retain the English arrangement of the vocal cords and yet not blow out the match; on the

<sup>1</sup> See my article, *Modern Philology*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, pp. 332, 333, figures 19, 20.



other hand, a Frenchman pronouncing with some little force,<sup>1</sup> will extinguish the match. The result, as long as the American pronunciation is gentle, is a fair counterfeit of the French, but in reality nothing is changed by this exercise and in a normally energetic pronunciation the characteristic aspiration remains audible.

The aspiration of *f*, *s*, *ch* is less noticeable than that of *p*, *t*, *k* since in pronouncing *s* or *ch* or *f* little air can pass through the comparatively small opening between tongue and palate or lower lip and upper teeth.

According to Klinghardt:

All Frenchmen pronounce initial *p*, *t*, *k* without "hauch" [breathiness] and final *p*, *t*, *k* with "hauch," and form *p* in such manner that the explosion of the lips is brought about by an upward movement of the closed glottis, the vocal cords passing in the syllable *pa* from a position of complete closure for *p* to that of a narrow slit for *a* so that so little "lung" air may escape as to make the formation of a "hauch" [breathiness or noticeable explosion after the consonant] impossible; on the other hand, in the syllable *ap*, the vocal cords are not prevented as they open from the closed *p* position from assuming their normal position, but before this position is reached sufficient air escapes to form "hauchgeräusch" in the mouth; this "hauchgeräusch" is of relatively short duration because of the fact that the "sprechmechanismus" instinctively regards its task as accomplished with the completion of the *p*-explosion, stops any special pressure on the air [in the lungs] and passes over to normal breathing!<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "C'est avec le plus grand intérêt que j'ai lu l'article de Klinghardt sur ce sujet dans les *Neuere Sprachen* de mai. Aussitôt lu, j'ai voulu répéter les expériences dont il parle. Et ... je ne suis pas arrivé au même résultat!

La chose n'est pas nouvelle. En 1900, j'ai vu Klinghardt et Walter chercher à rendre sensible la différence entre la syllabe qui est en allemand et en français, en tenant une allumette allumée devant leur bouche: l'allumette continuait à brûler avec un *p* français, s'éteignait avec un *p* allemand. Enchanté je rentre chez moi, j'enflamme une allumette, je la mets devant ma bouche, je prononce *pa* à la française: l'allumette s'éteint. Je recommence dix fois, vingt fois, mon allumette s'éteint toujours. Je suis forcé de conclure que le "*p* français" de mes amis allemands est sensiblement différent du mien, et probablement n'est pas un *p* français, bien qu'à l'oreille il y ressemble beaucoup."—Paul Passy, *Neuere Sprachen*, July, 1906, p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> "Jedermann weiss, dass die französischen Tenuen von den deutschen verschieden sind; Jedermann weiss auch, dass der unterschied der bildung und lautwirkung beider konsonantengruppen darin besteht, dass die explosion, welche deutsche wie französische *p*, *t*, *k* kennzeichnet, im deutschen von nach folgendem hauch begleitet ist, im französischen aber nicht."

"1. Deutsch. Wenn ich die deutschen silben, *p*, *t*, *k* bilde, so steht im augenblick vor der explosiven 'öffnung' der anlaute [*p*, *t*, *k*] der ganze weg von den luftgefüllten lungen bis zur stelle des lippen—bzw. zungenschlusses vollständig offen: die stimm lippen [stimm bänder] des kehlkopfes sind weitauseinander gesperrt. Durch muskeldruck auf

If this theory of the production of *p, t, k* were true, the tracings should show a marked explosion after end consonants, but little or none after beginning consonants. This is not the case. In a pronunciation lacking in energy, the final explosion may be scarcely discernible on the tracing, and the explosion after a beginning consonant is often very marked; in no case is there anything to indicate that the nature of the explosion of beginning French *p, t, k* is different from that of final *p, t, k*. Again the theory that the glottis is entirely closed during the production of *p, t, k* (French) accounts neither for the duration nor the force of the aspiration in an energetic pronunciation.

The true explanation of the final explosions is found in the fact that all end consonants in English and in German are "final" consonants; that is, they are pronounced by means of a preceding vowel; and that all end consonants in French are "initial"; that is, they are

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die lungen treibe ich luft nach oben, gegen die schlussstelle hin, der schluss wird gesprengt, und die unter genanntem druck ausströmende luft bringt solange an den wänden des kehlkopfes, des rachens und des mundes reibegeräusch ('hauch') hervor, bis die behufs bildung des stimmtons für *a* rasch sich einander nähernden stimmlippen 'tonlage' erreicht haben, und durch die zwischen ihnen verbleibende ritze ('stimmritze') nicht mehr luft genug dringen kann, um noch wie vorher, reibegeräusch in rachen und mund zu erzeugen. Man sieht: bei solcher articulation *muss* notwendig zwischen dem augenblick der explosion und dem anschlag des *a*-tons 'hauch' entstehen.

"2. *Französisch*. Bei bildung der französischen silben *pa, ta, ka* dagegen ist der luftweg zwischen lunge und schlussstelle des mundes durch vollständigen schluss des kehlkopfes mittelst der fest aneinander gelegten stimmlippen *unterbrochen*. Daher kann die explosion auch nicht durch muskeldruck auf die lungen und druck der so nach oben ausgetriebenen lungenluft erfolgen, sondern sie wird auf anderem wege bewirkt. Es ist nämlich der kehlkopf unter anderem auch mittelst der muskelbündel der zu beiden seiten des zäpfchens (uvula) nach sich hinabziehenden 'gaumenbogen' am schädel (zunächst am 'weichengauken') aufgehängt. Verkürzt man diese muskelbündel durch zusammenziehung, so wird dadurch der [geschlossene!] kehlkopf ein wenig nach oben gezogen. . . . Diese pressung der mundluft äussert sich in druck auf den letztgenannten schluss und bewirkt explosive lösung desselben; reibegeräusche bildende lungenluft *kann gar nicht nachstürzen*, da im augenblick der explosion der kehlkopf noch geschlossen ist und auch nach seiner öffnung sich nur bis auf den durchmesser der zur bildung des stimmtones für *a* notwendigen 'stimmritze' öffnet. Durch diesen winzigen spalt kann, noch bevor die rhythmischen schwingen für *a* einsetzen, schlechterdings nicht so viel luft ausströmen, das dadurch reibegeräusch in den weiten räumen des rachens und des mundes erzeugt würde.

"Die vollständige wesensverschiedenheit der deutschen und der französischen articulation bei der bildung von *p, t, k* besteht also darin, dass bei deutscher aussprache durch druck auf die lungen lungen luft durch den offenen kehlkopf nach aussen getrieben wird, bei französischer aussprache aber durch hebung des geschlossenen kehlkopfs mund- (und rachen-) luft nach aussen stürzt. Der druck der letzteren ist natürlich *augenblicklich erschöpft*, der dem grossen luftreservoir der lungen entstammende kann lange anhalten."—H. Kilnghardt, "Die verschiedene bildung der Tenuis im Französischen und Deutschen," *Neuere Sprachen*, Mai 1906, Band XIV, Heft 2.

pronounced by a following explosion or indistinct "voiceless" or "voiced" vowel.<sup>1</sup> It is owing to this that final *p, t, k* (*s, sh, f*) in English, though marked by a strong aspiration when they begin a syllable, are not "breathy" at the end of a word, and that in French, *p, t, k* (*s, ch, f*) at the end of a word are accompanied by a distinct explosion.

#### MECHANISM AND POSITION

The great similarity of differences between French sounds and English sounds indicates the probability of a single cause determining the variations in the treatment of diphthongs, in the earlier functioning of the vocal cords during the production of consonants, and the differences in the length of consonants and in the position of consonants and vowels.

The French manner of pronouncing *bel* is conducive to the production of a pure vowel since the stoppage of breath and the relative

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To Klinghardt's explanation that the entire difference in the German (English) and French articulation of *p, t, k* consists in the fact that in the German articulation air from the lungs is driven through the open glottis and that in the French pronunciation through raising of the closed larynx air is forced out of mouth (and throat), the air from the lungs lasting a long time, but the air from the mouth and throat being immediately exhausted, Paul Passy objects: "Au point de vue de l'investigation scientifique je crois que la question mérite d'être élucidée. Il y a d'abord un point à noter, c'est que les plosives finales sont assez fortement aspirées en français, dans des mots comme *cap, nelle, roc*; Klinghardt ne paraît pas y avoir réfléchi, je ne sais pas trop comment ça cadre avec sa théorie."—*Neuere Sprachen*, Mai 1906.

And Klinghardt replies: "P. hat gewiss recht: alle franzosen sprechen ihre anlautende *p, t, k* ohne hauch, ihre auslautenden mit hauch. Warum muss das so sein bei einer artikulation, wie ich sie auf ihrer seite annehme? Nun, wenn sie wirklich, wie ich meine, ihre *p* so bilden, dass sie die lippenexplosion durch emporrücken des geschlossenen kehlkopfes herbeiführen, so können eben bei ihnen die *chordae vocales*, wenn dieselben in der silbe *pa* von der zu *p* gehörigen schlussstellung übergehen zu der von *a* bedingten parallelstellung (so eng aneinander, dass berührung nur ausgeschlossen ist), bloss so wenig 'lungen'-luft austreten lassen, dass von einer hauchbildung keine rede ist. Dagegen in der silbe *ap* werden die *ch. v.* bei ihrer öffnungsbewegung nach der explosion des *p* durch nichts gehindert, dieselbe bis zu ihrer normalen atmungsweite auszuführen; aber noch bevor diese erreicht ist, tritt von allein überreichlich und mit hinreichendem druck luft aus, um im mundraume hauchgeräusch zu bilden. Dass dieses relativ schnell aufhört, hat seinen grund darin, dass der sprechmechanismus instinktiv mit ausführung der *p*-explosion seine aufgabe für erledigt ansieht, jede besondere druckanstellung einstellt und zur regelmässigen atmung übergeht.

"Also der von mir geschilderte mechanismus der *p*-artikulation schliesst bei unmittelbarer nachfolge von *a* [*pa*] die möglichkeit der hauchbildung oder aspiration aus, kann aber bei unmittelbarer nachfolge von regelmässiger atmung [*ap*] die entstehung eines hauchgeräusches gar nicht verhindern. Und damit, scheint mir, habe ich den von P. an *cap, nelle, roc*, geknüpften einwand erledigt."—Klinghardt, *Neuere Sprachen*, 1906, p. 312.

<sup>1</sup> See my article, *Modern Philology*, Vol. XIV, pp. 93–102.

pause after the *e* make any change of position during the production of the vowel in anticipation of the following consonant unnecessary. The English manner of pronouncing "final" consonants makes the production of diphthongs inevitable. Since end consonants in English are produced by means of the preceding vowel, there is always a movement of closure during the production of a vowel followed by a consonant in the same syllable, and this habit of closure persists even when the vowel is final or in the pronunciation of a series of the same vowel; it is this combination of gradual change of position and continued production of sound that characterizes the true diphthong as opposed to the French variety consisting of a semi-consonant followed by a pure vowel.

It has been observed that the vocal cords vibrate in French during the tension of *b*, *g*, *d* and all voiced consonants. The pronunciation of these consonants begins while the position of tension is being held, and by a comparison of figures 17, 18, 19, 21, and 22 (*Modern Philology*, Vol. XIX, pp. 331, 332, 333, and 334) it will be seen that the positions for the consonants are held much longer in French than in English. It is evident also from a comparison of figures 1, 2, 5, (*Modern Philology*, Vol. XIX, pp. 322, 323, 325, and 331) that the voiceless consonants in general are held a length of time equal to that of the corresponding voiced consonants. In the case of the continuants, the consonant is prolonged or "vocalized"; in the case of the explosives *p*, *k*, *t* the position of closure is held in silence some time before the explosion of the consonant takes place. In the production of English voiced consonants, the beginning of the vibration of the vocal cords is almost simultaneous with the leaving of the consonant position; voiceless consonants, even the continuants are not prolonged, but the position of tension is left immediately (cf. English *sh* and French *ch* as in *shall* and *chaque*). Because of the continuous pronunciation of English, a consonant between two vowels as *l* in *follow* is only a point of transition and because of this transition or movement, the consonant position of closure is held but a short time or in reality is not held at all since there is continual change of position; on the other hand, the French mechanism with its pause and stoppage of breath before consonants lends itself to the holding of the consonant position and the consequent lengthening of the consonant.

Moreover in a great number of consonant groups, the English manner of pronouncing an end-consonant (as a "final" consonant) after a vowel brings about a shortening of the consonant; this short consonant, in the majority of cases a necessary product of the mechanism, comes to be used everywhere. Thus in the word *somebody*, the English speaking person pronounces the *m* with the vowel *o* of *some* as he closes his lips, and then pronounces the *b* with the vowel *o* of *body* as he opens his lips. In order to pronounce both *m* and *b*, the American makes but one movement of opening and closing the lips. A Frenchman must close and open his lips for *m* and then must close and open them again for *b*. It is evident that if the movements are made at the same rate of speed, the French consonants are twice as long as the English consonants.

A comparison of French and English vowels and consonants reveals striking common differences: front vowels, *i*, *é*, *e* are pronounced with the tongue in a more forward position in French than in English—in pronouncing open *e*, for example, the point of the Frenchman's tongue is very close to the front lower teeth, the Englishman's tongue in pronouncing the corresponding sound of "short *e*" is withdrawn a quarter of an inch or more in the mouth. This may be observed with the eye without the aid of the artificial palate. The back vowels *u* and *o* are more closed and produced with the point of the tongue farther back in French than in English.

The position for *g* and *k* is farther forward in English than in French, and the position for *t*, *d*, *n*, *l*, *ch* (English *sh*), *j* (English *zh*), is farther back in English than in French.

Is this similarity of differences accidental? In pronouncing *peck*, the tongue assumes position against the palate for *k* while the vowel *e* is still being produced, the *k* position is thus taken by the tongue without entirely relinquishing the position for *e*—the tongue attempts to adapt itself to the position of vowel and consonant simultaneously, and as this is physically impossible, the *k* shifts forward and the *e* back. In like manner, in *bowl*, the tongue assumes the *l* position while still striving to maintain the *o* position and in consequence the *o* is shifted forward, is not as closed, and the *l* is produced farther back.

In French, the jaws are separated during the pronunciation of the medium *o* of *bonnet*, but the jaws are nearly closed again before placing the tongue in position for *n* and, without effort, the tongue takes a forward position for the consonant; in English *bonnet*, because the *n* is pronounced by means of the preceding *o*, the tongue must take position for the consonant while the jaws are still separated for the vowel. In French, the tongue in position for *n* may be said to form the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle having a long base and a short side; in English, because of the separation of the jaws, the side of the triangle is lengthened, thus increasing the length of the hypotenuse. The English mechanism does not permit of the shortening of the side of the triangle as in French, but it does permit of the shortening of the base and the consequent shortening of the hypotenuse and this is done by the tongue taking position for the *n*, not on the teeth, but back of them on the hard palate, and any unusual muscular effort on the part of the tongue is thus avoided.

The explanation of the differences in position of the other vowels and consonants is the same as given for *e* and *o*, *l* and *n*.

Such differences of position do not account for the acoustic differences of the consonants; the positions noted by the phoneticians are static or rather only points in a multitude of positions of movement and do not take into account how the positions are reached and left or how the breath is used during this movement, and any one of the neglected points of movement is just as important as the positions noted. As static positions they have little or negligible importance and are not fundamental but incidental and are determined by the control of the breath and the closely related general movement or mechanism. These positions are not a cause but a result.

JAMES L. BARKER

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

## ON THE ORIGIN OF THE GRETCHEN-THEME IN *FAUST*<sup>1</sup>

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The present investigation owes its origin to two but recently available publications, one by a Goethe scholar<sup>2</sup> of eminence, the other by a layman,<sup>3</sup> whose work betrays the amateur but reveals an important truth.

The first is by Wilhelm Bode, author of the voluminous biography of Goethe, now appearing, whose skill in gathering and arranging material is seen to great advantage in this monograph, in which are sketched "the fortunes of Friederike Brion, before and after her death." Lest a fate as cruel as that of the Lesbian poetess in Attic Comedy overtake the poetical figure of Goethe's first love, the scholar Bode has curbed eulogy and caricature, he has parted truth from fiction in the array of literature that for more than a century has collected about the name of Friederike.

Beginning with the early family history of the Brions, Bode gathers together every item of information concerning Friederike and the young Goethe, contained in letters, poems, reports of conversations, interviews of survivors; he adds all the facts and circumstances about the acquaintance of the poet Lenz with Friederike, including the poems dedicated to her; then follows the story of the subsequent life of Friederike with her parents, as Goethe found them in 1779, which continued until 1787; then after the death of the parents, her migration with her sister Sophie to the Steinthal, where her brother, and later a relative by marriage, occupied the Protestant pulpit. The sisters at one time opened a little shop, selling pottery and woven wares. At all times Friederike was spoken of as good and charitable, as a kind godmother to children whose baptism she

<sup>1</sup> A paper read at the meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, at Baltimore, December 30, 1921.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Schicksale der Friederike Brion vor und nach ihrem Tode.* Von Wilhelm Bode. Berlin: E. S. Mittler u. Sohn, 1920.

<sup>3</sup> *Das Urbild von Goethes Gretchen.* Von Otto v. Boenigk. Greifswald: Ratsbuchhandlung L. Bamberg, 1914.

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is recorded to have witnessed, as a sort of loving aunt to the young, until she died April 3, 1813, beloved and respected, in her sixty-first year. Why had she never married? Perhaps because of her delicate health in the years of her youth, perhaps subsequently her taking care of her aging parents.

Bode attempts to draw a realistic picture of Friederike, very tall, pale, but animated and of personal charm, inclined to pulmonary trouble just as the young Goethe, who had just come through a battle for life. Aside from this handicap Goethe was not established in life and could not be seriously thinking of marriage. Their parting was necessarily a sad event in their young lives, as is not infrequently repeated in university towns, when college widows are left behind by charming young men of no immediate prospects. Lenz appeared as self-appointed successor to Goethe, but he destroyed what affection he may have awakened, by his mental attitude of unrestraint. The home of the Brions remained hospitable during the life of the parents, and among the guests were students of theology and officers. Friederike and her sisters always spoke well of Goethe. Bode proves beyond a question of doubt that to attempt to find the *motif* of the *Kindes-mörderin* in the Sesenheim idyl is sheer folly or worse.

The second part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* appeared in 1812, and contained the story of Goethe's disguise and introduction in Sesenheim. Friederike might have beheld there her portrait and the comparison with the Vicar of Wakefield's household. But it is most probable that she did not, for the poet's greatness and his works were alike unknown in the village communities of Alsace and Baden, where she spent her last years, and no one had heard of a bygone acquaintance between a student Goethe and the kindhearted old aunt. Nor had she ever appeared to them a forsaken, drooping flower—with all her gentleness she was alert and full of good humor, as her correspondence testifies to the last. During the last year of Friederike's life Goethe wrote the story of their love and chastised himself for desertion. Most probably he did not know<sup>1</sup> that she was

<sup>1</sup> Ph. Chr. Weyland, a brother of the Weyland who brought Goethe to Sesenheim, occupied a high position in the service of the Duke of Weimar, but the family correspondence reveals nothing of Friederike, and it is not probable that Goethe had news of Friederike through this source.



still living, though the memory of her haunted him like the song of Solveig. Remarkable is the coincidence, that on the day of Friederike's death we find an entry in Goethe's journal: *Biographie, Schluss des 3. Bandes*, denoting that the poet had completed on that day the third part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, which contained the immortal literary tribute to her.

Nothing has hurt the reputation of Goethe more than his voluntary confession of guilt in leaving Friederike, an act paralleled so frequently in the lives of men of genius, and attributable so largely to the desire for self-development and independence. Goethe has well said: "Die Ursachen eines Mädchens, das sich zurückzieht, scheinen immer gültig, des Mannes niemals." The great historian Niebuhr was perhaps the first to express his disapproval of Goethe the man as a result of his self-confessed desertion. Very little was known at that time of Goethe's life, and while detractors were busy defaming alternately the character of the poet or Friederike, the classical philologist, August Näge, in 1822 made a pilgrimage to Sesenheim to examine the scene of the poet's love-story. Näge wished to trace two rumors to their source, the one, that Friederike had married a nobleman v. Dürkheim (this was a confusion with Lili Schönemann), the other, that Goethe had a son by Friederike, and that the boy was compelled to enter an unworthy trade as pastry-baker in Strassburg. The latter rumor was traced to Pastor Schweppenhäuser of Sesenheim, who, though confessing that he had never himself had any personal acquaintance with any of the Brions, stated as a fact, that Friederike had been seduced by a Catholic priest, Reimbold (alias Reinbold, Rheinbold), that there had been a son, and that Goethe had discovered Friederike's fall at the time of his revisiting Sesenheim in 1779 and had thereby been deterred from his intention of marrying her. Reaction in favor of Friederike naturally set in after such appalling slanders, notably after the discovery of Salzmann's *Nachlass*, given to the public in 1838. Ludwig Tieck had already published a short story, *Der Mond-süchtige*, in 1831, based upon a probable visit to Strassburg and Sesenheim. Alsatian investigators started about the same time. A student of Professor Näge, at Bonn, Heinrich Kruse, in 1835 visited Sesenheim and found old Schweppenhäuser still alive but unwilling

to discuss the evil story he had circulated. He directed the inquirer to the oldest survivors among the peasants, who, however, sang the praises of the Brion family and particularly of Friederike, and on the ugly rumor the "Ochsenwirt" replied: "Das hat gewiss der alte Pfarrer gesagt, denn sonst weiss kein Mensch im ganzen Dorf etwas Andres als lauter Gutes von den Brions."

We may ignore the contemptible *Plaudereien* such as appeared from the pen of the feuilletonist Weil and others in the *Leipziger Zeitung für die Elegante Welt*. Düntzer refuted them and also laid bare certain forgeries. The battle was on again after 1870, when Alsace became politically a part of Germany, and Catholics and Protestants made of the matter an interchurch controversy. An arbiter was thought to be found in a person denominationally unbiased, Dr. Johannes Froitzheim, of Jewish descent, who had been transferred to Strassburg and was interested in local historical personages. But he also had an axe to grind, for he fixed his cannons against the Goetheaner, the exclusive guild of Goethe Philologen under the leadership of Erich Schmidt. Froitzheim was a painstaking investigator, but all that he could find was, that in 1787 an illegitimate child was baptized in Strassburg with parents named as Franziska Wallner and Johann Blumenhold. The Abbé Reimbold(t), curate of Sesenheim, had brought the child to Strassburg. With these facts Froitzheim constructed an argument that Reimbold must have been the father of the child—Friederike, being also of Sesenheim, was the mother; they assumed different names at the baptism. Upon such a flimsy stock the poisonous flower of Froitzheim's argumentation grew, and his vile purpose of dragging into the mire a most beautiful literary tradition was often imitated. Erich Schmidt attacked the perpetrator most bitterly and Froitzheim deservedly fell into disrepute as an investigator.<sup>1</sup>

It will not be necessary to follow Bode's outline of succeeding investigations, they add little more to our knowledge of the subject. The good character of Friederike is clearly established, and Goethe's

<sup>1</sup> The title of the monograph was: *Friederike von Sesenheim, nach geschichtlichen Quellen*. Von Joh. Froitzheim. Gotha, Perthes, 1892. The writer of this paper carefully examined this and many other works enumerated and outlined by Bode (mostly found only in German libraries), and bears witness to the accuracy of his reproductions and to his judicial attitude.

confession was a noble and generous act. We cannot possibly find the model for the *Kindesmörderin* here.

The other very suggestive work, *Das Urbild von Goethes Gretchen*, though amateurish in method, points the way toward a solution of the problem. The author, Otto v. Boenigk, is confident that he has found the original for Goethe's Gretchen. He found her in the chronicles of the city of Stralsund. Her name was Maria Flint. The city was under Swedish régime and a large number of soldiers were quartered there. Maria Flint was a shoemaker's daughter. She was seduced by a young Swedish officer, who left her. Her parents died before the birth of her child, from grief at the loss of the family honor. The soldiers were supreme and no redress was possible. The forsaken girl was confronted with the terrible disgrace of public penance, the loss of position and all the respect that made life worth living, and in despair she killed her child at the risk of even more monstrous punishment, for impalement, burial alive, drowning under torture were inflicted in those cruel times; decapitation was considered a mild form of punishment for the offense of child murder. From the cloister to which presumably Maria had fled for protection, came the rumor that she had killed her child. The town council took up the case and threw her into prison. Lieutenant Johann Dycke of the Husars was not the worst of men, and he offered the prison warden 700 Reichstaler for her release, but the keeper would not take the bribe. The case became a struggle between the authority of the city government and the arrogant soldiery. Maria Flint was sentenced to death by decapitation, and the reckless young Johann Dycke vowed he would break open the prison. True to his word, during the early morning hours of October 28, at the head of a band of men in disguise with blackened faces, he overpowered the guard stationed in doubled numbers in and about the prison, and set the condemned young woman free. Great excitement reigned the day following and the aggrieved Ratsherren appealed to Stockholm for protection against the military. The leaders were punished with a transfer to Sweden, including Lieutenant Johann Dycke. A search was made for the escaped prisoner, advertisements for her apprehension appeared not only in the newspaper of Stralsund, but of many other cities also—but no trace of the missing woman could be found.

But a miracle came to pass! On December 2 Stralsund was again thrown into consternation, Maria Flint had appeared at the prison doors and asked to have the sentence executed upon her. She declared she had been in service in Dresden and other places, but everywhere she had been haunted by the fear of discovery and had never had peace. "Es ist so elend, in der Fremde schweifen, Und sie werden mich doch ergreifen." She regretted her flight, but refused to name anyone who had taken part in her rescue. She refused to see her lover; the sincerity of her remorse made a deep impression. Strangely none of the Ratsherren thought of pardon. Instead, fearing another rescue, they put stronger bars on the windows and laid chains upon her hands. December 20, 1765, was the day of execution, and exactly as Goethe's words describe the scene: "Die Menge drängt sich, man hört sie nicht. Der Platz, die Gassen können sie nicht fassen," the cold-blooded ceremony was performed in every detail, though popular sympathy was altogether with the stouthearted, repentant woman. The law had to have its blood-sacrifice.

The parallel with Gretchen's seduction, remorse, and refusal to flee with her lover is very startling, and Boenigk claims that Goethe must have heard of this case while he was a student at Leipzig. It is quite possible, though the proof is lacking. But the important fact is, that at this time, all over Central Europe and beyond, the cruelty and injustice with which punishment for the crime of child murder was inflicted upon the woman and the woman alone, was beginning to arouse public sentiment. Just so about a century before the barbarity of witchburnings and tortures to extract confessions before court, stirred opposition and finally brought abolition. Now, i.e., especially in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the minds of young writers were inflamed by this lurid phase of social injustice, and they produced a whole category of dramas, novels, lyrics and essays on the theme of the child-murderess. The "Stürmer und Dränger" were most productive: Heinrich Leopold Wagner wrote *Die Kindesmörderin*, Reinhold Lenz, *Der Hofmeister* and *Die Soldaten*, Maler Müller, *Nusskernen*, above all Goethe his first part of *Faust*. The poet Bürger wrote a ballad, had plans for a drama on this theme,

and was busily engaged on one of the conspicuous trial cases of infanticide, for which he prepared an abstract. A prize of one hundred ducats was offered in 1781 by Dalberg, the director of the Mannheim theater, for the best discussion of the subject: "What are the best means of preventing infanticide without promoting prostitution." It is said, four hundred essays were handed in, and three prizes were awarded. Three dozen of the essays were noticed in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*. J. G. Schlosser, Goethe's brother-in-law, competed unsuccessfully, but published his work in 1785, *Die Wudbianer, eine nicht gekrönte Preisschrift über die Frage, etc.* Pestalozzi was interested and published something on the subject in 1782. Examples might be multiplied.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that the fifty-fifth of Goethe's Latin examination theses at Strassburg was: *Ob ein Frauenzimmer, das ein neugeborenes Kind töte, zu köpfen sei, ist eine unter den Rechtslehrern streitige Frage*. The story of the forsaken girl that drowns herself in despair, is told with deep human insight by Goethe in the first book of *Die Leiden des jungen Werther*. The whole subject of seduction and infanticide was before Goethe's mind from its legal and human aspects during the period 1770-75, when the Gretchen theme assumed form.

It is clear from the foregoing that we should not seek the origin of the Gretchen tragedy in the life of Friederike Brion, nor in the personal experiences of Goethe, but in the awakening of a humanitarian sentiment characteristic of the period of Goethe's early manhood, when a large number of young writers introduced the theme of the child-murderess into literature with conscious or unconscious purpose. Goethe alone created a great work of art upon the theme, his contemporaries wrote drastic but ephemeral propagandist literature now almost forgotten.

In view of the many errors that have been made in attempting to find the original for Gretchen, Goethe scholars might take warning against a method that seeks too narrowly to find a friend or acquaintance behind every one of Goethe's poetical creations. Even where it

<sup>1</sup> An excellent study of the origin and growth of public sentiment on this subject, also an historical survey of the severe punishments inflicted, can be found in the monograph of O. H. Werner, *The Unmarried Mother in German Literature*, Columbia University Dissertation, 1917.

is clearly proved that the poet did use his friends as models, as in *Die Leiden des jungen Werther*, it is the picture of eighteenth-century sentimentalism, it is the antithesis of the emotional and rational elements, and the broad basis of human experience which defies the destruction of time. In a recent essay on *Werther* complaint is made of the prevalence of treatments from without instead of from within; in a renewed edition of F. Th. Vischer's *Goethe's Faust* (1920), the motto of the original editor is emphasized: "Den Stoff durchforschen und den Geist im Stoffe erkennen." The key to the origin of the Gretchen theme is found in a study of the social conditions of the time. This suggests many possible interpretations of Goethe's works from a neglected point of view.

ALBERT B. FAUST

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

## STUDIES IN ENGLISH PHONOLOGY

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### I. *au*

No little has been written and contended as to the steps in the process by which the ME diphthong *au* developed to the [ɔ'] of PE, but the scholars interested have for the most part based their conclusions on admittedly uncertain evidence, such as the comparisons and descriptions given in the writings of the orthoepists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; in consequence, none of the various hypotheses set forth has gained general recognition. The present investigation into the matter is undertaken in the hope that a different method of attack (based on internal evidence as afforded by the language itself and its monuments, rather than on the external evidence of the grammarians) would make it possible to reach conclusions worthy of general acceptance. These conclusions, and the supporting evidence, are presented below. Before entering upon any discussion, however, it is advisable to clear the ground by briefly considering the nature of our problem and the principles which must govern its solution.

We are dealing with a sound-change [au > ɔ']. Obviously the phonetic processes involved are smoothing and rounding. If we assume that the smoothing took place first, we get the phonetic series [au > a' > ɔ']; if, on the other hand, we suppose the first element of the diphthong to have undergone rounding before the smoothing process was completed, we get the series [au > ɔu > ɔ']. Again, the smoothing may have taken place in such a way as to give a slow diphthong as an intermediate stage, i.e., the first element of the diphthong may have been gradually lengthened at the expense of the second element, this latter, however, surviving for a time as an off-glide. In such case we should get the two series [au > a'u (> a') > ɔ'] and [au > ɔu > ɔ'u > ɔ'] respectively. There are thus four main possibilities of development to be reckoned with. Each of these, of course, has been championed by one or more scholars, although, as before stated, little other than external evidence has

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been brought forward in support of any of the theories advanced. Thus Vietor (*Phon. Stud.*, III, 92; *Sh. Phon.*, p. 66; *Angl. Beibl.*, XXVI, 164), Western (*Eng. Stud.*, XXXVII, 214, and XLII, 276, and Brotanek (Mason, p. xvii) uphold what may be called the [aː]-theory; Franz (*Orthog.*, p. 21) assumes rather a transition sound [aːu]; Ekwall (*hist. ne. Laut- und Formenlehre*, p. 29) cannot decide between [ɔu] and ɔːu]. It is for us to assemble such internal evidence as exists and from it determine, if possible, which of these theoretical phonetic developments actually took place, as well as to ascertain what we can about connected questions.

What is the nature of this "internal evidence"? It must be said at once that the evidence presented in this paper is confined almost entirely to variant spellings as found in Murray's *NED* and to dialect variants assembled from the material contained in Wright's *EDG*. In the present state of our knowledge of English dialect history such collections must of course be used with caution, but there can be no question that if so used they are capable of yielding valuable results, making possible, indeed, as we shall see, a rational explanation for not a few matters hitherto perforce left unexplained or listed as anomalous.

Turning now to our problem, the word-lists and tables below furnish evidence in support of the following propositions:

1. The ME diphthong *au* developed to [ɔː] through the stages [ɔu > ɔːu]. The beginnings of this process are observable from as early as 1220.
2. At approximately the same period an *u*-glide began to develop between *a* or *o* and *a* following *l*.
3. The tendency to develop an *u*-glide between *a* and *a* nasal affected native as well as Romance words.
4. Traces of overlapping between the diphthongs *au* and *ou* appear *circa* 1250, and become considerable by the end of the ME period; this overlapping resulted in the permanent transfer of a few words from each group to the other.

These conclusions may seem startlingly at variance with current opinion. Thus, while no one, apparently, has had the temerity to date the change [au > ɔu], the fifteenth century would doubtless be considered the earliest possible period. Wyld (*Short Hist. of Eng.*,



§ 218), supporting himself on Suessbier, dates the *u*-glide before *l* from 1475. Jespersen (*Gramm.*, I, 10. 31) conjectures that this *u*-glide developed in the fifteenth century. No writer has noted the development of an *u*-glide before a nasal in any native words other than *answer* and *Canterbury*; see, e.g., Jespersen, *op. cit.*, I, 3. 97. Finally, except for the words of the type *daughter* (for a discussion of which see below), there is extremely little in print which would indicate that Anglicists were even aware of the overlapping between the *au*- and *ou*-diphthong groups, although this overlapping occurs in familiar words like *jaw*, *jowl*, *drone*, *paw*, etc. Thus, Björkman (*Scandinavian Loan Words in ME*), in his attempt to explain why West Scandinavian *au* appears in ME as both *au* and *ou*, does not mention overlapping. Nevertheless, the examples which I have collected seem to me conclusive, so much so, indeed, as to render gratuitous any further argument here. Before presenting the evidence in detail, however, it may be well to say a few words on overlapping in general and its connection with our problem.

Overlapping is frequently considered rather as something to be explained away (or marked *auffällig*) than as a means of establishing the facts of linguistic history. As a matter of fact, however, frequent overlapping is inevitable in the processes of phonetic change as understood and interpreted today. The current theory assumes that any given sound-change or -change tendency, once arisen in a speech-group, spreads more or less gradually outward in every direction from this group, which thus becomes as it were a center of propagation for the change in question. As such a tendency may raise its head at any time in any speech-group, and as the area of successful propagation will vary with each individual case, even though many of these movements may have originated in the same group, it follows that the limits within which a given sound-shift has been accomplished will rarely coincide with the limits to be assigned to any other sound-shift; on the contrary, the various areas will normally overlap in every direction. This is of course old doctrine, but it has seemed advisable to summarize it here, in order to emphasize the fact that overlapping is a monster which will be met at every turn and which must somehow be faced and vanquished, unless indeed in our sloth we are content to abandon phonology to the devices of unreason.

It must not be supposed, of course, that the numerous *ou*-spellings of *au*-words in the lists below are always or even usually an indication of overlapping; for the most part they simply reflect the sound-change [au > ɔu]. In some cases, however, as *goal* OF *gaule*, *jowl* OE *ceaf*, the present-day forms are clearly due to overlapping. That is to say, these words got their [ɔu]-forms in speech-groups where the first element of *au* was early rounded; they were then taken over, in their new form, by speech-groups in which *at the time of the transfer* no such rounding had as yet taken place. In such speech-groups, of course, our words would belong to the *ou*-, not to the *au*-group, and would develop further accordingly. Similarly, the not infrequent ME *au*-spellings of *ou*-words (see below, and cf. Knigge, *Die Sprache des Dichters von Sir Gawain*, pp. 32 ff. and 51) in many cases are to be interpreted as spellings pure and simple, i.e., as *au* had come to be pronounced with a rounded first element it might be used to represent [ɔu] wherever this diphthong occurred. Such a method of procedure would be natural enough in the case of a copyist whose *au* was [ɔu], while his diphthongal *ou* was [ɔ·u], the difference between the two diphthongs being thus merely quantitative. Such a quasi-spelling reform would commend itself all the more in view of the established use of *ou* to represent an entirely different sound, viz., the monophthong [u·]. In this way are to be explained most of the *au*-forms of the Scandinavian *au*-word loans, for example; the history of the Scandinavian languages themselves shows that the first element of the diphthong must have been rounded at a very early period. All this is not to argue that these *au*-spellings are useless for historical purposes. Luick is probably wrong when he supposes them (*Unters.* § 105) to represent a limited ME unrounding; as he himself points out (*loc. cit.*), this unrounding, if it occurred at all, left no traces in the modern dialects. The spellings do indicate, though, that *au* had come to be pronounced with a rounded first element, and so confirm neatly enough the other evidence pointing in the same direction.

At the same time such words as *daughter* OE *dohtor*, *jaw* OF *joe*, *paw* OF *poe* are clear cases of true overlapping, and that in a direction just opposite to the direction taken in the overlapping discussed above (in *jowl* etc.). The *jowl*-type of overlapping has never before

been noted, so there are no explanations to refute. The existence of the other type, however, has long been recognized, although heretofore it has been thought to be confined to words of the *daughter*-group (including *brought*, *thought*, etc.), such words as *jaw*, *paw*, *vault*, being either ignored altogether or listed as anomalous (so Ekwall, *op. cit.*, p. 28; but see Jespersen, *op. cit.*, I, 3. 96 for an attempted explanation of *paw*). As to the *ought*-words, Ekwall (*op. cit.*, § 90) supposes actual ME unrounding of the first element, giving [au], which then underwent the same development as ME *au* in general. In the case of *daughter* at least, this theory is apparently supported by the spelling, and by Modern English dialectal forms such as *dafter*. It may be agreed at once that unrounding of the first element of the *ou*-diphthong is widespread in the dialects (see the numerous forms in the dialect table below). However, as Luick (*loc. cit.*) has pointed out, this unrounding occurred in the modern period, not in ME, and there is no reason to suppose that the *ought*-words were exceptional in this respect. It is much more plausible to suppose rather some such development as the following: in those dialects where [x] was early lost, the development was [ɔuxt > ɔut > ɔ̄ut] with leveling under the long *ou*-diphthong; in those dialects where [x] was late lost, the early lengthening of the first element of the diphthong was prevented by the consonant combination, and the diphthong was leveled under ME *au* after the eventual loss of the spirant, by which time the first element of *au* had become rounded; finally, in those dialects where [x] was retained, or became [f], the first element of the diphthong in many speech-groups underwent unrounding and the subsequent development in these speech-groups was parallel to that of *draught*. Certainly the retention of the *ou*-spelling in most words of the group strengthens the argument that here no actual sound-change [ɔu > au] occurred. Even if every word of the group *had* developed an *au*-spelling, however, this would prove only that leveling had taken place, and our other evidence shows conclusively that this leveling was under [ɔu], not [au]. As to *jaw*, *paw*, etc., the matter is in reality simple enough. The words themselves in their present form came into the standard dialect from speech-groups where the ME *ou*-diphthong remained in one of the stages [ɔu, ɔ̄]. This would of course include dialects in which the first element of the diphthong, still round in ME,

underwent unrounding in Modern English times. A glance at the dialect table below reveals the great extent of the speech-area from which such forms could be drawn. The spelling with *-aw* is simply a conventional representation of [ou > ɔ] in the standard dialect.

In the lists below the forms and examples given are from the *NED* unless their source is otherwise indicated. No West Scandinavian *au*-words are included; for such words see Björkman, *op. cit.*, pp. 68 ff. I may add, however, the following: *boke* 'to poke' ON *bauka* 'to rummage'; *taw* 'line from which the players shoot in the game of marbles' (note the phrase *knuckle down to your taw*, whence *taw* developed the meaning 'marble with which the player shoots' and finally also came to mean 'a game played with taws'), *taw* 'a rootlet,' *taw* 'a thong, whip, lash' and *taws* 'kind of whip'—all from ON *taug* 'string, rope' (but see below in the *ou*-list). The notation in the dialect table was taken from the *EDG*, without change.

LIST I: *ou* FOR *au*; *ol* FOR *al*

*adamant*: *adamaunt* 1382 Wyclif, *Ezek.*, iii, 9, etc.; *adamounde* 1527 Whittinton, *Gramm.*

*alb* 'kind of robe' OE *albe* + F *aube*: *nobe* 1554 Mach. 62. 3 (Diehl, *Anglia*, XXIX, 143, note)

*alder* 'kind of tree' OE *alor*, *aler*: *olr* a1300 Wright, *Voc.*, 91; *oullers* 1635 Brereton, *Trav.* (1844), 149; *owlers* 1676 Cotton, *Angler*, II (1863), 240

The *o* of *olr* cannot phonetically be explained except as representing *ou* from an earlier \**au*, the *u* here being of course simply the *u*-glide which regularly developed before *l*.

*almond* OF *almande*: *almaund(e)*, *almound(e)* a1300 *Cursor M.*, etc.

*altar*: *owtter* 1550-63 Mach. 42. 29 (Diehl, *loc. cit.*, 143)

*awe* ON *agi* (acc. *aga*): *owe* c1320 *Seuyn Sag.* (W.)

*awkward* ON *afug* + OE *-ward*: *owkeward* 14th-15th cs.

*awl*: *oules* c1386 Chaucer, *Sompn. T.*, 22

*balm* vb. 'to embalm': *boumet* c1420 *Anturs Arth.*, XIV

*beaupers* 'linen fabric used for flags' F *Beaupreau* nom. pr.: *bowpres* 1592 *Wills and Inv. N.C.*, II (1860), 211

*beauty*: *boutte* c1485 *E. E. Misc.* (Warton), 10

*behalf*: *beholue* 15th cy. Rot. Parl. (Zachrisson *Eng. Vow.*, 81)

*bestraught*: *bestrought* 1586

*Bethnall*: *bednowle* 1600 Hensl., 183, 22 (Diehl, 143)

*blancmange(r)*: *blowmanger* 1530 *Ortus Voc.*

*blandish*: *bloundiss* a1340 Hampole *Psalter*, xc, 13

*brawn* OF *braon*, *braoun*: *browne* c1460 *Towneley Myst.*, 89

*caddow* = *ca* + *daw*: *cadaw* c1440 *Prompt. Parv.*, 57/2, etc.; *cadowe* l.c., etc.

*cardinal*: *carnoville* Hensl. 193. 3 (Diehl, 143)

*cause*: *couses* 15th cy. Rymer, IV, 4, 145 (Zach., 82)

*chaffinch* OE *ceaf* + *finch*: *chofinch* 16th cy.

That the first *f* was vocalized to *u* is rendered probable by the spelling *chawfinch* 1661 Morgan *Sph. Gentry*, III, V, 50. The subsequent loss of this *u* before a labial is of course regular enough—see *chomberier*, etc., below.

*chamberer* OF *chamberier*: *chomberier* 1340 *Ayenb.*, 171

*champ* vb.: *chomp* c1645 Howell, *Lett.* (1650), I, 20

But this spelling may represent a shortening of the already smoothed *au*.

*change*: *chounge* 1473 Warkw., *Chron.*, 11

*claurie* adj. obs. Her. 'of one color': *cloury* 15th cy.

*clauster* 'cloister' OE *clauster*: *clowster* 1549 *Chron. Grey Friars* (1852), 58 and 64

But this form may go back to OE *clūstor*.

*claw* OE *clawu*: *clowes* c1386 *Man of Law's T.*, 356, etc.

*claw* vb. (from sb.): *clowe* 1377 Langl., *P. Pl. B. Prol.*, 154, etc.

*colne* 'kind of coop': 1st occ. 1538. Note in *NED*: cf. *cauna* in Du Cange as var. of *calma*, *cauma* 'thatched hut.'

*command* vb.: *commound* 15th cy.

*commandment*: *commoundment* 1447–50 Sh. 137, 139 (Zach., 82)

*cramp* sb. OF *crampe*: *crompe* 1377 Langl., *P. Pl. B.*, xiii, 335: *croampe* 1486

*Bk. St. Albans* B viij a

*crawl* ON *krafla*: *crouland* a1300 *Cursor M.* 6612 (Gött.)

*dank* vb.: *downk(e)* 15th cy.: *dounk* 1552 Lyndesay *Monarchie* 6309

*danking* vbl. sb.: *downkyng(e)* a1400 *Morte Arth.*, 3248

*daub* vb. OF *dauber*: *doub* a1450 *Knt. de la Tour* (1868), 31, etc.; *dobe* 1483

*Cath. Angl.*, 102, etc.

*default*: *defowts* 1422–1509 *PLs.* 3, *JP*, 631 (Zach., 82)

*dolphin* OF *daulphin*: *dolphyn* 1387 *Trevisa Higden* (Rolls) II, 13, etc.;

*doulphyn* 1530 *Palsgrave*, 214/2

*drone* OE *dran*: *drone* 1483 *Cath. Angl.*, 109/2, etc.; *drowne* 1538 *Starkey England*, I, iii, 77

The development was as follows: *dran* > \**draun* > *droun* > *drone* (cf. *loan* below, and *rone* 'roe of a fish' < *rown* Icel. *hrogn*).

*drone* vb. (from sb.): *droun* 1340–70 *Alisaunder* 985 (1st occ.)

*falchion* OF *fauchon*: *fouchon* 15th cy.

*faller* vb. OF *faultr(e)* 'felt' (?): *folter* 1531 Elyot, *Gov.*, I, xvii, etc.

*faller* vb. OF *faultr(e)* 'strike, beat': *fouller* 1649 *Blithe, Eng. Improv. Impr.* (1652), 182

*find* OE *findian* 'to test': *faund* a1400 *Morte Arth.* 656; *found* c1420 *Pallad. on Husb.*, I, 1137, etc.; *foond* 15th cy.

*flame* OF *flambe*: *flome* 15th cy.

*flow* sb. Sc. = *flaw* 'detached piece of something' ON *flaga*

*flowte* sb. obs. 'flute' OF *flaute*: c1384 Chaucer, *H. Fame*, III, 133, etc.

*gale*, *gaul* 'bog-myrtle' OE *gagel*: *goul*, *golle* 1568 Turner, *Herbal*, III, 47

*gausler* vb. dial. 'to boast' ME *galstre* 'to cry out': *gowster* (no date or examples given)

*Gloucester*: early form *Gleawecastre*

*goal* F *gaule* 'stick, pole': *gol* c1315 Shoreham, 145; *gole* 1531 Elyot, *Gov.*, III, xx (1534), 224a, etc.; *gowle* 1538 *Dict.*, *Meta.*; *goale* a1628 Preston, *Breastpl. Love* (1631), 163, etc.

The *NED* rejects this etymology, partly, at least, on account of the Shoreham rime with *yhol*. As it thus becomes necessary, however, to derive the word from an unrecorded OE *\*gal*, the rejection strikes me as a rather arbitrary one, especially in view of the fact that the rime which is the source of the trouble can be explained in several ways on the basis of *goal* having been, originally, an *au*-word. It is, for example, possible enough (even likely, indeed) that an *u*-glide had developed before the *l* of the Shoreham *yhol*, and that in the dialect under consideration the first element of the ME *ou*-diphthong had already been lengthened, or was beginning to be lengthened. Under these conditions the rime would of course be an excellent one. The *ou*-diphthong implicit in the spelling *gol* I derive, then, from an earlier *au*; as the confusion between the two diphthongs goes back to 1220 (see *s.v.* *navel* below) the early date of the rounding and lengthening in this particular word need not surprise us.

*Graby* ON *\*Greiðabýr*: *Grobby* 1483 *Cal. Inq.* (Lindkvist *ME Place-Names* 54)

The development was as follows: *Gratheby* (occurs in Rot.H.) > *\*Grathby* > *\*Grauby* > *Grouby* > *Grobby*. For the vocalization of *ð* cf. *mawk* 'maggot' ON *maðkr*; the 15th cy. spelling *awsk* (*NED*) for *ask* 'newt' OE *aðeze*; the spelling *our* Cursor M. 19523-5 (Edinb.) for *other* 'or'; and PE dialectal *raumouse* 'bat' OE *hreaðemus*.

*gramercy* OF *grant merci*: *gromercy* 13. . *Coer de L.* 1371, etc.

The *o* here may be due to weak stress, as Professor Jespersen points out to me (orally).

*grant* vb. AN *grauter*: *grownte* 15th cy.

*halberd*, *halbert* OF *halebard*: *-ol-* 1567 Turberv. *Poems in Chalmers, Eng.*

*Poets*, II, 588/2, etc.; *-oul-* 1630 Wadsworth, *Pilgr.*, viii. 89

*halberdier* OF *halebardier*: *-ol-* 1589 *Pasquil's Ret.* Bb, etc.

*hambargh* 'collar of a draught-horse': *-owm-* c1746 J. Collier (Tim Bobbin)

*Lanc. Dial. Wks.* (1862), 52, etc.

*jaunce* vb. 'to make (a horse) prance' = *jounce* vb. 'to jolt'

The present pronunciation of *jounce* with [au] is probably a sp.-pr., on the analogy of *bounce*, etc. Cf. also *prowl*.

*jowl* OE *ceafl* 'jaw'

*lamp* F *lampe*: *lompe* 14th cy.

*land* sb.: *launde* 1208 Rot. Chart. (1837), 184/1; *loond* (with *o* for *u* before *n*?) 1382 Wyclif, *Gen.* xxi, 33

*laud* vb. Lat. *laudo* 'praise': *loud* c1440 *Bone Flor.*, 1883

*loan* sb. Sc. and dial. OE *lane* 'lane': *lone* 1362 Langl., *P. Pl. A.*, II, 192, etc.

The development was as follows: *lane* > \**laune* > \**loune* > *lone* (*loan*); for parallels see under *drone* above.

*malm* adj. dial. 'mellow, soft' OE *mealm*: *moam*, *maum* 1691 Ray, *N. Cy. Words* (EDS).

*malmeny* 'dish in the old cookery': *momene* c1420 *Liber Cocorum* (1862) 26  
*maumet* OF *mahumet* 'idol': *mowmet*(*te* 15th cy.

*navel* OE *nafela*: *noule*, etc., c1220 *Bestiary* 561, etc.

*paunch* ONF *panche*: *pounche* c1430 *Two Cookery-bks.* 7

*pewter* OF *peau(l)tre*, etc.: *peauter* 15th–17th cs.; *powter* 1422–1509 *PLs MP* 429 (Zach., 82)

*rascal*: *rascolds* 1592 Wyrley *Armorie* 123

*realm* 'kingdom' OF *reaume*: *reaume*, etc. c1290 *S. Eng. Leg.* I, 114/276, etc.; *reome* 14th cy.

*romance* OF *romans*: *romounce* 15th cy.

*sand* OE *sand* 'message': *sound(e)*, *sownde* 15th cy.

*sandesman* 'envoy': *soundisman* 14th cy.; *soundismen* c1400 *Destr. Troy.* XXI, 8866

*sausage*: *soulsage* 1634 Sir T. Herbert, *Trav.*, 183

*saw* vb. from *saw* sb. OE \**sagu*: strong pa. pple. *sowen* 1483 Caxton, *Golden Leg.*, 248/2

*scald* ONF *escalder*: *scold* 1340 *Ayenb.*, 66, etc.

*spalt* adj. 'brittle' (of wood) Du *spalte* 'to split': *spolt* 1787 Grose *Prov. Gloss.* s.v. *Spolt*; *spoult* 1787 in East Anglian glossaries

*spaul* 'shoulder' OF *espalle*: *spole* a1723 in Child *Ballads*, III, 342/1

*stallion* OF *estalon*: *stolon* c1440 *Pallad. on Husb.*, IV, 802: *staulandes* 1541 Act 33, Hen. VIII, C 5

*strand* sb.: *straunde* 1208 Rot. Chart. (1837), 184/1; *strounde* 1544 Betham, *Precepts War*, I, lii D.j.b.

*stranger*: *strounger* 15th cy.

*thaw* vb. OE *þawian*: *thow* c1384 Chaucer, *H. Fame*, III, 53, etc.

*thaw* sb. (from vb.): *thow(e)* 1412–20 Lydg. *Chron. Troy*, II, 5079, etc.

*throll* sb. obs. 'breathing hole' < \**thrall* < \**tharl* < *therl*, variant of *thirl* OE  
*þyrel*: *therl* c1300 *Cursor M.*, 528, etc.; *throll* c1430 *Bk. Hawkyng* in *Rel. Ant.*, I, 301, etc.

*tote*, *toll* vb. 'to decoy, to pull a bell' ME *tollen* < \**tallen*: 1st occ. c1220 *Bestiary* 545 in *O.E. Misc.* 17

The *nil*-grade of the root vowel is represented by OE *-tyllan* (in *fortyllan* 'to seduce') ME *tillen*, the *o*-grade by ME *tollen*, the *e*-grade by Du, WFries, etc., *tillan* 'to raise, lift up, take up.' The ME *u*-form, which first appears

c1386 Chaucer *Reeve's T.*, 214 (where it rimes with *fulle* 'full'), may be compared with *dull* OE *dol*, \**dyl*. For meanings cf. ON *bregða*.

*trawl* 'kind of fishing-net' MDu *traghel* 'drag-net': *troul* 17th cy.; *trowl* 18th-19th cs.

*trawl-net*: *trollnet* 1558

*vaward* 'vanguard' < *vau(m)ward*: *voward* 1432-50 tr. *Higden* (Rolls), VII, 241, etc.

LIST II: *au* FOR *ou*; *al* FOR *ol*

*blindfold* vb. OE *blind-fyllan* (pa. pple. *-fylð -fuld -fold*): *blindfallunge* a1225 *Ancr. R.*, 96; *ybyndfalled* 14th cy.

*bolck* vb. obs. 'to vomit' ME *bolken*: *balk* a1535 More, *Wks.*, 1360

*bolking* vbl. sb. obs. 'vomiting': *balkynge* 1519 Horman *Vulg.* 32b

*bowel* sb. OF *boel*: *bawelly* 15th cy.

*bowline* OE *-boga* 'bent line' + *line* (app. not phonetically connected with *bow* 'fore-end of a ship'): *bawe-lyne* c1325 *E. E. Allit. P. C.* 104

Jespersen (*Gramm.*, I, 3. 624) assumes a ME long open *o* in words of this type, explaining the lengthening (3. 62) as due to the general ME tendency to lengthen short vowels in open syllables. But this hypothesis not only fails to account for the long open *o* of *folk*, *mould*, etc., but also is rendered improbable, even for the group of words to which its application is limited, by the fact that no corresponding lengthening of *a* (as in *draw*, *maw*) took place, and by the *au*-spelling above.

*brawde* vb. obs. OE *brogden* pa. part. of *bregdan* 'to jerk': from 1483

*brawl* sb. 'ruffian' < *brothel* 'a good-for-nothing': *browle* c1440 *York Myst.*, XVI, 38 (1st occ. of word)

For the vocalization of *ð* to *u* cf. above s.v. *Graby*

*brawl* vb. (from *brawl* sb. or *broll* 'brat' q.v.): *brolled* 1660 *Engl. Monarchy Freest State* 7

*broll* 'brat' (doublet of *brawl* sb.): *brawl* 1575 J. Still, *Gamm. Gurton*, II, ii  
*brought* pret. OE *brohte*: *braught* in Spenser

*browden* pa. part. of OE *brogden*: *brawden* 14th cy.

*chough* ME *choge* 'kind of crow': *chaughes* 1646 Sir T. Browne, *Pseud. Ep.*, VI, x

*coe* sb. 'a disease in sheep' OE *cohu*, *cohe* 'disease, pestilence': *caw* 1807 *Vancouver Agric. Devon* (1813), 218

For the vocalization of *ð* to *u* cf. *brawl*, *broll* and see above s.v. *Graby*.

*coe* vb. 'to give (sheep) the coe' (from sb.): *caud* pa. part. 1746 *Exmoor Scolding* (EDS) *Gloss.*; *cawed* pa. part. 1884 *Blackw. Mag.* Nov., 636/2

*cope* vb. OF *colper* 'to strike': *caupit* c1400 *Destr. Troy* 6486 and 7775

*cough* sb. (from vb.): *caughe* a1400 *Chester Pl.* (Shaks. Soc.), I, 119

*coup* sb. Sc. OF *colp* 'a blow': *caupe* c 1400 *Destr. Troy* 1237; *kaupe* *ibid.* 10890

*coup* vb. Sc. (= *cope* vb.): *caupe* 15th cy.



*crawl* vb. F *crouler* 'to quake, to fall heavily':

- 1) in the meaning 'shiver' (1st occ. c1300): *crawl Confess. Friv. Girl* 161, etc.
- 2) in the meaning 'rumble' (1st occ. 1519): *crawle* c1575 J. Still, *Gamm. Gurton*, II, i

*daughter* OE *dohtor*: *dahtor* 1531 W. Babe in *Wells Wills* (1890), 114; *dafter* 1532 T. Budd, *ibid.* (1890), 183; *daughter* 1539 Cranmer, *Matt.* ix. 18, etc.

*fallow* adj. OE *falū*: *falau* a1300 *Cursor M.*, 1263 (Cott.)

*follow* vb. OE *folgian*: *folaw(e)* 15th cy.

*four* OE *feower*: *fawre* 13. *E. E. Allit. P. B.* 938; *faure* *ibid.*, 1683

*gallows* OE *galga*: *galawis* a1400-50 *Alexander* 1813

*holt* 'wood' OE *holt*: *halte* 15th cy.

*jaw* earlier *jow(e)* OF *joe* 'cheek'

*low(e)* ON *loge*: 'flame': *lawhe* 14th cy.; *lawe* 15th cy.

*low* vb. ON *loga* 'to flame': *law* a1400-50 *Alexander* 226

*mow* 'a grimace' OF *moe*: *mawe* a1400-50 *Alexander* 4728

*overthwart* adv. 'crosswise' *over*+ON *pvert*: *ourthuert*, etc. 13. *Cursor M.*, 12084 (Cott.), etc.; *aurthwert* 15th cy.; *awthwert* adj. c1400 *Destr. Troy* 1960

*paw* earlier *powe* OF *poe*

*pelt* (*pilt*, *pult*) sb. (from vb., *q.v.*): *polt* (from *u*-form) c1610 ms. Bodl. 30 1f. 24b, etc.; *palt* (from *o*-form) 1625 Purchas, *Pilgrims*, II, VI, vi, 887, etc.

*pelt* (*pilt*, *pult*) vb. Lat. *pulto* 'beat, strike': *palt* a1380 *Cristene mon and Jew* 99 in *Min. P. Vernon ms.* 487, etc. (the form *pault* occurs in the 16th cy.; the *au*-spelling does not indicate any change in pronunciation); *polt* 1649 Blithe, *Eng. Improv. Impr.* (1653), 179, etc.

*poltron* F *poltron*: *paltroon* 17th-19th cs.

In its present form (with stressed ultima and short penult vowel) *poltron* represents a reborrowing from French. The oldest form of the word, *pultrowne* (a1529 Skelton *Howe the douty Dk. of Albany* 170, etc.), with stressed penult, would normally give a long *ou*-diphthong.

*poustie* 'power' OF *poesté*: *pausty* a1300 *Cursor M.*, 4317 (Fairf.), etc.

*prowl* vb. ME *prollen*: *pralle* c1460 J. Russell, *Bk. Nurture*, 280

*rainbow*: *reynebawe* 1387 Trevisa *Higden* (Rolls), I, 337

*Roland* OF *Roland*: *Rauland* 14th cy.

*sawdee* (1st occ. c1500 *Melusine* 148) OF *soudee* 'soldiers' pay'

*scrawl* 'young of dog-crab' OF *escroelle*: 'river-shrimp'

*scroll* OF *escroele*: *scrall* a1600 *Flodden F.*, iv (1664), 32; *scrawl* 18th cy.

*scrow* OF *escroe* 'strip of parchment': *skraw* 15th cy.

*sew* OE *seowian*: *sawe* 15th cy.; *saude*, *sawede* 15th cy.; *sawynq* 15th cy.

*sewer*: *sawer* 15th cy.

*shaul* sb. dial. 'shovel used in winnowing corn' OE *scoft* 'shovel'

- sold* 'pay' OF *soulde*: *sawd(e)* 1402 *Pol. Poems* (Rolls), II, 94, etc.  
*soldan* 'sultan' OF *soldan*: *saudan*, etc., 13. . *E. E. Allit. P. B.*, 1323, etc.  
*sought*: *saught* 16th-17th cs.  
*taut* ME *tought*: *taught* 15th-19th cs.  
*taw* sb. ON *tog* 'rope, cable, cord' + ON *taug* 'string, rope'  
*thole* 'pin, peg' OE *pol*: *thauel* 1857 P. Colquhoun, *Comp. Oarsman's Guide*, 29  
*tivet* 'measure of half a bushel' = *toll-fat* (1st occ. in Latinized form *tolfata* 1222 J. Thorpe *Registrum Roffense* (1769), 369, xvj): *talvett* 1629 *ms.*  
*Acc. St. John's Hosp. Canterb.*; *tavort* 19th cy.  
*tow* 'fibre,' etc., OE *tow*:- *tawe* 15th-16th cs.  
*tow* vb. OE *togian*: *taw* 1562 J. Shute tr. Cambini's *Turk. Wars*, 34b, etc.  
*tow* sb. (from vb.): *tawe* 1622 R. Hawkins, *Voy. S. Sea* (1847), 226  
*vault* sb. earlier *voute* OF *volte*  
*vault* vb. earlier *voute* OF *voller*  
*wolcne* 'welkin' OE *wolcn*: *walkne* c1250 *Gen. & Ex.* 103, 136, 161 (Stratman)

## LIST III: WORDS OF UNKNOWN ORIGIN

- alp* 'bullfinch': *oupe* 1591 Percivall Sp. Dict.: *owpe* 1599 Minsheu; *nope* 1678 Ray *Ornith. Willughby* 247  
*chaun* = *chone* 'a gap'; cf. *chame*, *chaum* 'a crack'  
*dalk*, *dawk* = *doke*, *dolk* 'a hollow, a depression'  
*dauk* = *dowk* 'term used in mining'  
*gault* = *golt* 'argillaceous strata' (1st occ. 1575)  
*gaum* vb. 'to smear with a sticky substance': *gome* sb. 'cart-wheel grease'  
*shault* = *sholt* 'a cur'  
*spaught*, *spaut*, *spowte* 'a lad'

KEMP MALONE

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

draw

laugh

drought

all



## NOTES ON THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LOPE DE VEGA'S *COMEDIAS*

The following notes are a by-product of some months' work in the libraries of Madrid. My main interest was the study of the versification of those plays by Lope de Vega which have not been reprinted in modern collections, and which are, accordingly, not accessible in the United States. The casual method of approach accounts for the fact that the present remarks deal mainly with Lope's least-known plays, and are rather scattered than systematic.

In attacking the bibliography of Lope's *comedias*, one naturally starts from the invaluable compilations already provided, the *Bibliography* of Professor Rennert,<sup>1</sup> and its later form as revised by Sr. Américo Castro.<sup>2</sup> It might as well be said at once that neither of these versions should be used without the other. It is necessary to consult both on any given topic. The second version corrects many mistakes of the first, provides many fresh bibliographical references, especially to periodical literature, gives catalogue numbers of the Biblioteca Nacional and indicates correctly the present whereabouts of MSS and rare volumes; but exigencies of space, one may presume, compelled the omission of much valuable matter in the original.<sup>3</sup> There are even some new errors introduced.<sup>4</sup> A comparison of certain items in the list of plays (e.g., *Acertar errando*, *Los Milagros del Desprecio*, *La Orden de la Redención*, *El Paje de don Álvaro*) will demonstrate that to obtain the fullest information it is

<sup>1</sup> Hugo A. Rennert, *Bibliography of the Dramatic Works of Lope de Vega Carpio*. New York and Paris, 1915 (extrait de la *Revue Hispanique*, t. XXXIII).

<sup>2</sup> *Bibliografía de las Obras Dramáticas de Lope de Vega*, pp. 445-530 of *La Vida de Lope de Vega*, por Hugo A. Rennert y Américo Castro, Madrid, 1919. I refer throughout to these two works as R and R-C.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., practically all the items on pages 9-10, 35-132 of Rennert's work, which include the description of the lost *tomos colectivos* once in the Osuna Library; enumeration of the plays by Lope included in the collections of *Diferentes Autores* and *Escogidas*; the lists of plays furnished by Lope in the *Peregrino en su Patria*; the list of suppositious plays, etc. In connection with the *Partes* of Lope, R-C omits to indicate the location of the several editions. It would have been good to correct and amplify this material, instead.

<sup>4</sup> See below, pp. 205 ff.

necessary to consult both works. The later edition, accordingly, cannot be said entirely to supersede the earlier.<sup>1</sup>

The reader of the following pages will see that many of the notes are derived from an examination of the contents of the Biblioteca Municipal de Madrid. The catalogue of this library<sup>2</sup> is out of print, and hard to obtain. It is, of course, easily accessible in Madrid, and there are numerous copies in the United States. Nevertheless, since the bibliographers of Lope have not hitherto made use of it, one may be justified in making known, to a wider circle than before, some of its information regarding the plays of Lope de Vega. The more important items I have myself verified, but it is probable that a thorough search during a longer stay would reveal additional facts not set forth in the *Catálogo*.<sup>3</sup>

The Biblioteca Municipal contains a wealth of MS plays, coming from the archives of the Teatro de la Cruz and the Teatro del Príncipe. Most of them are eighteenth-century copies, of little value, but, confining our attention to Lope alone, there is at least one treasure in the unique MS copy of *Ya anda la de Mazagatos*, which I am now publishing in the *Bulletin Hispanique*. This library contains also four of the six rare *suellas* published by H. A. Velpio at Brussels in 1649 and 1651,<sup>4</sup> namely, *De cosario a cosario*, *Del mal lo menos*, *Lo Cierto por lo dudoso*, and *La Vengadora de las Mujeres*. It contains a number of plays extracted from collections (*desglosadas*), including one (*El Desconfiado*) from the *rarísima Parte XIII* of Lope's *Comedias*, Barcelona, 1620, as I have proved by a comparison of the pagination with the copy in the Biblioteca Nacional; and seven from

<sup>1</sup> The following titles, included in R, are omitted in R-C: *Circe Angélica*, *Como ha de usarse del bien*, *El Esclavo de su hijo*, *La Prisión de Musa*, *La Riquenza mal nacida*. Most of these are discussed below.

<sup>2</sup> Carlos Cambronero, *Catálogo de la Biblioteca Municipal de Madrid, Madrid*, Imprenta Municipal, 1902. *Primero Apéndice*, 1903.

<sup>3</sup> As European libraries are notoriously ill heated and ill served, it is almost a duty to state that abundant heat, ample light from the side and cheerful and prompt service make the Biblioteca Municipal an agreeable haven for the rare readers who stroll in from the Plaza del Dos de Mayo. This library was founded, practically speaking, by Mesonero Romanos, who bequeathed to it his books. Its present genial director, Don Ricardo Fuente, is also the librarian of the Emeroteca, or Periodical Reading-Room, in the Plaza Mayor. It was he, too, who instituted free, open book shelves in the Madrid parks—an experiment in trusting the public which goes beyond any American plan. The results have justified the founder's confidence in the people.

<sup>4</sup> See Salvá, *Catálogo*, I, 548.

*Parte XXIV*, Zaragoza, 1633.<sup>1</sup> None of the foregoing printed texts is absolutely unknown, but their presence in the Biblioteca Municipal ought to be noted. Cambronero was ignorant of the origin of the *desglosadas*.<sup>2</sup>

A second source which I have exploited freely is the manuscript *Yndice alfabético de Comedias Tragedias y demás piezas del Teatro Español* compiled by D. Joaquín Arteaga.<sup>3</sup> This list, formed for his personal use by a collector, was mentioned by La Barrera as one of the sources for his *Catálogo*,<sup>4</sup> but apparently he made no active use of it. It has been neglected by subsequent bibliographers. Arteaga's *Yndice* is not an accurate piece of work; it copies uncritically the information of Fajardo, Medel, Huerta, Nicolás Antonio, Mesonero Romanos, and the lists from the *Peregrino en su Patria*. Hence many obvious errors. Nevertheless, the fact that Arteaga carries the title *Ya anda la de Mazagatos*, which does not occur in any former list, shows that he did have access to some new data, and makes it worth while at least to bring to light what he can offer. I have examined his *Yndice* only with reference to Lope de Vega.<sup>5</sup> Obviously, students of other dramatists will need to see if it contains material for them.<sup>6</sup>

The following abbreviations are used:

Acad. *Obras de Lope de Vega*, ed. Real Academia Española, Madrid, 1890-1913.

Acad. N. *Obras de Lope de Vega*, ed. Cotarelo y Mori, Madrid, 1916-18.

Art. Arteaga's *Yndice*.

B. La Barrera, *Catálogo del teatro antiguo español*, Madrid, 1860.

BMM Biblioteca Municipal de Madrid.

<sup>1</sup> *El Amor Bandolero*; *Amor, pleito y desafío*; *La Honra por la Mujer*; *El Examen de Maridos*; *La Mayor Victoria*; *El Qué dirán*; *Selvas y Bosques de Amor*.

<sup>2</sup> I have not included in the ensuing list the many *sueñas* which duplicate those in the Biblioteca Nacional, nor the nineteenth-century *refundiciones*, of which there are several.

<sup>3</sup> Bibl. Nac., MS 14698.

<sup>4</sup> P. xii. He copies the title incorrectly. He gives the date as 1851, but in the MS the list of comedias is dated at "Torrelaguna a 14 de febrero de 1839."

<sup>5</sup> The plays which Arteaga is alone in attributing to Lope are: *Adonis y Venus*, melodrama; *Buen pagador es Dios*; *El Clavo de Jael*; *La Dicha hace reyes*; *En un pastoral Albergue*; *El Hombre por la Mujer*; *Marica la del Puchero*; *San Julián y Santa Basilisa*; *El Verano saludable*; *Ya anda la de Mazagatos*. See the list below.

<sup>6</sup> Since this article is written at a distance from Madrid, it is not possible for me to verify my notes. I hope that too many errors may not creep in on that account. For the same reason some of the items are not carried so far as I should like.

BN Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

C. Carlos Cambronero, *Catálogo de la Biblioteca Municipal de Madrid*, Madrid, 1902, and *Primero Apéndice*, 1903.

F. Juan Isidro Fajardo, *Indice manuscrito de comedias impresas hasta 1716*; BN MS 14706.

H. Don Vicente Garcia de la Huerta, *Theatro Hespañol, Catálogo Alfabético de las Comedias, Tragedias, etc.*, Madrid, 1785.

M. Herederos de Francisco Medel del Castillo, *Indice general alfabético de todos los títulos de comedias, etc.*, Madrid, 1735.

P., P.<sup>2</sup> First and second list of plays given by Lope de Vega in *El Peregrino en su Patria*, 1604 and 1618, respectively.

R, R-C. As previously.

The rest of this article takes the form of a review of R-C, and the numbers prefixed to each item refer to the pages of that work. The majority of the remarks apply to R as well.

163 and note 4. (Cf. also 461, *s.v. Amigos enojados*; 468, *s.v. Carlos el Perseguido*, etc.) The title-page of the Lisbon, 1603, edition of Lope's plays is given by B. (p. 679), by Rennert (*Life of Lope de Vega*, Glasgow, 1904, p. 156), and by R-C, as reading: *Seis comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio, y de otros Autores, cuyos nombres de ellas son éstos . . . .*, etc. This is incorrect. Von Schack has the correct form (*Nachträge*, p. 40) thus: *Seis comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio, cuyos nombres dellas son estos. . . .* See the accompanying plate, made from the copy in BN (Ti-63, 1°). The words "y de otros autores," then, do not occur on the title page of this edition. The description given by Rennert (*loc. cit.*) and followed by R-C, was contributed by Professor J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly. Are we to suppose an error of copying on the part of the latter, and of B., or are there two Lisbon editions of the same date, with differing *portadas*? Only a visit to the British Museum can furnish the answer. The Madrid, 1603, edition, printed by Pedro Madrigal, does have the words "y de otros autores," if we are to believe the description given by Quaritch in a bookseller's catalogue of 1895 (R, 9, n. 2), by Ticknor from a copy in the Ambrosian Library at Milan (*History of Spanish Literature*, 4th ed., II, 237, n. 17), and by Hämel in *Zeitschr. Rom. Phil.*, Beiheft 25 (1910), p. 61, from a copy at Hamburg.



- 453 The contents of *Parte XXII*, Madrid, 1635, are quite different from those of *Parte XXII*, Zaragoza, 1630. The facts are correctly stated in R, 30-31. The Zaragoza edition is in BN, Ti-63 (not "Ti-91").

S E I S  
COMEDIAS  
DE LOPE DE VE-  
GA CARPIO, CVIOS NOM.  
BRES DELLAS SON ESTOS.

1. *De la destrucción de Constantinopla.*
2. *De la fundación de la Alhambra de Granada.*
3. *De los amigos enojados.*
4. *De la libertad de Castilla.*
5. *De las bañías del Cid.*
6. *Del perseguido.*



*Con licencia de la Santa Inquisición y Ordinario.*

EN LISBOA.

Impresso por Pedro Crasbeeck.

Anno MDCIII.

*Con privilegio de dez años.*

A costa de Francisco Lopez.

1726.

- 456 The catalogue number of Fajardo's *Índice* is "14706," not "14106."
- 458 *Achaques de honor*: Art. gives this title as *Achaques de Leonor*, as does R.

- Adonis y Venus* is in P.<sup>2</sup> as well as in P., though it is not so listed by R (p. 120). Art. gives to Lope in addition an *Adonis y Venus*, melodrama, but it is probably a confusion on his part.
- 459 *Las Almenas de Toro*: Art. comments: "idéntico argumento de como se comunican dos estrellas contrarias atribuida a Calderón." I have not seen this play, published in the spurious *Quinta Parte* of Calderón's *Comedias*, Barcelona, 1677, hence I cannot say what truth there is in Art.'s assertion.
- 460 *Amantes y celosos, todos son locos* exists in BN as a MS copy, bearing the words: "de Lope de Vega, refundida por el sr. Dionisio Solís." Sr. Castro says: "Naturalmente, sin saber qué comedia de Lope es la refundida, no se puede atribuir ésta a Lope." Another MS copy, almost identical with that in BN, exists in BMM, and Cambronero notes (p. 283): "El título que puso Lope es *Quien ama no haga fieros*." This comedia is, in fact, the one remodeled by Solís.
- 462 In BMM are two *sueltas* entitled "*Antes que te cases mira lo que haces*, por Lope de Vega Carpio," one of Madrid, Quiroga, s.a., the other of Madrid, Cruzado, 1803. As C. points out, the play is really Alarcón's *Examen de Maridos*.
- 464 *Las Batuecas del Duque de Alba*: R-C states that there is in the Ilchester collection a MS bearing the title *El Sol en el Nuevo Mundo*, by La Hoz y Mota and Lope. BMM also possesses a MS play, with *aprobaciones* of 1761, called "*El Sol en el nuevo mundo o Nuevo Mundo en Castilla*, Su Author D.<sup>n</sup> Juan de la Hoz y Mota y Lope de Vega Carpio." Whether it is the same as the Ilchester play I cannot state. C. declares that it is a *refundición* of *Las Batuecas*, by Lope. If so, the work was written anew, for there is hardly any relation between the MS and the play *Las Batuecas* printed in Acad. XI. The latter has: Redondillas, 35 per cent; Quintillas, 32 per cent; Octava rima and Suelos, 11 per cent each; Romance, 7 per cent; and slight amounts of sonnets and six-syllable assonants. In short, a consistently early type of versification.<sup>1</sup> *El Sol en el Nuevo Mundo* has 91 per cent Romance, 7 per cent Redondillas,

<sup>1</sup> See Milton A. Buchanan, *The Chronology of Lope de Vega's Plays*, in *University of Toronto Studies*, Toronto, 1922, page 18. Professor Buchanan gives a queried 1597 as the date of this play.

and 2 per cent Octava rima, a proportion perfectly in keeping with the dates of La Hoz y Mota (died 1714).

465 *El Brasil Restituido* was printed in Acad. XIII.

466 *Buen pagador es Dios* is a title assigned to Lope by Arteaga. H. gives the play as anonymous, B. does not carry the title in his list. The play meant is doubtless *El mejor Tutor es Dios*, attributed to Belmonte in *Escogidas* 28, and probably by him.

*El Buen Vecino*: Sr. Castro (p. 542) indicates that this play should be classed as doubtful. Art. says: "se cree sea apócrifa." The metrical scheme corresponds to a moderately early type of Lope.

*La Burgalesa de Lerma*: the MS copy of BN is dated "1613," not "1631."

*Las Burlas y Enredos de Benito*: Art. says: "igual a la de Góngora."

*Las Burlas de Amor*, published by Cotarelo in Acad. N., Vol. I, is not mentioned in R-C, although it is undoubtedly the piece listed in P.

467 *El Capitán Belisario*: There are in BMM two *sueltas* of this play besides the editions mentioned by R-C. One was printed by Laborda at Valencia in 1778, the other by the Imprenta de la Santa Cruz at Salamanca, s.a. In both Lope is given as the author.

468 *Carlos el Perseguido* was printed in Acad. XV.

*Celos con celos se curan* might well be listed here, if only as an erroneous attribution, since F. and others give it to Lope. Cf. R, page 266. The same may be said of *El Celoso Extremeño*, a title which F., M., H., and Art. give to Lope. M. and H. assert that another play of the same name exists, by Montalván. B. (p. 683) and Schaeffer (II, 84) assert that the play is really by Antonio Coello.

470 *El Clabo de Jael*. Art. is alone in ascribing this title to Lope. It is doubtless a mere inadvertence. Lope's name nowhere appears in the MS copy of this play in BN (Paz y Melia, No. 606); it is by Mira de Amescua.

*Como han de ser los nobles* should be queried.

- 471 *La Confusión de Hungría*: "igual a la de Mirademesqua" says Art.  
*La Conquista de Tremecén*: The volume *Doce comedias de varios* bears the date "1638," not "1635."  
*La Constanca de Arcelina* is a title given by Art. to Lope as well as to Juan de la Cueva.
- 472 *La Creación del Mundo*: BMM contains two *suektas* not mentioned here; one of Sevilla, Padrino, s.a., and one of Barcelona, Centené y Serra, s.a.
- 474 *El Descubrimiento de las Batuecas*: A cross-reference is given here to *El Sol en el Nuevo Mundo*, but no such item appears at the proper place in the list. See above, *Las Batuecas del duque de Alba*.  
*El Desprecio Agradecido* exists in BMM in the form of an extract (pp. 51-146) from some late collection.  
*Los Desprecios en quien ama* might have been included as a doubtful title. F. says: "Desprecios en q.<sup>a</sup> ama de lope S.<sup>6</sup> en V.<sup>a</sup> en M.<sup>d</sup> L.<sup>a</sup>."<sup>1</sup>  
M. and H. give this title to Lope and Montalván both; Art. to Lope; B. and Bacon<sup>2</sup> to Montalván. The play occurs only in *suektas*. The metrical analysis offers in this case no decisive answer.<sup>3</sup>
- 475 *La Dicha hace Reyes*: Art. attributes such a title to Lope, but it is doubtless a mistake for *Dios hace Reyes*, though he carries this title in addition.  
*Dineros son calidad*: a *suelta* in BMM, Murcia, Juan Lopez, s.a.
- 476 *El Divino Africano* should be preceded by a dash. This title is not in P.<sup>2</sup>, as the reader would infer.  
*Don Gil de la Mancha*. I agree with R-C that this play is almost certainly not by Lope, but the MS copy in BN (14907) does not attribute it to Rojas. M., not H., was the first

<sup>1</sup> Some of Fajardo's abbreviations are: S.<sup>6</sup> = *suelta*; V.<sup>a</sup> = Valencia; M.<sup>d</sup> = Madrid; L.<sup>a</sup> = venderla el librero León.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue hispanique*, XXVI (1912), 337.

<sup>3</sup> The *suelta* in the BN (T.-1533) bears the name of Montalván, and shows an early type of versification which might, so far as I can tell, belong to either author: Redondillas, 63 per cent; Romance, 24 per cent; and a scattering of Décimas, Octavas, Suelos, and hexasyllabic Redondillas.

bibliographer who did. The text of the BN MS is defective, and contains only 1,987 lines.

- 477 *Las Doncellas de Simancas*: a *suelta* in BMM, Madrid, Castillo, s.a.

*Dos Agravios sin ofensa*: "apócrifa," comments Art.

*Las Dos Bandoleras*: add a reference to Vélez de Guevara's *La Serrana de la Vera*, edited by R. Menéndez Pidal and María Goyri de Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1916, pp. 145-47, where this play is discussed at length.

- 479 *El Engaño venturoso*: Art. says this is the same as "*Qué dirán-Donaires de Pedro Corchuelo*. Lope. P. 24 & 26." *El Qué dirán*, etc., is by Matías de los Reyes.

*En la Mayor Lealtad* should be preceded by a dash and have a cross-reference to *La Lealtad en el agravio*.

*En un pastoral Albergue*: Art. attributes such a play to Lope. The title does not appear at all in B. Lope's early *Angélica en el Catay* (Acad. XIII) covers the story of Góngora's famous romance, but it mentions in no way the initial verse of it. One would, indeed, hardly expect to find an allusion to *En un pastoral albergue* prior to 1604, though the date of composition of the poem is, I believe, not known. The eighteenth-century *comedia burlesca*, *Angélica y Medoro* (BN, MS 16794), contains a line "*En un pastoral albergue*," but no suggestion of such a title.

*La Esclava de su Galán*: in BMM are two more *suestras*, one of Madrid, Plazuela de la Calle de la Paz, 1729; the other, Sevilla, Leefdael, s.a.

*El Esclavo de su Hijo*: this title, included in R, should not be omitted here. The metrical analysis fully bears out Schaeffer's contention (II, 183) that Lope, rather than Moreto, was its author.<sup>1</sup>

- 481 *Las Fortunas de Beraldo*: Art. presents the form, which others have conjectured, *Las Fortunas de Belardo*.

<sup>1</sup> The text of *El Esclavo de su Hijo*, as it appears in Moreto's *Tercera Parte*, Madrid, 1681, is defective; it contains only 1,826 lines, and the deficiency is distributed evenly among the acts, showing deliberate mutilation. As it stands, the play shows 39 per cent Quintillas, 27 per cent Redondillas, 23 per cent Romance, 7 per cent Octavas, and a few Sonnets and Liras. No authentic play by Moreto, so far as I yet know, contains over 13 per cent Quintillas.

482 *La Fuerza lastimosa*: another *suelta* in BMM, Sevilla, Imprenta Real, s.a.

483 *El Gallardo Catalán*: a *suelta* in BMM, no place nor date.

A title not here, *El Gran Cardenal de España*, D. Gil de Albornoz, is given to Lope by F. ("en su P.<sup>te</sup> 27 estrauagante"), and by M., H., and Art. It is, I suppose, by Enríquez Gómez, and in two parts. I have not been able to see this play.

484 *El Guante de Doña Blanca*: the BMM has a MS copy, *censura* of 1757, and a *suelta*, s.l.n.a.

485 *Las Hermanas Bandoleras* should be preceded by a dash, not an asterisk, and it should be clearly stated that this play is the same as *Las Dos Bandoleras*, published in Acad. IX. F. and Art. both assert the identity of the two titles, and the summary given by Schaeffer of *Las Hermanas Bandoleras* (I, 133-34) tallies with the Acad. text.

486 *Los Hierros por Amor* needs a reference to *La Esclava de su Galán*.

*El Hijo piadoso* is listed by F. (and Art.) as well as by M. and H.

487 *Los Hijos del Dolor* (listed by R, p. 263, among the suppositious plays), should certainly find a place here. M. and H. give this title to Lope and to Leyva Ramírez de Arellano; Art. to Lope only; B. (pp. 213, 554) to Leyva only. I have analyzed the play, as contained in a *suelta* of BN,<sup>1</sup> and am ready to affirm categorically that it is not by Leyva. Its metrical analysis shows: Quintillas, 67 per cent; Redondillas, 16 per cent; Romance, 13 per cent; all other meters (Décimas, Octavas, and eight-line stanzas of hendecasyllables), 2 per cent. Anyone will recognize this at once as a very early type of versification, and it is practically impossible that a writer of Leyva's dates should employ it.<sup>2</sup>

That this general statement is supported by the particular facts in the case of Leyva will appear from the analysis of his other extant plays. The results follow: The autograph *No ai contra un padre razón* (BN, MS 15280): Romance, 67 per cent;

<sup>1</sup> *Comedia famosa de Los Hijos del Dolor y Albania tiranizada*, de don Francisco de Leyva. Salamanca, s.a. (T-2680).

<sup>2</sup> Almost nothing is known of Leyva's life, but his autograph play *No hay contra padre razón* is dated Malaga, April 13, 1673.

Redondillas, 23 per cent; Silva, 6 per cent; Décimas, 3 per cent.—*No ay contra lealtad cautelas* (in *Jardín ameno de varias y hermosas flores, Parte 26*, Madrid, 1704); Romance, 81 per cent; Redondillas, 15 per cent; Silva, 3 per cent.—*Amadís y Niquea* (in *Escogidas*, 40): Romance, 70 per cent; Redondillas, 19 per cent; Silva, 5 per cent; Décimas, 4 per cent; Sonnets,  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.—*Quando no se aguarda* (*Escogidas*, 40): Romance, 63 per cent; Redondillas, 33 per cent; the rest Décimas, Silva, and Sonnets.—*Antes que amor es la patria* (MS copy BN 16718), Romance, 64 per cent; Redondillas, 24 per cent; Silva, 6 per cent; Décimas, 5 per cent. Such proportions are typical of the second third of the seventeenth century. The lavish use of Quintillas was confined to the cradle period of the *comedia*. To find so large a percentage as that in *Los Hijos del Dolor* one would have to turn to plays of the early Valencian school, by men like Tárrega, Turia, and Aguilar. A few early plays of Lope (e.g., *Los Chaves de Villalba*, *El Ganso de Oro*, *El Pastoral de Jacinto*, *Los Torneos de Aragón*) show more than 50 per cent Quintillas, and it is by no means impossible that he wrote *Los Hijos del Dolor*. I regard it as entirely impossible that Leyva Ramírez de Arellano did.

*La Historia de Mazagatos*: this play, considered lost, is preserved in a more or less altered form, under the title *Ya anda la de Mazagatos*, in BMM. An edition is in press with the *Bulletin Hispanique*.

*El Hombre por la Muger*: Art. gives such a title to Lope, but it is probably a slip for *La Honra por la Muger*.

488 *El Ingrato arrepentido*: anonymous MS copy in BMM.

489 *El Jardín de Vargas* should be preceded by a dash, since the play is said to be the same as *La Gata de Mari-Ramos*. Why is the former title queried, and not the latter?

490 *Lealtad, amor y amistad*: for T-12826 read T-12026.

491 *La Libertad de Castilla*, etc.: for "Madrid, 1603" read "Lisboa, 1603."

*La Lindona de Galicia* is attributed to Lope in the MS copy of BN. This play was discussed extensively by Professor G. T. Northup in *Modern Philology*, XVII (1919), 405-13.

- 492 *Lo Fingido verdadero* was reprinted in Acad. IV.  
*Lo que pasa en una Venta* is a title given to Lope by Art., but it is doubtless a second part of Monroy's *Lo que pasa en un Mesón*.
- 493 *La Magdalena*: for "*La Mujer enamorada*" read "*La Mejor Enamorada*."  
*El Maldito de su Padre y Valiente Bandolero* is a title omitted here, but attributed to Lope by F., M., H., Art., and B. The exact words of F. are: "de lope en Com.<sup>a</sup> de Seuilla."
- 494 *Los Mártires del Japón* should be queried, as should also *Los Primeros Mártires del Japón*.  
*Más valéis vos, Antona, que la Corte toda* should be queried.
- 495 *La Mayor Desgracia de Carlos V* should be queried.—For "Restori, Zift., XXXI" read "Restori, Zift., XXX."
- 496 *El Mayor Rey de los Reyes*: in the title of the MS copy of BN (17133), for "mejor" read "mayor."  
*La Mayor Victoria*: BMM possesses in addition to the *suelta* noted here, a MS copy of this play, and a fragment from Lope's *Parte XXIV*, Zaragoza, 1633.  
*El Mejor Alcalde el Rey*: BMM has a MS copy and a *refundición*.
- 497 *La Merced en el Castigo*: under the title *El Premio en la misma Pena*, Art. has this queer remark: "igual a la Merced en el castigo de Moreto, pero por su estilo &c &c parece de Montalban con el titulo de el dichoso en Zaragoza. Lope." In fact, all three plays are practically identical, and the versification (55 per cent Romance) is more characteristic of Moreto or Montalván than it is of Lope.  
*Los Milagros del Desprecio*: BMM possesses two *sueeltas* in the name of Lope, one of Madrid, Ortega, 1826, and the other of Valladolid, Riego, s.a. There is a MS copy besides.
- 498 *El Molino*: BMM has a copy *desglosada* from an eighteenth-century collection.  
*Los Monteros de Espinosa*: this item contains several errors. It is here stated that two *sueeltas* of the play exist, one (Madrid, Cuesta, s.a.) in the name of Lope, and one (Barcelona, Piferrer, s.a.) anonymous; and also a MS copy, concerning the attribution of which there is no statement. The facts are these: No



edition or MS of this play bears Lope's name in any way. The two *sueltas* are *identical* and anonymous. They were both published by J. Fr. Piferrer in Barcelona, but in one of them (T-14803<sup>o</sup>) Cuesta's business advertisement is pasted over Piferrer's, which latter can easily be read by holding the leaf to the light. As to the MS copy (BN MS 15994) it does not bear Lope's name, as Paz y Melia lets one infer,<sup>1</sup> but that of "Bazano." Its text is almost, though not quite, identical with that of the *sueltas*.

Who was "Bazano"? I have been unable to learn. Such a person is credited in the BN card index with a "Melodrama escénico; *Más gloria es triunfar de st. Adriano en Syria*." As the card of *Más gloria*, etc., which contains the *signatura* and detailed description of this work, is lost, I could not see the volume, nor learn more of the author.<sup>2</sup> Being a writer of operas, he was of the eighteenth century, and doubtless an Italian ("Bassano").<sup>3</sup>

There is, then, only one text extant of *Los Monteros de Espinosa*. It is the one of which Menéndez y Pelayo wrote: "por ningún concepto puede atribuirse a Lope; parece escrita en el siglo XVIII." The versification entirely corroborates his opinion. It shows 84 per cent Romance, 9 per cent Redondillas, 4 per cent Décimas, and 1 per cent Silva—a proportion not conceivably used by Lope de Vega. His *Monteros de Espinosa*, mentioned in P., may therefore, for the present be considered lost.

*Las Mudanzas de la Fortuna* should be preceded by a dash. This title is *not* in P.<sup>2</sup>

500 *El Naufragio prodigioso* should bear an asterisk, as lost. F. and Art. carry the title.

*La Niña de Plata*: MS copy of 1735 in BMM.

501 *El Niño Pastor*: Art. comments: "creo sea auto."

*La Noche Toledana*: a MS copy in BMM.

<sup>1</sup> *Catálogo*, No. 2203.

<sup>2</sup> In the BN the system of classification is such that when the catalogue number of a book is lost, the book itself is, for practical purposes, lost also. Books are classified, within certain large divisions, by *size of volume*.

<sup>3</sup> An opera of the same title, *Más gloria es triunfar de st. Adriano en Syria* was published in Madrid, 1737, as by "un ingenio de esta corte." See Cotarelo, *Orígenes y Establecimiento de la Ópera en España hasta 1800*, Madrid, 1917, p. 75, n. 1.

*No hay vida como la Honra*: is a title attributed to Lope by F., M., H., and Art. F.'s entry is: "de Lope Fx. Df.<sup>a</sup> +." M. and Art. agree in saying that Lope wrote a "burlesca" of this title, and Montalván a "seria." B. (p. 536) assumes that the "burlesca" mentioned is the anonymous MS parody called "Comedia, loa y entremeses en una pieza, al tinelo trobado," *No ay vida como la honrra, o No hay vida como la olla*" (BN, MS 15295; Paz y Melia, No. 2352). There is no Lope in this farce in one long act, but it is obviously not the play owned by Fajardo. Was this merely *Diferentes* 25, which contains Montalván's play?

502 *Nunca mucho costó poco* should be queried.

503 *El Paje de Don Alvaro*: for "pág. 364" read "pág. 264."  
*El Palacio confuso* should be queried.

504 *El Pastoral de Jacinto* is reprinted in Acad. V.

*Pedro de Urdemalas*: the bibliography of this play is a little complicated, and is not set forth very explicitly in R-C. Leaving Cervantes' well-known *comedia* out of the question, there are two texts extant, which let us call 1° and 2°. 1° exists in three forms: A, a MS copy of 1690 (BN, MS 16420) with this title-page: "PEdro hurde malas—comedia famosa de diamante." On the preceding page another hand has written "de Montalvan." B, a MS copy (BN, MS 15285; according to Paz y Melia, "letra del siglo XVII"), entitled "Pedro de Urdemalas, de Don Juan Baut<sup>a</sup> Diamante." On the *anteportada*, in another hand: "identica a la Imp.<sup>a</sup> a nombre de 1 Y"; below this, in still another hand: "q° es Cañizares." C, a *suelta* of the BMM (Madrid, Sanz, 1750) "de un Ingenio de esta corte." Written in: "Cañizares." So far as I can tell, these three texts are exactly identical.—2°: a *suelta* s.l.n.a. (BN, T-20186), "de Juan Perez de Montalvan." This author's name is stricken out by pen, and "Lope" written in.

<sup>1</sup> "Fx." means that Fajardo himself owned it. I do not know the meaning of the +.

<sup>2</sup> Not "al título trobado," as B. has it.

<sup>3</sup> Paz y Melia, *Catálogo*, p. 394, n. 2, makes a rather loose statement regarding more versions, but offers no proof in support of it. The *suelta* attributed to Montalván in the British Museum catalogue is, I presume, identical with C, below.

The texts 1° and 2° are totally different. 1° has a very late type of versification (90 per cent Romance, 7 per cent Redondillas); 2° has an early type (73 per cent Redondillas, 8 per cent each of Romance and Suelos, rest scattering). 1° might belong, so far as my knowledge extends at present, to either Diamante or Cañizares. 2° corresponds exactly to a type of certain early plays by Lope,<sup>1</sup> and seems much less like Montalván, although his *Ser prudente y ser sufrido* has almost as large a proportion of Redondillas.

Observe that no printed text, and no MS in its original form, bears the name of either Lope or Cañizares.

505 *Las Pérdidas del que juega* should certainly be queried. The MS copy of BN (MS 15627) is anonymous and lacks the third act. The word "original" is on the first leaf of each act, and there are erasures and corrections. Opposite the first page of the second act appears the name "Juan Perez." The handwriting is not that of Lope or Montalván. The versification is of a very early type (86 per cent Redondillas, 9 per cent Quintillas, 5 per cent Romance). Paz y Melia, in writing "comedia de Lope de Vega" (*Catálogo*, No. 2576), followed, I presume, as often, the ascription of B. The latter in one place speaks of the MS as an autograph,<sup>2</sup> but in his *Catálogo* (p. 435) he does not. Are there any grounds at all for ascribing this title to Lope, except the authority of H., which is slight? Unless the Ilchester MS contains some evidence, that would appear to be all.

*El Perro del Hortelano*: BMM possesses the same *suelta* as BN, and also another copy *desglosada* from an eighteenth-century collection

507 *Por la Puente, Juana*: BMM has an anonymous MS copy.

510 *La Prisión de Muza* should be included here, as it is in R, since it appears in P.

513 *El Rayo del Cielo*, omitted here, is given to Lope by M., Art., and B. (cf. p. 454). H. has it as anonymous. Nothing seems to be known of the play apart from M. and H.

*El Rey de Frisia*: Art. gives this title as *El Rey de Frigia*.

<sup>1</sup> *El Maestro de danzar, La Francesilla, Los Cautivos de Argel*. Cf. Buchanan, *The Chronology of Lope de Vega's plays*, pp. 18, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Rivad. LII, p. 544.

- 514 *La Riqueza mal nacida*, included in R, should be here as a cross-reference to *La Pobreza estimada*.
- 515 *San Diego de Alcalá*: BMM possesses a *suelta* s.l.n.a. It has also a MS copy of a play attributed to Zamora, and called *El Lego mas docto, San Diego de Alcalá*, with *censura* of 1746. The latter play does, to be sure, cover the same ground as Lope's, but, so far as a cursory inspection indicates, it has no other connection with his. The versification is totally different (80 per cent Romance, while Lope's *San Diego de Alcalá* has 64 per cent Redondillas). The BMM MS is probably in fact by Zamora, and constitutes, I believe, a new title in his list.

*San Julián y Santa Basilisa* is a title given to Lope by Art., and according to Paz y Melia (*Catálogo*, No. 119) by Durán also. The title in this form does not appear in B, who however carries a *Julián y Basilisa* of Tres Ingenios (Huerta, Cáncer and Rosete; in *Escogidas* 13), and a *Los Amantes no vencidos, San Julián y Santa Basilisa*, of Rodrigo Pacheco (autograph of 1640 in BN). Art. has all three. This subject is wholly different from those treated by Lope in his *El Animal profeta y dichoso Parricida San Julián* (Acad. IV) or his *La Vida de San Julián de Alcalá de Henares* (Acad. V, with the title *El Saber por no saber*).

- 517 *El Secretario de sí mismo*: anonymous MS copy in BMM.
- 518 *¡Si no vieran las Mujeres!* BMM has a MS copy with *censura* of 1735, as well as a *refundición* by Bretón de los Herreros.
- 523 *La Ventura en la Desgracia* is in BMM in the form of a fragment from *Escogidas* XXVIII.
- 524 *La Ventura de la Fea*: the MS in BMM which Professor Buchanan mentions (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XX, 39, n. 12) stands in the name of Lope and bears the date of July 2, 1805. The versification of the play might be either of Lope in his early period, or of Mira de Mescua, to whom some would assign it.<sup>1</sup> In any case the last act has been recast. The hendecasyllabic assonants (alternating *a-a* and *e-o*) which occur there are, I believe, not found before the eighteenth century.

<sup>1</sup> *La Ventura de la Fea* has: Redondillas 54 per cent; Romance 15 per cent; Décimas 13 per cent; Liras 12 per cent; and Quintillas, Sonnets, and Suelos, 1 per cent each. Similar in type are: Lope, *La buena Guarda*; Mira de Mescua, *No hay Dicha ni Desdicha hasta la Muerte*. There are 36 lines of the peculiar assonants mentioned.

*El Verano saludable*, a title occurring in Art., is surely a slip for *El Veneno saludable*.

*Ver y no creer*: this item needs elaboration. There are two anonymous MSS in BN, one a copy of 1619 (14895), the other made by Durán (15007), probably from the first.<sup>1</sup> The texts are identical, and contain 2,592 lines. Durán made this note on his copy: "Es de Lope de Vega, en su P. 24, p<sup>o</sup> muy alterada." He is right. The text of *Parte XXIV*, Zaragoza 1633, contains only 1,732 lines. It is a mangled version of the MS text.

525 *La Villanesa*, read *La Villanesca*.

526 *Ya anda la de Mazagatos*, see above under *La Historia de Mazagatos*.

The foregoing list would be greatly extended if I were to insert all the subtitles from which cross-references should be made. For example, *Lo que puede Lope* for *El Guante de Doña Blanca*; *El Ejemplo mayor de la Desdicha* for *El Capitán Belisario*, etc. Art. is especially complete for second titles.

Since these notes are only casual observations of one working in a closely circumscribed field, they are an indication of what might be found by an investigator who should go through all the *sueltas* and MS copies of the Madrid libraries. The information in Paz y Melia's excellent *Catálogo* requires checking,<sup>2</sup> and the catalogue cards of the BN are not to be relied upon implicitly. Faith in them accounts for some of the errors in R and R-C.

The fact is, of course, that it will be many years before definitive bibliographical work can be done in the intricate labyrinth of seventeenth-century Spanish drama. The preliminary clearing away has not yet been accomplished. In their special field, full of pitfalls, Chorley, Rennert, and Castro have performed remarkable services.

S. GRISWOLD MORLEY

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

<sup>1</sup> See Paz y Melia, No. 3464.

<sup>2</sup> The reader should note that when Paz y Melia puts under a title "de" such and such an author, he does not mean, as one might infer, that the MS bears that author's name. He merely expresses in this way the belief of the cataloguer—himself.



## REVIEWS AND NOTICES

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*The Sonnets of Milton.* With Introduction and Notes. By JOHN S. SMART. Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson & Co., 1921. Pp. xlv+195.

This is an important book. Students of Italian and English sonnet literature will find in its Introduction a sane analysis of the sonnet tradition, with much to awaken their minds from the sterile criticisms based on Petrarch and Dante as the unfailing standards of that art. Students of Milton alone or of the seventeenth century will find the critical comments on separate sonnets original and illuminating. All will be impressed with the method of printing documentary evidence in an appendix rather than amid the expository material.

Recent studies of Milton's poetry emphasize the changes in form and substance as he passed from Cambridge to Horton and thereafter into public life in London. The chief end in view has been to date the early poems as accurately as possible. Mr. Smart has aided these investigations materially. His effective parallels between the dated Latin poems and lines in the sonnet "O Nightingale, That on Yon Bloomy Spray" enforce a belief that the poem is a literary exercise of the Cambridge period. By other processes he assigns the Italian sonnets to the same term of years. Unquestionably while at Cambridge, Milton was an imitative workman. He turned slowly toward independent work, but having once turned wrote with unmistakable originality. Contemporary allusions make evident the date of composition for poems of the London period; now a use of methods valuable in Shakspeare criticism is giving probable dates to the Milton poems of imitative sort.

In the field of personal identification, much excellent work has established Edward Lawrence as the object of the sonnet "Lawrence, of Virtuous Father, Virtuous Son"; use of the Oldenburg letters at Burlington house as union of Milton with Edward, instead of Henry, is the prettiest bit of documentary proof in the entire book. Equally strong evidence makes the sonnet "On the Religious Memory of Mrs. Catharine Thomason" a tribute to the wife of George Thomason, the noteworthy collector of contemporary pamphlets. A less satisfying assertion of identity makes Thomas Randolph displace Cowley as the cause of Milton's eighth line in the sonnet on his twenty-third birthday. This seems needless search for literal reference, as the Cowley explanation has long seemed to modern critics. There is a strong contrast in Mr. Smart's destruction of the associations given to the Italian sonnets,

wherein critics have seen need to discover "the dark lady" and consequently have ridden hard for a fall. The grounds shown for Milton's "Donna leggiadra" couplet will satisfy present questioners; also, the evidence here prepares for the attribution that the editor confidently expects to make of all the Italian sonnets to inspiration from an "Emilia" resident in London. Like many other scholars, Mr. Smart accepts the Italian pieces as early work.

These are representative examples of the literary and documentary phases of Mr. Smart's exposition. Much discussion will arise through his use of evidence from Fazio degli Uberti and Giovanni della Casa to demonstrate Milton's conception of the sonnet form. Every scholar, however, will welcome this examination of the sonnet form in English literary history, for Mr. Smart has definite proof of his assertions. The classicist Milton seems well relieved from that old burden put upon him for ignoring the relation of lines to sentences, for disregarding presumed principles of Italian sonnet form. Here again appear the methods of careful scholarship in testing established assertions.

Owners of the book will welcome one addition—a word regarding the present location of Milton's own copy of Giovanni della Casa's sonnets. At the foot of page 33 Mr. Smart has a note regarding its supposed disappearance. The book is now in the possession of the New York Public Library.

DAVID H. STEVENS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Shakspeare to Sheridan. A Book About the Theatre of Yesterday and Today.* By ALWIN THALER. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1922. Pp. xviii+339.

Among the works dealing with English literary history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Professor Alwin Thaler's recent volume on the theater from Shakspeare to Sheridan merits a distinguished place. Our libraries contain many older books on eighteenth-century literature with little in them except anecdotes and trivial comment. These are the works of journeymen in criticism satisfying a demand for literary small talk. At one time these brief chroniclers possessed the field, and scholars, busy in older periods, were indifferent toward the eighteenth century. Particularly in the field of drama, constructive research work was rare. Recent years have seen a salutary change. Nettleton and Bernbaum on dramatic history, Odell on the Shakspeare tradition, and now Thaler on the theater itself are among the careful workmen who have made the eighteenth century their field for intensive critical study. They have traced the changes in English drama from the Commonwealth period to the time when prose fiction



appeared as a serious rival of stage plays. All have produced books that are highly creditable to American scholarship.

The last of these works is the product of long-continued research. Citations of authority are so varied as to assure us that we are dealing with an untiring investigator who knows how to document his text. Mr. Thaler has cast his materials in chapters on the playwrights, the actors, and the managers; on court influence; and on the playhouses of England between the time of Shakspeare and of Sheridan. In all cases he has gone to contemporary sources, particularly to documents unknown to the stage chroniclers, dealing with story rather than statistics; moreover, he has built into this record the research articles of scholars. The whole account is made attractive by the use of two-score full-page illustrations that add reality to the text. His chapter bridging the gap between Elizabethan and Restoration times adds to the usual explanation of the decadence under Charles I. By ill chance he includes Marston (p. 7) among those who held the stage after Shakspeare's death, but he succeeds in proving his theory that managers as well as playwrights forced English drama into bizarre effects to win a hearing. Quite evidently the demand for novelty was responsible for much that disturbed legitimate drama during the entire period under investigation.

The account of commercial rewards to playwrights and players covers old ground, but gives much new evidence. The only adverse criticism of those sections is that facts from widely separated dates are presented without clear discrimination. Social hindrances to stage plays, changes from private patronage to political and then to middle-class support, lay behind the economic rewards of playwrights and players. Stressing the rise of individual stars and autocratic managers as of first importance disposes the reader to ignore the great changes in English society between 1660 and 1800 that made the stage a minor means of culture and amusement. With less evidence Watson Nicholson's book, *The Struggle for a Free Stage in London* (1906), gives a clearer social and political groundwork. It is true, however, that in his chapter on court influence Mr. Thaler has reached approximately the same conclusions in asserting (p. 74) that after 1700 "the court came to the theatre, whereas formerly the players had come to the court." By implication he asserts the fall of royal patronage in 1688 and the subsequent rise of Whig playwrights when the party system of government had given middle-class Englishmen respected places in the cast of characters.

Credit is due the author for his skilful handling of difficult material. The book presents a mass of unwieldy substance in coherent, interesting form. Any reader can follow the trend of events without going back to play texts for a basis; those who are well read in eighteenth-century literature will find the book a storehouse of miscellaneous items regarding stage plays not available elsewhere.

DAVID H. STEVENS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*Ten Spanish Farces of the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries.* Edited with Notes and Vocabulary by G. T. NORTHUP. Boston: Heath & Co., 1922. Pp. xxxvii+231.

This book, which will be found very useful in "survey" classes and in Spanish-drama courses, offers the seventh *paso* of Lope de Rueda ("*Las aceitunas*"), Cervantes' *Entremés de la Cueva de Salamanca*, two *entremeses* attributed to Cervantes (*Los dos habladores*, *Entremés de refranes*), Quiñones de Benavente's *El doctor y el enfermo*, four anonymous interludes (*Entremés del espejo*, *Juan Rama comilón*, *Los buñuelos*, *El hambriento*) and, finally, *Las tertulias de Madrid* of Ramón de la Cruz.

The introduction combines a clear and convincing account of *entremés*, *paso*, *sainete* and *zarzuela* with sketches of the life and works of the various authors, and with details of sources, analogues, editions, and translations of each item in the collection.

With one exception the author's choice seems fortunate: the anonymous *Entremés de refranes*, a *tour de force* of no dramatic value, is included merely as a "convenient approach to the study of proverb-lore."

The introduction is well written and interesting. The history of *entremés* and *paso* is not quite clear yet, and overmuch detail was not needed, but perhaps the first occurrence of the word *entremés* (Milá, *Obras*, VI, 235) was worth mentioning. The slap-stick scuffle at the end of the *entremés* is a good point, not usually brought out. Not only Tirso de Molina, but before him Berganza in the *Coloquio de los perros* and after him Caramuel in his *Rhythmica* ("*explicit fustibus*") stand witness to the truth of it. The influence of the *Commedia dell' arte*, very plausibly presented and extremely probable on general grounds, is still, of course, awaiting research. Students of the Spanish drama will recognize Professor Northup's indication as a valuable lead, although here it may perhaps have been taken too much for granted.

The first known *entremés*, the *Entremés de las esteras*, might have been mentioned, the more so as its main incident reappears in the *Entremés de los habladores*. The gallery of "*Lope's Comic Types*" (p. xv) cannot be credited in its entirety to Lope de Rueda, but must be considered as a composite, drawing also from other and later sources, which supplied such types as the *sacristán*, French pedlar, *montañés*, *gallego*, *arbitrista*, astrologer, etc. The barber, I believe, appears only once in a play of Rueda. So does the *estudiante*. On the other hand, Lope de Rueda did create such important types, not mentioned here, as the *lacayo valentón* and the professional *ladrón*. It is true, as Professor Northup remarks on page xxvii, that "now and then some obscure writer surpassed the farces of more distinguished authors." The *Segundo entremés del testamento de los ladrones* (first part unknown), published by Paz y Melia in the *Revista de archivos* (VII, 371-75), might have been referred to as a case in point.

The editor has consistently tried to print the best available texts. In the case of the *Entremés de los buñuelos*, based on the text of an undated *suelta* and not on the Pamplona edition of 1700, the reader wonders why the two eighteenth-century manuscripts in the *Biblioteca Nacional* were not consulted, and how the editor can judge by the first and last lines as to their conformity with his text.

*Las tertulias de Madrid* will probably suggest to some of the readers familiarized with proverb-lore, that its source may be the more specific proverb: *Echate a enfermar/ verás quien bien y quién te quiere mal* (Sbarbi, I, 97). The *entremés* of *Golondrino y calandria* (Cotarelo, I, 76 ff.), it will be remembered, is just an illustration of another proverb: *No creays marido lo que vierdes/ sy no lo que yo os dixere* (Sbarbi, I, 122).

The introduction ends with a bibliographical note, which in part repeats indications given before. The illustrations are simple but pleasing. The notes are adequate and nowhere shirk the many difficulties of the text.

In view of a possible second edition I offer here some remarks and corrections. Rodríguez Marín's reference to *noramaza* as a softened form of oath peculiarly suited to Don Quijote's *ama* does not prove the preference of women for this form (p. 141). Correas made a similar affirmation about *para mi santiguada*. *Noramaza* is, at any rate, used frequently by men. In *La Cueva de Salamanca*, line 150 (p. 146), *barbero* seems to me the correct emendation. A *barbero romancista* is not a "ballad-singing barber" but a barber who does not know Latin. Cristina's retort to the *sacristán gramático* makes that evident. Berganza in the *Coloquio de los perros* declared: "Hay algunos romancistas que en las conversaciones disparan de cuando en cuando con algun latín breve y compendioso, dando a entender a los que no lo entienden que son grandes latinos, y apenas saben declinar un nombre ni conjugar un verbo" (*Novelas ejemplares*, ed. Rodríguez Marín, II, 249). The term *cirujano romancista* was current. With regard to *bernardinas* (p. 153) (also *bernardinas* or *berlandinas*) a good example for comparison is the passage from Cervantes' *El laberinto de amor*, I, quoted by Rodríguez Marín (*Rinconete y cortadillo*, Sevilla, 1905, p. 385) in a note which points out how modern dictionaries uniformly repeat the mistake of the *Diccionario de autoridades*, in defining *bernardinas* as *valentonadas, bravatas y palabras jactanciosas*. The (*cuatro*) *efes* (p. 153) are also referred to by Tirso, *Don Gil de las Calzas verdes*, III, 6. In the *Rimas del Incognito* (ed. Foulché-Delbosc, *Revue hispanique*, XXXVII [1916], 359) they are given as *fea, fria, flaca, y floza*, and the four *s*'s of love are mentioned in the traditional order. The sixteenth century knew these (Perálvarez de Ayllón, *Comedia Tíbalda*, ed. Bonilla, p. 57) and sometimes increased them to five, adding *spléndido* ("el menor Aunes," *Sermón de amores*, *Rev. hisp.*, XXXVI, 595 ff., ll. 268 ff.). See also Rodríguez Marín's note to *Don Quijote*, I, 34. Sbarbi (VI, 268) gives a parody of the above-mentioned four *f*'s, namely *las cuatro ffff de las sardinas: frescas, fritas, frias, fiadas!* The word *flor* (p. 157) cannot be called a slang word. About

the *refrán*, *Ya pasó 'solía' y vino 'mal pecado'* (p. 159) there is a good note in the *Pícara Justina* (ed. Puyol y Alonso, III, 239). It also occurs in the *Lozana Andaluza* (*Mamotreto*, XXXIV): *ya pasó solía y vino san buen tiempo*, and with still another variant in Palau's *Salamantina*: *passo solia / y vino mala Ventura* (ed. Morel-Fatio, *Bulletin hispanique*, 1900, II, 659-60. The editor suggested reading *folia* for *solia*!). The second part seems to have been dropped quite early and the first part used as a repetition of two synonyms: *pasó* = *solia*, with the meaning: "Well, that's all over!" Encina has it (my punctuation and accentuation):

Eso fué, *pasó*, *solia*;

Tiempos fueron que *pasaron*.

[*Teatro*, ed. Asenjo Barbieri, p. 283.]

Also Tirso de Molina:

*Narcisa*: ¿No es Sirena ídolo vuestro?

¿No la amais?

*César*: *Pasó. Solía.*

[*Celos con celos se curan*, III, 5.]

This meaning might also fit better into the *Entremés de refranes*.

*Echarlo a doce* (p. 42) does not mean "start a row about it" (p. 159) or "pretend to be angry" (p. 200) but "let things go, regardless of consequences." Rodríguez Marín has a long note about it (*Rinconete y Cortadillo*, pp. 451 ff.).

However, in spite of a few mistakes, the notes are of unusual excellence. The vocabulary has been carefully prepared. Altogether this edition reaches a very high standard and should be warmly welcomed as a useful class text and a valuable contribution to scholarship.

JOSEPH E. GILLET

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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## THE LITERARY LEGEND OF FRANCIS QUARLES

It is not only great names, according to a contemporary French critic, which tend to pass from life to legend, from complexity to simplicity, and from movement to fixation,<sup>1</sup> for the public, in its attempt to pigeonhole writers by single qualities, makes its myths, its "délinéations légendaires," to fit its minor men as well as its heroes. Francis Quarles, who died in 1644, leaving behind him his *Emblems, Divine and Moral* (1635) as his best-known work, was the victim—not wholly undeservedly, let it be understood — of such a myth, and it is from this point of view that his "postmortem" career merits study.

During his life, and for two or three decades after his death, Quarles achieved a considerable popularity with his pious and "quaint" poetry, which included several other works than the *Emblems*. This popularity is evidenced in the five editions of the latter by 1676, and even more in the nine editions of the *Divine Fancies*, the eight editions of *Argalus and Parthenia*, and so on, by the same year. Within about thirty years after his death, however, there was a complete reversal of the former opinion, apparently caused by the expressed criticism of a single man, so that before the end of the seventeenth century the name of Quarles was merely a synonym for poor poetry and practically nothing more. Yet, by the latter part of the next century, and once more chiefly through the agency of a single man, another reversal had taken place, and in the

<sup>1</sup> F. Baldensperger, *La Littérature—Création, Succès, Durée* (Paris, 1913), p. 278.

general readjustments of the Romantic Revival Quarles's reputation was again renovated, rejuvenated, and re-established in a position somewhat, perhaps, nearer its due.

These changes are worth noting because of Quarles's importance to the literary historian as a manifestation of certain phenomena peculiar to his age. The so-called "metaphysical" characteristics were not primarily his distinguishing marks, although many passages in his poems owed much more to the "school of Donne" than some critics admit.<sup>1</sup> He undoubtedly often did touch the school, however, in the same way in which Herbert sometimes touched it, irrespective of the actual "conceits" in their texts; and that way was by his pursuit of resemblances and similes beyond the realm of mere word or even of idea and into that of form and symbolical design. Herbert was not the first man in England to write "shaped" verses, and Alciati's emblems were known a century before Quarles; yet Herbert and Quarles were always the first to be thought of when these two kinds of writing were under discussion. An age, then, which took "purity of taste" as one of its main criteria for judging literature, ought to have valuable criticisms to make on a writer of the class of Quarles. The remarkable thing is that, on the whole, the neo-Classical period did not make such criticisms; simple condemnation and vilification formed its staple criticism.

The *Emblems* were introduced by the following explanatory preface, which may throw some light both on Quarles's purpose and on his position as a writer:

*To the Reader.*

An *Embleme* is but a silent Parable. Let not the tender Eye check, to see the allusion to our blessed Saviour figured in these Types. In holy Scripture, he is sometimes called a Sower; sometimes, a Fisher; sometimes a Physician: And why not presented so as well to the eye as to the eare? Before the knowledge of letters God was known by *Hieroglyphicks*: And, indeed, what are the Heavens, the Earth, nay every Creature, but *Hieroglyphicks* and *Emblemes* of His Glory? . . .<sup>2</sup>

This passage illustrates both Quarles's piety and his attempt toward "mechanical" poetry, each of which played its part in condemning him with the later public. This piety, nevertheless, was

<sup>1</sup> For instance, Hutchinson, *Camb. Hist. Engl. Lit.*, VII, 53.

<sup>2</sup> Quarles, *Works* (ed. Grosart, Chertsey Worthies' Library, Edinburgh, 1880), III, 45.

first of all a recommendation, as may be seen by the commendatory verses prefixed to the *Emblems* by Richard Love, "Procan. *Cantabrigiensis*," or by Edward Benlowes, Quarles's patron and a minor Maecenas of the age. In 1635 also, Benlowes (whose demerits, like Quarles's, have perhaps been exaggerated, until recently, by such attacks as Samuel Butler's "Character of a Small Poet," or by the remarks of Pope and Warburton) brought out his Latin poem, *Quarlæis*, in which his praises of his protégé were extravagant.<sup>1</sup> Similar passages appeared in the several elegies upon Quarles's death, one in *Wit's Recreations* praising his learning,<sup>2</sup> one by James Duport, professor of Greek at Cambridge, beginning "I Cygne felix," and one by B. Stable, who told of how the "Poet-saint" spoke "By Emblems darke to spell the Deitie."<sup>3</sup>

This class of criticism was best summed up by Dr. Thomas Fuller (d. 1661) in his *History of the Worthies of England* (1662). Concerning Quarles he wrote:

He was a most excellent poet, and had a mind biased to devotion. . . . Our Quarles was free from the faults [of profaneness and satiricalness], as if he had drunk of Jordan instead of Helicon, and slept on Mount Olivet for his Parnassus; and was happy in his own invention. His visible poetry (I mean his emblems) is excellent, catching therein the eye and fancy at one draught, so that he hath *out-Alciated* therein, in some men's judgment. . . .<sup>4</sup>

In 1668, moreover, David Lloyd, in his *Memoirs*, followed Fuller's estimate almost exactly.<sup>5</sup>

Not until more than a decade later, however, was Quarles to receive his "death-blow." There had, to be sure, been some hints of discontent before this time, in, for instance, Suckling's probable allusion to Quarles as him who "makes God speak so big in's poetry,"<sup>6</sup> and Cowley's charge that Quarles "by onely turning a story of the *Scripture* . . . into *Rhyme* . . . abases *Divinity*,"<sup>7</sup> but it was not

<sup>1</sup> *Ut supra*, III, 45, and I, lxxix-xciv.

<sup>2</sup> No. 193; see Grosart, I, lxviii, who dates it 1640; but Quarles did not die until four years later. A third edition appeared in 1645.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, lxvii-lxviii.

<sup>4</sup> *Worthies* (London, 1860), II, 519.

<sup>5</sup> *Memoirs of . . . Those . . . That Suffered . . . for the Protestant Religion* . . . (London, 1668), p. 621.

<sup>6</sup> "Session of the Poets" (1637), *Works* (London and New York, 1910), p. 9 and note.

<sup>7</sup> "Preface" (1656), Grosart's *Cowley* (Edinburgh, 1881), I, cxxx/b.

until 1675 that any opinion of great weight was uttered in such a way as to catch the popular fancy. This opinion was that of Edward Phillips, the nephew of Milton, in his *Theatrum Poetarum Anglicanorum*, and is another proof of the somewhat oracular position he occupied among his contemporaries, perhaps because of this relationship. Phillips succinctly characterized Quarles as "... the darling of our plebeian judgements; that is, such as have ingenuity enough to delight in poetry, but are not sufficiently instructed to make a right choice and distinction." He then went on to mention "the wonderful veneration" of the *Emblems*, etc., "among the vulgar." In his Preface, moreover, he had already sarcastically alluded to another of Quarles's poems in speaking of such "men or ladies, whose capacities will not ascend above *Argalus and Parthenia*."<sup>2</sup>

After 1675 very few words of approval for Quarles are discoverable until the latter part of the following century. The best that John Aubrey could do in 1681 was to call Quarles "a very good man" and to expend three lines in telling that the poet lived in Bath.<sup>3</sup> In 1686 William Winstanley, however, harked back to Fuller for the greater part of his criticism, showing himself by his unrestrained enthusiasm to be one of the very few who still belonged whole-heartedly to Phillips' "vulgar."<sup>4</sup> In 1684 John Oldham put Quarles in the class of other once popular poets who had lost their undeserved high reputations:

*Quarles, Chapman, Heywood, Wilters* had Applause,  
And *Wild*, and *Ogilby* in former days;  
But now are damn'd to wrapping Drugs, and Wares,  
And curs'd by all their broken Stationers.<sup>5</sup>

In 1686, Edmund Arwaker "Englished" the *Emblems* of Herman Hugo, to whom Quarles was indebted for his illustrations as well as for other hints, and observed that "Mr. Quarles only borrowed his *Emblems*, to prefix them to much *inferior* sense."<sup>6</sup> In 1691 Gerard

<sup>1</sup> *Theat. Poet.* (Geneva, 1824), II, 25-26.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 19.

<sup>3</sup> See *Brief Lives* . . . (Oxford, 1898), under "Drayton," I, 240, and "Quarles," II, 176.

<sup>4</sup> "Quarles," *Lives of . . . English Poets* (London, 1687), pp. 155-58.

<sup>5</sup> "Satyr," in "Poems and Translations," *Works* (London, 1684), p. 169.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted by Henry Headley, "Suppl.," *Select Beauties of Ancient English Poetry* (London, 1810), II, 148.



Langbaine was more careful than usual not to hurt anyone's feelings by confining his remarks on Quarles's inoffensiveness to stating: "He was a Poet that mix'd Religion and Fancy together; and was very careful in all his Writings not to intrench upon Good Manners, by any Scurrility, in his Works. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

If Langbaine merely echoed Fuller in his account, Anthony à Wood in 1691-92 actually copied Phillips without any acknowledgment, although this very lack may prove the currency of Phillips' phrase. Wood, in his history of Cornelius Burges' *Fire of the Sanctuary* and its answer in an anonymous pamphlet, *The Whip*, added: "Whereupon an old puritanical poet named Francis Quarles (the sometime darling of our plebeian judgments) . . . came out with a reply."<sup>2</sup> Wood also referred to Quarles in other places, always contemptuously.<sup>3</sup>

John Dryden, in 1697, also alluded to Quarles slightly, in passing, when he confessed that "Rhyme is certainly a constraint even to the best poets, and those who make it with most ease; though perhaps I have as little reason to complain of that hardship as any man, excepting Quarles and Withers."<sup>4</sup> The force of this remark is more evident when it is recalled that George Wither was commonly styled "Withers" during the neo-Classical period when the speaker wished to be insulting.<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, the remnant of a group of readers was hinted at by John Pomfret in a preface written in 1699: "To please every one, would be a new thing; and to write so as to please nobody, would be as new: for even Quarles and Withers have their admirers."<sup>6</sup> The same class of readers was being satirized by Tom Brown, sometime before 1704, when he wrote concerning Blackmore:

There is scarce a Cook, Grocer, or Tobacconist within the city-walls, but is the better for his works; nay, one that is well acquainted with his *secret history* has assur'd me, that his main design in writing the two *Arthurs*,

<sup>1</sup> "Quarles," *Account of Engl. Dram. Poets* (Oxford, 1691), p. 410.

<sup>2</sup> *Athenas Ozoniensis* (London, 1813-20), III, 684.

<sup>3</sup> See under "Benlowes," *Fasti*, II, *Ath. Ozon.*, IV, 358; and under "D'evereux," *Ath. Ozon.*, III, 192. The latter passage, however, did not appear until Tonson's enlarged edition in 1721.

<sup>4</sup> "Ded. of *Aeneis*," *Essays* (ed. Ker, Oxford, 1900), II, 220-21.

<sup>5</sup> See Sidgwick, "Preface," *Poetry of Wither* (London and New York, 1902), p. ix.

<sup>6</sup> In Chalmers, *Works of the English Poets* (London, 1810), VIII, 305.

whatever he pretended in his preface, was only to help the poor trunk-makers at a pinch, when *Quarles* and *Ogilby* were all spent, and they wanted other materials.<sup>1</sup>

In the next decade Mat Prior wrote, in his characteristic humorous vein: "Bad as Sir Topaz, or squire Quarles, . . . . At emblem or device am I."<sup>2</sup> Charles Gildon, in 1718, carried along the same tradition in a discussion of sinking poetical reputations:

You must therefore, Madam, . . . . find out some surer Way of judging of the *lesser Poems* . . . . than that *Run*, and *Reception*, they meet with from the *Town*, which is so uncertain, and varying in the frail Praise she bestows, that Poems have already lost their Glory, and are become as great Drugs as *Quar[le]'s* and *Withers* which for a while carry'd the Acclamations along with them: Nay, *Cowley* himself, so much ador'd for near Forty Years, loses every Day Ground with all those, who love *Nature*, and *Harmony*. . . .<sup>3</sup>

Gildon's half-implied dissent with the too extreme verdict of the public was to some extent supported by Giles Jacob in 1719 and 1720, since the latter confined his accounts of Quarles to a sketch of the poet's life and a list of his writings, without expressing any particular opinions. This very failure, however, means something in the case of Jacob, since he very seldom said anything unpleasant about any of his subjects, and hardly ever used material which was not borrowed from some preceding commentator.<sup>4</sup> About 1727, however, William Somerville's phrase concerning the "soft hour" when "envious prudes . . . . O'er Quarles and Bunyan nod" was not at all non-committal in its judgment.<sup>5</sup>

Alexander Pope found the figure of Quarles, as it now existed, a very useful one for his purposes. To a line of the *Dunciad* (1728), "Benlowes, propitious still to blockheads, bows" (III, 21), he had added a note in 1729: "A country gentleman, famous for his own bad poetry, and for patronizing bad poets, as may be seen from many

<sup>1</sup> "Necessity of Care of the Poets," *Works* (London, 1730), I, 109.

<sup>2</sup> "Erle Robert's Mice," *Works* (London and New York, 1892), II, 2.

<sup>3</sup> "Complete Art of Poetry," in Durham, *Crit. Essays of Eighteenth Cent.* (New Haven, 1915), p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> See under "Quarles," *Poet. Register* (London, 1719), p. 207; and *Hist. Account . . . of . . . Eng. Poets* (London, 1720), pp. 166-67.

<sup>5</sup> "To a Young Lady," Chalmers, XI, 198/a.

Dedications of Quarles and others to him." In an earlier book, too, he had written (I, 140):

Or where the pictures for the page atone,  
And Quarles is saved by beauties not his own.<sup>1</sup>

Some unexplained squeamishness, however, led him to omit a similar couplet, which he had composed several years before, from his "Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot" (1735). The lines ran thus:

How pleased I see some patron to each scrub,  
Quarles had his Benlowes, Tibbald had his Bubb—

with a note: "A gentleman of Oxford who patronized all bad poets of that reign."<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, a passage in one of the imitations of Horace in 1737 showed that he had not relented:

But Kings in Wit may want discerning Spirit.  
The Hero William, and the martyr Charles,  
One knighted Blackmore, and one pension'd Quarles.<sup>3</sup>

With these views of Pope's in mind, it should not be possible to misunderstand part of a letter written to Atterbury on March 19, 1721-22. Pope, as he complained, was tired of the ways of the world:

Tinnit, inane est; with the picture of one ringing on the globe with his finger, is the best thing I have the luck to remember, in that great poet Quarles: not that I forget the devil at bowls, which I know to be your lordship's favourite cut, as well as favourite diversion.<sup>4</sup>

Reminiscent of Pope, likewise, was a line in William Whitehead's "Danger of Writing Verse" (1741), which attacked "sensual," though otherwise passable, poetry that "BAVIUS might blush, and QUARLES disdain to own."<sup>5</sup>

The second half of the century for practically twenty years gave no hint of reversing the decision of its ancestors. The first number

<sup>1</sup> This couplet was also quoted in the *Crit. Rev.* for May, 1777 (XLIII, 380).

<sup>2</sup> See Saintsbury, *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, VII, 102.

<sup>3</sup> "1st Epis. of 2nd Bk." ll. 385-87. In the light of this and other passages, it is difficult to see how Grosart (*Quarles*, I, xciv) could defend his assertion that Pope introduced Quarles into the *Dunciad* [sic] merely for a rhyme with "Charles." Grosart also suggests that "Pope's Essay on Man shows he had read that Quarles whom he traduced" (I, xlv).

<sup>4</sup> *Works* (ed. Elwin and Courthope, London, 1871ff.), IX, 44-45. A modern editor of the *Emblems* (William Paterson, Edinburgh, 1888) with amusing stupidity fails to see the irony, and insists that Pope "calls him a 'great poet'" ("Pref.," pp. 7-8).

<sup>5</sup> In Dodaley, *Collection of Poems* . . . (London, 1758), II, 248.

of Colman and Thornton's *Connoisseur*, January 31, 1754, maintained that "That book, in the phrase of Conger, is best which sells most; and if the demand for Quarles should be greater than for Pope, he would have the highest place on the rubric-post." Again, on August 28, 1755, No. 83 of the same periodical contrasted Quarles and "Withers" in rank with Dryden and Spenser. Richard Jago, in 1758, imitated Hamlet's soliloquy thus:

. . . . To print—to beam  
 From the same shelf with Pope, in calf well bound:  
 To sleep, perchance, with Quarles—Ay, there's the rub—  
 For to what class a writer may be doom'd,  
 When he has shuffled off some paltry stuff,  
 Must give us pause. . . . .

In the preface to his posthumous works (Jago died in 1781) he also compared "the beggarly style of Quarles, or Ogilby, and the magnificence of the profuse Dryden."<sup>1</sup>

The *Biographia Britannica* in 1760 described Quarles as "an English poet of the XVIIth century, whose compositions are chiefly of the pious and moral kind," and made a compilation of comments written before 1670, besides printing a rather "metaphysical" selection.<sup>2</sup> James Beattie, however, was not so restrained when he wrote, concerning Churchill, in 1765:

Blackmore and Quarles, those blockheads of renown,  
 Lavished their ink, but never harmed the town:  
 Though this, thy brother in discordant song,  
 Harassed the ear, and cramped the labouring tongue;  
 And that, like thee, taught staggering prose to stand,  
 And limp on stilts of rhyme about the land.  
 Harmless they dozed a scribbling life away,  
 And yawning nations owned th' innoxious lay. . . . .<sup>3</sup>

Beattie continued his charge in various places in his *Essays*, collected in 1776, one passage reading, ". . . Examples of bad writing might no doubt be produced, on almost any occasion, from Quarles and Blackmore; but as no body reads their works, no body is liable to be misled by them—" and another, ". . . A cause and effect

<sup>1</sup> In Chalmers, XVII, 316/a, and 285.

<sup>2</sup> "Quarles," *op. cit.*, VI, 3449-50.

<sup>3</sup> "On the Report of a Monument," *Poet. Works* (London and New York, 1894), p. 153.

extremely inadequate to each other form a ludicrous combination. We smile at the child (in *Quarles's Emblems*) attempting to blow out the sun with a pair of bellows."<sup>1</sup>

Lord Chesterfield and the Reverend Walter Harte, tutor to Chesterfield's son, also contributed in somewhat opposite ways to the tradition. In a letter of December 18, 1763, Chesterfield persuaded Harte to alter the name of his proposed work, *Emblems*, because, "if they had been emblems, Quarles had degraded and vilified that name to such a degree, that it is impossible to make use of it after him. . . ." Harte heeded his master's warning, but nevertheless imitated Quarles in two or three poems published in 1767, styling Quarles "our venerable and religious poet."<sup>2</sup>

The *Critical Review* for April, 1768, commented on the unequality of Christopher Smart's works by saying that some of his *Parables* were "hardly superior to the productions of Sternhold and Quarles."<sup>3</sup>

Extremely slight evidence of an approaching resuscitation may perhaps be detected in James Granger's *Biographical History*, which began to appear in 1769 and went through various "improvements" between then and 1824:

Francis Quarles . . . had, at this time, a very considerable reputation as a poet; but he merited much more as an honest and pious man. His "Emblems," which have been serviceable to allure children to read, have been often printed, and are not yet forgotten. We sometimes stumble upon a pretty thought among many trivial ones in this book; and now and then meet with poetry in mechanism in the prints. . . . His "Feast for Worms," and many other poems, have been long neglected, and are now literally worm-eaten. . . .<sup>4</sup>

No suggestion of doubt, on the other hand, is visible in a letter of Horace Walpole's, dated December 10, 1775, and running: ". . . Alas! I have no genius; and if any symptom of talent, so inferior to Gray's, that Milton and Quarles might as well be coupled together."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Essays on Poetry and Music* . . . (Edinburgh, 1779), pp. 15 n., and 333.

<sup>2</sup> See Chalmers, XVI, 313-14, for Chesterfield's letter; and pp. 382/a, 400/a, and 401/b, for Harte.

<sup>3</sup> *Crit. Rev.*, XXV, 310.

<sup>4</sup> *Biog. Hist. of Eng.* (London, 1824), III, 135-36. A review of this passage in the *Crit. Rev.* for May, 1769 (XXVII, 349), by its defense of Quarles's frequent "energy of thought" and "harmony of versification," formed an interesting, although apparently influential, anticipation of the revival of Quarles which was soon to take place.

<sup>5</sup> Letter to Rev. William Cole, *Letters* (ed. Toynbee, Oxford, 1904 ff.), IX, 293.

The first real sign of a revived interest in Quarles, however (although not the most influential one), appeared in a new edition of the *Emblems* and the *School of the Heart*, brought out in 1777. This was recommended to the public by letters from such men as Augustus Montague Toplady, English divine of extreme Calvinistic leanings, who is best known today as the author of "Rock of Ages," and John Ryland, teacher and Baptist minister. The former, after describing the spiritual benefits he had derived from Quarles's "ingenious and valuable treasury of Christian experience," advised the editors thus:

Be particularly careful to give neat and beautiful impressions of the numerous and expressive cuts. . . . In emblematic works much depends on the elegance of the engravings, which, if well finished, speak an ocular language, singularly emphatic and universally intelligible. The *eye* very frequently informs the understanding and affects the heart, when the most laboured efforts of vocal rhetoric fail. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Ryland, although not especially observing the "visible" or "ocular" "mechanism" of Quarles, still wrote "To the Serious Part of the Christian World":

It is matter of pleasing surprise to find such books as "Quarles' Emblems," and the "School of the Heart," should be so much called for as to incline any printer to venture on a new edition. I really imagined that the rage for romances, novels, and plays, had entirely extinguished all taste for such productions as these now presented to the public.

Quarles was a man of spiritual wit and imagination, in the reign of King Charles I., a time when poetic genius in the religious world had not been cultivated. Spenser and Shakespeare were then the only men that deserved the name of poets; . . . so that I think Quarles may be styled the *first*, as Herbert was the *second*, divine poet of the English nation.

In the productions of this excellent man there is nothing to please the state of modern critics: his uncommon turns of thought; the quaintness of his poetic style; but above all the depth of evangelic fervour, the ardent piety, and the rich experience of the heart, can be relished by none but those who, in the highest sense of the word, deserve the name of true Christians. . . .<sup>2</sup>

The appearance of such an edition at a point seemingly so unprepared for, and the tone of its recommendations, are interesting proofs that often for even the most maligned authors there is a per-

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Paterson's ed., p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

sistent, though silent, group of readers and admirers. The same sort of public was predicated for the infinitely better known Abraham Cowley during the period of his greatest disfavor—the first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

Though such an edition as the above, as well as the one in 1778 with a recommendatory preface by C. de Coetlogon, certainly played a highly important part in recalling Quarles to the public, it alone would probably have been insufficient. The man who seems to have been responsible, more than any other agency, for putting Quarles before the public in this new light, was William Jackson, "of Exeter," a minor musical composer, who is now so little known that few copies of his volume entitled *Thirty Letters on Various Subjects* (1782) are available. Nevertheless, a third edition of the book, with the author's name (the book was first published anonymously), appeared in 1785, and various references and quotations by later writers show that the two letters on Quarles (Nos. 19 and 30) were well known and admired. Jackson, after briefly reviewing the *Emblems* and the history of its reputation (a few minor inaccuracies marred his account, however), went on to say:

. . . . Where he is good, I know but few poets better. He has a great deal of genuine fire, is frequently happy in similes, admirable in epithets and compound words, very smooth in his versification, so different from the poets of his own age; and possessed that great qualification of keeping you in perpetual alarm, so different from the elegant writers of the present times.

I have run through his book of emblems to select some passages for your observation—they are buried, it must be confessed, in a heap of rubbish, but are of too much value not to be worth some pains in recovering. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Then, after quoting from and commenting on various of the *Emblems* and *Hieroglyphics*, and comparing parts to Shakespeare, Young, and Ossian, in his second letter he criticized Quarles's "false wit" in his shaped verses, and ended by saying:

. . . . Poor Quarles! thou hast had many enemies, and art now forgotten. But thou hast at last found a friend—not equal, indeed, to the task of turning a tide that has been flowing for a hundred years against thee—not equal to his wishes for giving thee and every neglected genius his due share

<sup>1</sup> See my forthcoming article on "The Reputation of Abraham Cowley (1660–1800)," *P.M.L.A.*

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* (London, 1783), II, 5–8.

of reputation—but barely capable of laying the first stone of thy temple of fame, which he leaves to be completed by abler and stronger hands.<sup>1</sup>

These letters evidently stirred up some controversy. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1786, for instance, appeared an article written by "C. T. O." and entitled "The Poetry of Quarles recommended to Notice." "C. T. O." was a pseudonym for Henry Headley, who had come under the influence of Thomas Warton while the latter was fellow at Trinity, Oxford, and who was soon to bring out his own *Select Beauties of Ancient English Poetry*.<sup>2</sup> The gist of the article was this:

. . . . To obviate a prejudice . . . . , is the intent of this paper, and to recommend to notice the poetry of Francis Quarles, whose memory has hitherto been almost totally neglected, or, when called to remembrance, solely for the sake of being associated with Blackmore, or some such worthy, as a synonymous and cant term for blockhead. . . . He has been mentioned with respect in some elegant letters, rather lately published, which is the only modern testimony in favour of his abilities I have ever met with. . . . He is extremely unequal. . . .

However, "As a proof of his real genius," the writer quoted several specimens, chiefly from the *Job Militant* and the *Meditations*, and cited several passages in which he thought Goldsmith, Young, Pope, and Blair had been indebted to Quarles.<sup>3</sup> This eulogy did not pass unchallenged, for a correspondent signing himself "Sharp" soon replied thus: "Two geniuses, *self-produced*," have tried to "puff" a "wretched writer into notice by the mere force of their own *sweet wild notes* . . . . : the Author of 'Thirty Letters' *played first fiddle*, and C.T.O. *took up the tenor*." But, said he, they had no effect, although "Poor sleeping Quarles is at length disturbed, and he, and his quaint and dainty devices of wings and altars in poetry, are conjured up in form, in order to be immortalized, forsooth, by this very curious duetto!"<sup>4</sup> The modern critic is tempted to question

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 9 ff., 109 ff.—The *Crit. Rev.* for Mar., 1783 (LV, 165), confessed its "obligations" to Jackson for this re-introduction to Quarles, and, somewhat unfairly, blamed the latter's fate entirely on Pope.

<sup>2</sup> See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, under Headley.

<sup>3</sup> *Gent. Mag.*, LVI, 666-67. In April of the same year, "C.T.O." had already mentioned Quarles in a similar context, while discussing the debt of Pope to Crashaw (*ibid.*, LVI, 312-13).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, LVI, Suppl., 1106.



"Sharp's" own authority on the matter, since he seems to be thinking, not of Quarles, but of Herbert.

But the protest apparently had little effect, although one or two scattering criticisms of Quarles in the old manner still came out, as when James Hay Beattie (the son) wrote in January, 1787, that it was unimportant "whether Quarles or Donne more sweetly sings."<sup>1</sup> All the anthologists and editors of the period who mentioned Quarles, however, followed Jackson and "C.T.O." Headley himself in his *Select Beauties* of 1787 called Herbert "inferior to both Quarles and Crashaw," although in the same class with them,<sup>2</sup> and in another place treated Quarles individually at some length:

It is the fate of many to receive from posterity that commendation which, though deserved, they missed of during their lives; others, on the contrary, take their full compliment [*sic*] of praise from their contemporaries, and gain nothing from their successors; a double payment is rarely the lot of any one. . . .

. . . . These reflections were more immediately suggested by the memory of Quarles, which has been branded with more than common abuse, and who seems often to have been censured merely from the want of being read. . . . He too often, no doubt, mistook the enthusiasm of devotion for the inspiration of fancy. . . . Yet, as the effusions of a real poetical mind, however thwarted by untowardness of subject, will be seldom rendered totally abortive, we find in Quarles original imagery, striking sentiment, fertility of expression, and happy combinations; together with a compression of style that merits the observation of the writers of verse. Gross deficiencies of judgment, and the infelicity of his subjects, concurred in ruining him. . . .

Headley then quoted from the Preface of a "late edition of his Emblems," finding that "Such an exhibition of Quarles is chaining Columbus to an oar, or making John Duke of Marlborough a train-band corporal." He also referred to a dozen or so earlier critics of Quarles, including Jackson.<sup>3</sup>

Robert Anderson, in his edition of the *Poets of Great Britain* (1793), united with Headley in his grouping of poets, but disagreed somewhat in his ranking:

The poetry of Crashaw is devoted chiefly to pious subjects. He is a writer of the same class with Herbert and Quarles, though infinitely superior

<sup>1</sup> "To Dr Dun," *Essays and Fragments* (Edinburgh, 1794), p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> "Herbert," "Biog. Sketches," *op. cit.*, I, liv.

<sup>3</sup> "Quarles," *ibid.*, I, lx-xii. See also II, 145-48.

to the former in sublimity and imagination, and to the latter in beauty and tenderness. . . .<sup>1</sup>

In his Preface, dated 1795, however, Anderson regretted that the plans of his publishers had prevented him from including Quarles in his collection, as he had intended; and in his life of Phineas Fletcher he vindicated him against the contempt of Pope.<sup>2</sup> Joseph Warton, too, in his 1797 edition of Pope, alluded to Quarles, "Who has lately been more favourably spoken of by some ingenious critics; particularly by the author of *Thirty Letters*."<sup>3</sup> In the same way, George Ellis's *Specimens of the Early English Poets* (1801, since the passage did not appear in the original 1790 edition) agreed with the judgments of Headley, Jackson, and Anderson, citing all these by name, and added some material of its own on Quarles.<sup>4</sup>

It was left to the third edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in 1797 to sum up the status of Quarles at the end of the century; this it did in the following dispassionate, but just, way:

. . . His works both in prose and verse are numerous, and were formerly in great esteem, particularly his *Divine Emblems*: but the obsolete quaintness of his style has caused them to fall into neglect, excepting among particular classes of readers.

The article then qualified its position more or less by quoting at some length from Headley.<sup>5</sup>

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries have affirmed the same position. Quarles is no longer merely a "synonym for bad poetry," although except for "particular classes of readers" (usually clergymen of various denominations) he is still nothing but a name. It is not the purpose of this sketch, however, to trace his reputation in detail after its readjustment; it will be sufficient to note the principal new editions of the *Emblems* and to quote the opinions of two or three standard works. Following the seventeenth-century editions already referred to, others (sometimes including the *Hieroglyphics*, etc.) appeared in these years: 1710 (?), 1718, 1720 (?), 1736, 1764, 1766,

<sup>1</sup> "Crashaw," *op. cit.* (London and Edinburgh, 1792-1807), IV, 699 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 7; and IV, 378. Anderson did considerable plagiarizing from Headley. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.* under "Headley," and *Blackwood's Magazine*, XXXVIII, 677 (1835). His ideas on Quarles were approved by the *Crit. Rev.*, Jan., 1799 (*Arr.*, XXV, 41).

<sup>3</sup> See Pope, *Works* (ed. Bowles, London, 1806), IV, 219 n.

<sup>4</sup> "Quarles," *op. cit.* (London, 1803), III, 121.

<sup>5</sup> "Quarles," *Ency. Brit.* (Edinburgh, 1797), XV, 747.

1777, 1778, 1808, 1812, 1818, 1823, 1845, 1857, 1858, 1861, 1866, 1876, 1880-81, 1888; there may also have been additional printings not noted here.

By 1802, the *Edinburgh Review* was already talking of the influence of the "quaintness of Quarles and Dr Donne" on many poets of the new school.<sup>1</sup> The Reverend A. B. Grosart, however, is probably the most extreme of Quarles's recent admirers. According to his estimate in 1880, Quarles as a prose writer was an essayist and moralist of fine powers and characteristics. In the *Emblems*, *Argalus and Parthenia*, etc., was shown a true singer, with brain, imagination, fervid temperament, unique inspiration, and frequent exquisiteness of utterance, and with good rhyme, rhythm, and harmony. Nevertheless, "vile taste" obtruded itself in the most unexpected places.<sup>2</sup> The anonymous article in the current *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1911) follows its eighteenth-century predecessor fairly closely, mentioning two or three leading modern editions of the *Emblems* and objecting to Grosart's "appreciation which greatly overestimates Quarles's value as a poet." The Reverend F. E. Hutchinson, on the other hand, in his chapter on "The Sacred Poets" in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* (1911), after showing how Herbert, Crashaw, and Vaughan were more or less affected by emblem-writing, concludes by saying:

. . . . It is fortunate that these writers, who could do better things, escaped lightly from this misleading fashion. It is as fortunate that Quarles found in it the means of doing his best work. . . . But Quarles had something better to give than "wit at the second hand." If his ingenuity and morality are commonly better than his poetry, at times he rises above his mere task-work to original and forcible writing. . . . Sometimes, he reveals an unexpectedly musical quality, . . . and his least attractive pages are brightened by some daring epithet or felicitous turn of expression. His liveliness and good sense, his free use of homely words and notions and his rough humour are enough to account for, and to justify, his popularity.<sup>3</sup>

To decide between these two classes of critics would be irrelevant in this place. No one, of course, would maintain that Quarles was one of the great English poets. It would also be impossible to try

<sup>1</sup> *Edin. Rev.*, I (October, 1802), 64.

<sup>2</sup> "Memorial-Introduction," *Quarles*, I, lxiiv-v.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, VII, 54.

to account fully for the course taken by Quarles's reputation. The stigma attached to pious religious poetry may partly explain the contempt adopted by the eighteenth century, but Quarles's popularity had already been lost in the later seventeenth, when such poetry still met a certain public taste; moreover, the nephew of the writer of the world's greatest religious poem played a prominent part in the reaction. The spiritual aspect of the early Romantic Revival may perhaps be more closely related to the new attitude toward Quarles. But, on the whole, the neo-Classical reaction against Quarles was unreasoned—or at least it was unreasoned by the majority of writers who used his name. It was easier to accept someone else's opinion than to form a solid one of one's own. And in the Romantic Revival virtually the same phenomena may be observed.

It is, then, sufficient to have shown by the instance of Quarles how quickly and easily a literary myth could spring up, and how in his case it finally received a readjustment which itself tended to go to an opposite extreme. How many other literary men have received the same treatment from the public? More, very probably, than literary history has realized.

ARTHUR H. NETHERCOT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

## NOTES ON DRYDEN'S LOST PROSODIA

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Dryden's statement that: "I have long had by me the materials of an English *Prosodia* containing all the mechanical rules . . . ."<sup>1</sup> has received insufficient attention from critics and historians. It is well known that there were no manuscripts found among Dryden's papers on his death. Dryden himself says that although the materials were ready, prepared, he desisted from publishing them on the advice of the Earl of Mulgrave. The fact that these materials were prepared and in the consciousness of the critic while he was writing the documents of the late eighties and the nineties warrants the hypothesis that the facts contained in the prosodia may be reflected in Dryden's scattered critical statements. The number of these statements is extremely large and when collected they fit into a rough scheme for a prosodia which compares favorably with similar works written by Dryden's fellows or near contemporaries. Recent historians, however, overlook the value of these references entirely. Omond, ignoring Dryden's statement, omits it in the bibliography of English metrists (1903), but corrects this error in the appendix to his later work.<sup>2</sup> Saintsbury asserts that "his [Dryden's] reference to this part of it [metrics] are few and mostly vague."<sup>3</sup>

A collection of these references—there are approximately two hundred of them—leads to conclusions as follows:

1. Dryden has defined his attitude on the points covered by the few conventional prosodies of his time.
2. Dryden's references are neither few nor vague.
3. When these references are patched together a theory of prosody emerges which is sufficiently definite to complete the comparison between Dryden's position and that of his contemporaries, Hobbes, Poole, Bysshe.

<sup>1</sup> Dedication to the *Aeneis*, XIV, 207. (All references in this paper are to the *Works*, ed. Scott-Saintsbury, 1882-93.)

<sup>2</sup> T. S. Omond, *English Metrists of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: Being a Sketch of English Prosodic Criticism During the Last Two Hundred Years* (Oxford, 1907), p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> George Saintsbury, *Historical Manual of English Prosody* (Macmillan, 1910), p. 240.

## I. DRYDEN'S THEORY OF PROSODY

A. Prosody is a mechanical science. Dryden seems to have shared the conception of prosody that was current in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and is accepted as convenient by many present-day teachers. Prosody is conceived to be a body of rules, largely mechanical, to which the poet must fit his verse. Dryden's own statement, "the mechanical rules of versification,"<sup>1</sup> Bysshe's *Art of English Poetry* (circa 1702), and Josua Poole's *England's Parnassus* (1657-59) are all inclined to consider prosody as mechanics. Bysshe's collection of "Sublime Thoughts" and his "Rhyming Dictionary" demonstrate the extent to which poets believed these mechanics might be carried. The proviso that unless verses had propriety of diction and good sense they could not be considered poetry was, of course, explicit in the introduction or prefaces of these books.<sup>2</sup> Yet Temple believed that this proviso was seldom heeded. He refused to make rules for poetry because "too much paper has been blotted with them already."<sup>3</sup> Finally, there is no reason to believe that Dryden's theories in this regard were eccentric to the prosodic thought of his time. When Dryden admits that he breaks these rules<sup>4</sup> he does so with an apology for the English nation or with the assertion that in order to gain a greater beauty it is justifiable to sacrifice a less.<sup>5</sup> Dryden's conception of prosody as a body of rules is illustrated by a very large number of references.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dedication to the *Aeneis*, XIV, 207.

<sup>2</sup> "It may not be impossible indeed for men, even of indifferent parts, by making examples of the rules hereafter given, to compose verses smooth and well sounding to the ear; yet if such verses want strong sense, propriety and elevation of thought or purity of diction, they will be at best what Horace calls them . . . and the writers of them not poets but versifying scribblers."—Edward Bysshe, *The Art of English Poetry* (8th ed., 1737), p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Sir William Temple, *Works* (4 vols., London, 1754), II, 326.

<sup>4</sup> Ded., *Aeneis*, XIV, 208.

<sup>5</sup> Ded., *Love Triumphant*, VIII, 376.

<sup>6</sup> (a) "Since the evil of false quantities is difficult to be cured in any modern language; since the French and the Italians, as well as we, are yet ignorant what feet are to be used in heroic poetry; since I have not strictly observed those rules myself which I am to teach others. . . ."—Ded., *Aeneis*, XIV, 208. (b) ". . . I have called this a latitude which is only an explanation of this general rule, that a vowel. . . ."—Ded., *Aeneis*, XIV, 206. (c) "A faultless sonnet, finished thus [according to the rules] would be worth tedious volumes of loose poetry."—Trans. of Boileau's *Art of Poetry*, XV, 233. (d) "No man is tied in modern poetry to observe any further rule in the feet of his verse but . . . ."—*Essay of Dramatic Poesie*, XV, 365. (e) "Neither can we give ourselves the liberty of making any part of the verse . . . ."—*Account of Annus Mirabilis*, IX, 92-93. (f) Siever's distinction between *Ohrenphilologie* and *Augenphilologie* (Edward Sievers, *Rhythmische Melodische Studien* [Heidelberg, 1912], p. 78), though implied by Cowley was, of course, not generally accepted by responsible prosodists of the seventeenth century. (For Cowley's statement see the preface to his *Pindarics*, 1655.)

B. Seventeenth-century prosodies were compact. Large studies such as those of Guest, Saintsbury, Schipper, were not conceivable at that time. The historical method, though practiced, was not developed in the same way as it is developed at present, and the general conception of *Augenphilologie* made generalizations more precise though less accurate than they are at present. Bysshe stretched his material through three volumes, yet two and a half of these are a "Rhyming Dictionary" and "Sublime Thoughts." The "Rules," i.e., the prosody proper, covers only forty-five pages of small octavo. Since a very little more than half the page (a rough average) is used for illustrative examples, it is accurate to conclude that only twenty-eight pages of small octavo are given to the discussion of prosodic principles proper. The references I have collected from Dryden's writings will cover approximately the same space. Thus, although Dryden's prosody is unpublished, he left quite as much material in scattered references as Bysshe did in his compact treatise.

## II. THE CONTENT OF DRYDEN'S PROSODIC THEORY

It will be shown in this paper that Dryden believed English verse to be built of feet and accents. This conception gets significance when related to his theories of the purpose of poetry and of aesthetic delight, which are purely formal and are presented as introductory material. Rhythm and meter, Dryden believed, were independent of each other; cadence and pause were decorative. This section of the paper will conclude with a summary of Dryden's few statements that concern the minutiae of verse structure.

The fact that many of the theories sketched in the following sections have become commonplace in the great tradition of English prosody should not mislead the reader into the belief that Dryden was merely restating the orthodox views of his time. There are few subjects related to English philology that permit of as wide a difference of opinion as those which concern the nature and structure of English verse. Theorists of the late seventeenth century were in as great opposition on this point as theorists of the present day. Dryden assumes a reasonably independent attitude in the conflicting opinions of the time. His prosody follows the foot-accent system and requires the syllabic equality of each line. In this he differs from Bysshe, who adopts the orthodox method of syllable

counting, and from Hobbes, who denies to English verse the presence of metrical feet.

A. *The purposes of poetry*, according to Dryden, are delight and instruction. Of these purposes, Dryden considers delight the primary and instruction the secondary function. This theory is given direct statement in the *Defense of Dramatic Poesy*, where Dryden says: ". . . for delight is the chief, if not the only, end of poesy. Instruction can be admitted but in the second place, for poesy only instructs as it delights."<sup>1</sup> In his *Life of Plutarch*, Dryden forgives Plutarch the "cadences of the words and the roughness of expression,"<sup>2</sup> because Plutarch's business was to charm and instruct the mind rather than to please the ear. Plutarch, in other words, must be considered a moralist and not a poet. Although moral instruction is an important secondary function of poetry, it is not to be confused with pietistic instruction. Examples in piety ranked third in importance as a function of poetry.<sup>3</sup> The importance of delight as a "chief end" in poetry, implicit in all of Dryden's critical comments,<sup>4</sup> gives added significance to his definition of the sources of delight.

B. *There are three sources of delight in poetry*: (a) formal versification, (b) the proper union of thought and words, and (c) the true description or imitation of nature. "Versification and numbers [i.e., formal versification] the greatest pleasures of poetry."<sup>5</sup> "There is a sweetness in good verse that tickles while it hurts; and no man can be heartily angry with him who pleases him against his will."<sup>6</sup> The sentence from the Dedication of the *Aeneid* that a heroic poem is conveyed in verse that it may "delight while it instructs"<sup>7</sup> is

<sup>1</sup> II, 295.

<sup>2</sup> XVII, 65.

<sup>3</sup> "I considered that pleasure was not the only end in poesy; and that even the instructions of morality were not so wholly the business of the poet as that the precepts and examples of piety were to be omitted."—Preface to *Tyrannic Love*, III, 376.

<sup>4</sup> There is an apparent contradiction in the statement (1697) that a heroic poem is conveyed in verse "that it may delight while it instructs" (Ded., *Aeneid*, XIV, 129–30). There can be no doubt that Dryden realized the purpose of the *Aeneid*. Yet, since his criticism of this poem is concerned largely with the beauty of Virgil's verse, it is logical to conclude that Dryden did not change his mind as to the function of poetry.

<sup>5</sup> *Essay on Satire*, XIV, 89.

<sup>6</sup> Preface to *Abolom and Achitophel*, IX, 211. Dryden is referring to the stopped couplet. He did not admit that blank verse could be admitted into the class of "verse."

<sup>7</sup> XIV. Cf. XII, 65.



adduced again to illustrate the contention that Dryden's conception of aesthetic pleasure is formal. The purposes of meditation and instruction can be served by prose. Formal versification brings an added and essential quality.

The proper union of thought and words and the true imitation or description of nature are the other two sources of delight in poetry.<sup>1</sup> Each one of these sources of delight is formal and external. Poetry is not the expression of emotion. Beauty is not transcendental. It has nothing to do with the soul. It is concerned with harmony and proportion. "Beauty [Dryden quotes from Galen in a sentence that is characteristic of his sane classicism] is nothing else but a just accord and mutual harmony of the members animated by a healthful constitution."<sup>2</sup>

C. *The qualities of good verse*, smoothness, variety and vigor follow from the premises that versification is the chief source of delight in poetry and that beauty is formal. Although vigor in satiric writing may be achieved at the expense of smoothness, this sacrifice requires an apology.<sup>3</sup> Again, although verse should not be monotonous, the demand for variety is sometimes a fault, particularly with the English.<sup>4</sup> It is easier to write smooth yet various verse in Latin than in English because the ancients change their kind of verse at will. Rough verse is not to be tolerated.<sup>5</sup> Rugged verse requires an apology or defense.<sup>6</sup>

The sources of poetic delight, then, are formal versification, the proper union of thought and words, and the imitation of nature. The qualities of good verse that contribute to delight are smoothness, variety, and vigor.

D. Dryden's brief discussion of the *relations between rhythm and meter*, as an early statement of the present-day conceptions, may be passed over rapidly here. Rhythm is not necessarily dependent

<sup>1</sup> Preface to *Albion and Albanus*, VII, 228; the *Account of Annus Mirabilis*, IX, 96; Preface to *All for Love*, V, 332.

<sup>2</sup> Translation of Du Fresnoy, *Observations on the Art of Painting*, XVIII, 405.

<sup>3</sup> Preface to *Second Miscellany*, XII, 301; Preface to *Albion and Albanus*, VII, 236; Preface to *Tyranic Love*, III, 377.

<sup>4</sup> Preface to *Don Sebastian*, VII, 313; Ded., *Love Triumphant*, VIII, 376.

<sup>5</sup> *Essay on Satire*, XIII, 53; *To the Earl of Roscommon*, XI, 27; Ded., *Aeneis*, XIV, 219; Preface to the *Third Miscellany*, XII, 68.

<sup>6</sup> Preface to *Tyranic Love*, III, 379; Preface to *Don Sebastian*, VII, 308.

on meter. The poetry of savages was without feet or measure. It was rhythmical and not metrical.<sup>1</sup> There are not ten lines of Cicero or Demosthenes, says Walsh in an essay that Dryden prefaced to his *Virgil*,<sup>2</sup> which are not "more harmonious, more truly rhythmical [*sic*] than most of the French or English sonnets."<sup>3</sup>

*E. Measure, number, and feet.*<sup>4</sup> Dryden's metrics is accentual. It derives its accent from the classical "long." This substitution, he thinks, was necessary to the barbarians because Greek and Latin quantity were not suitable to their tongues "nor did they know the exact uses of it." "Measure in Greek and Latin consisted in quantity of words and a determinate number of feet. But when, by the inundation of the Goths and Vandals . . . new languages were introduced, a new way of poetry was practiced. . . . This consisted in measure or number of feet and rhyme."<sup>5</sup>

Dryden contents himself with two statements about the quantity of English syllables. "There is as great a certainty of quantity in our syllables as either in Greek or Latin, but let poets and judges understand those first and then let them begin to study English."<sup>6</sup> In his prosodia he has "treated with some exactness of the feet, the quantities [*italics mine*] and the pauses."<sup>7</sup> Without further evidence it is, of course, futile to attempt to reconstruct Dryden's theory of English quantity. If this matter really was "treated with some exactness" in his prosodia, it is possible that he injected some kind of a quantitative system into his own verse and that this system has been missed by our crude and inaccurate methods of metrical analysis. Another possibility is that the methods of declaiming tragedy may have led to a confusion between the facts of accent and quantity. When verse is intoned, the quantitative value of the syllables is increased. Thus, when Dryden heard his verses on the stage, he

<sup>1</sup> *Essay on Satire*, XIII, 53.

<sup>2</sup> XIII, 343.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the questionable passages, III, 377; VII, 236.

<sup>4</sup> The use of these three terms in prosodic treatises of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is very confusing. I have not been able to derive a compendious definition of any one of them. Dryden uses the term foot as we do to represent the modern equivalent of the classical quantitative foot. Measure he used to designate the verse or line. Since English feet are assumed to be dissyllabic and each measure or verse contains a definite number of them, the verses are "numbered."

<sup>5</sup> *Essay on Dramatic Poesy*, XV, 264-65.

<sup>6</sup> Preface to *Albion and Albanus*, VII, 236.

<sup>7</sup> Ded., *Aeneis*, XIV, 207.

may have assumed that they were essentially quantitative. A final possibility that awaits experimental test is that the quantitative facts of all verse are more numerous than we imagine.

The evidence that Dryden believed English verses were composed of feet is conclusive. He said: "No man is constrained in modern poesy to observe any further rule in the *feet* of his verses. . . ."<sup>1</sup> "We are yet ignorant what feet are to be used in heroic poetry."<sup>2</sup> "And if my verses' feet stumble."<sup>3</sup>

Feet combined to form measures. Dryden seems to have used the term "measure" as equivalent to our "verse." He says the first poetry "was begun before the invention of feet and measures." The "new way of poesy consists of *measure or number of feet* [italics mine]."<sup>4</sup> These statements are confusing. It is not clear whether the conjunction "or" connects the noun "measure" with the noun "number" or whether it connects the noun "measure" with the phrase "number of feet." I have assumed the latter possibility to be correct. Measure is the equivalent of a group of feet. A measure, then, is a verse of poetry. Although I have not succeeded in finding a statement that will resolve the difficulty directly, the clause "blank verse is the measure of verse kept exactly without rhyme"<sup>5</sup> furnishes the best evidence available on the point. The passages listed below tend, I think, to confirm my contention, although they are capable of various interpretations.<sup>6</sup>

*Number.* English verses, Dryden believed, were composed of a determinate number of syllables, they were equisyllabic, they were "numbered." Dryden's famous criticism of Chaucer furnishes the best evidence for this conclusion. "Equality of numbers," he said, "in every verse we call heroic was either not known or not practiced in Chaucer's day. . . . Some thousands of his verses are lame half a foot or a whole one."<sup>7</sup> The fact that Dryden could not read

<sup>1</sup> *Essay on Dramatic Poesy*, XV, 364-65.

<sup>2</sup> *Ded., Aeneis*, XIV, 208.

<sup>3</sup> Dryden's Prologue to *The Mistakes*, X, 411. Other references are: *Essay on Satire*, XIII, 112; *Essay on Dramatic Poesy*, XV, 342; *Account of Annus Mirabilis*, IX, 93; *MacFlecknoe*, X, 445; etc., etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Essay on Dramatic Poesy*, XV, 364-65.

<sup>5</sup> *Of Heroic Plays*, IV, 18.

<sup>6</sup> *Essay on Dramatic Poesy*, XV, 359, 364.

<sup>7</sup> Preface to the *Fables*, XI, 225.

Middle English<sup>1</sup> is not so important here as his demand for syllabic equality in the heroic line. This requirement is made clear by the statement that there is a difference "in the numbers of which a Latin verse may be composed."<sup>2</sup> This difference results from a substitution in Latin of dissyllabic for trisyllabic feet. Thus, number must refer to syllables.<sup>3</sup>

Dryden restricted the English metrical foot to a unit of two syllables.<sup>4</sup> This accounts for the looseness with which he handled the terms "measure" and "number." Since the number of feet, i.e., the measure, in each verse is determinate, and no foot can consist of more than two syllables, then the number of syllables in each verse is determinate. Thus Dryden combined the "foot-accent" theory with the "syllable-counting" theory.

*F. Cadence and pause.* Cadence is that rhythm which arises after the lines have been numbered and measured. It results (a) from the variation of the pause—caesura (?) and (b) from the use of run-on lines within the couplet. Dryden says that variety of cadence is the best rule to avoid monotony.<sup>5</sup> Italy made rhyme an art by the use of pauses and cadences.<sup>6</sup> "The cadence of one line must be a rule to that of the next. The sound of one line must glide gently into that which follows."<sup>7</sup> Cadence is an elegance of sound comparable to tropes and figures.<sup>8</sup> Other references are listed below.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The repeated expressions of indignation that greet this statement lead me, at the risk of irrelevance, to quote here a statement in Miss Hammond's *Chaucer Bibliography* (p. 497) which admits the Chaucerian line may contain nine syllables. This, according to Dryden, would make the lines imperfect. (Cf. Hammond, *Chaucer, A Bibliographical Manual*, New York, 1908.)

<sup>2</sup> *Essay on Dramatic Poesy*, XV, 365.

<sup>3</sup> A passage concerning translation is rather confusing. "A translator should imitate his [the original's] genius and numbers so far as the English will come up to the elegance of the original."—*Essay on Satire*, XIII, 97. Since the Greek and Latin lines vary in numerosity and the English verse may use only a dissyllabic foot (see below), this rule is not possible of exact application.

<sup>4</sup> "No man is tied in modern poesy to observe any further rule in the feet of his verse than that they be dissyllables, whether spondee, trochee, or iambic it matters not."—*Essay on Dramatic Poesy*, XV, 365.

<sup>5</sup> *Essay on Dramatic Poesy*, XV, 363–64.

<sup>6</sup> *To the Earl of Roscommon*, XI, 27.

<sup>7</sup> Preface to the *Second Miscellany*, XII, 301.

<sup>8</sup> *A Parallel of Poetry and Painting*, XVIII, 328.

<sup>9</sup> Prologue to the *Opening of the New Playhouse*, X, 320; Preface to *Don Sebastian*, VII, 308; *Life of Plutarch*, XVII, 65; *To the Memory of John Oldham*, XI, 100.

Pause and end-stop, Dryden thought, are of particular importance in English poetry. They were to have been treated with exactness in the prosody. Breaks in the hemi-stich and run-on lines within the couplet are of great advantage to the writer of verse.<sup>1</sup> Malherbe made rhyme an art by bringing pauses into French and Italian poetry.<sup>2</sup> Run-on lines are to be handled with circumspection. The sense should never run over the couplet. Indeed, the best argument for rhymed as opposed to blank verse is that rhyme puts a clog on the poet's imagination. Blank verse renders the poet too luxuriant. He is tempted to say too many things that might better be omitted or shut up in fewer words.<sup>3</sup> Triplets are used frequently because they bound the sense, and Alexandrines keep the sense from overflowing into another line.<sup>4</sup>

This emphasis on the end-stopped couplet offers interesting documentary proof of the aesthetic sense during the Restoration. The beautiful verse was restrained, regular. The sense "must be shut up in fewer words." Thus it is clear how the overflowing Miltonic or early Stuart blank verse must have offended the taste of the Restoration. The ode, a really free poem, without "regular feet or measures," compensated the Restoration audiences for the extreme regularity of the couplet. Blank verse, tied loosely to regular feet and measures, lacking the compression of the couplet, was neither verse, nor ode, nor prose.

Dryden believed that the use of the hemi-stich as an independent unit of poetry was not sanctioned by classical precedent. The only classical poet who used this unit is Virgil. Dryden believed that had Virgil completed his work the hemi-stichs would have disappeared. In avoiding the hemi-stich, Dryden deviates from the practice of Cowley and Spenser.<sup>5</sup>

*G. Minutiae of Line Metrics.* Synaloepha, according to Dryden, is to be avoided. He slurs the Greeks, who "were licentious and made no difficulty to sound one vowel upon another."<sup>6</sup> Virgil, too,

<sup>1</sup> *Essay on Dramatic Poesy*, XV, 365.

<sup>2</sup> *To the Earl of Roscommon*, XI, 27.

<sup>3</sup> *The Rival Ladies*, II, 138; *Essay on Dramatic Poesy*, XV, 361, 376; *Essay on Satire*, XIII, 113.

<sup>4</sup> *Ded., Aeneis*, XIV, 221.

<sup>5</sup> *Ded., Aeneis*, XIV, 222-23. Cf. the passage in the *Essay on Dramatic Poesy*, XV, 365.

<sup>6</sup> *Preface to the Third Miscellany*, XII, 65.

sometimes disdains smoothness by using synaloephas.<sup>1</sup> Although Dryden has not recorded himself clearly on this point, it is logical to assume that synaloepha cannot occur when the gaping vowels are separated by a mid-pause or caesura. This would clear up the difficulty noted by Saintsbury in the following passages: "There is not to the best of my knowledge one vowel gaping on another for want of a caesura in this whole poem."<sup>2</sup> "I have shunned the caesura as much as possibly I could, for whenever it is used, it gives a roughness to the verse for which we have little need in a language which is overstocked with consonants."<sup>3</sup> Because Dryden has spoken in various places of the necessity of varying the pauses (cf. Sec. F), Mr. Saintsbury assumes that the passage just quoted contains a mis-use of the term caesura. He argues: Elision causes hiatus; a hiatus is a pause, and a pause is a caesura; therefore, Dryden thought that an elision is a caesura. This argument is ingenious, but not necessary. When he could, Dryden avoided, or thought he avoided, the caesura, because there were enough consonants for his purpose. He was unwilling to clog up the line further by the addition of another pause unless he was forced to do so.

Elision is permissible only when the elided vowel can sink in the pronunciation of the next. It is unnecessary before "w, h, or a diphthong." Y-final before an initial vowel may not be elided.<sup>4</sup>

*H. Rhyme.* Dryden confines his discussion of rhyme to its significance and use in poetry. He gives neither a definition nor an analysis of rhyme. Rhyme distinguishes verse from blank verse.<sup>5</sup> Double rhymes tickle the ear without pleasing.<sup>6</sup> Rhyme originated in barbarous times. "The sweetness of rhyme and the observation of accent supplied the place of quantity to the invaders of Rome."<sup>7</sup> Rhyme is nothing more than a fair barbarity. The learned languages have the advantage of being free of rhyme.<sup>8</sup> The rhyming hexameters in Homer are probably the remnants of a barbarous age.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Preface to the *Second Miscellany*, XII, 286.

<sup>2</sup> *Ded., Aeneis*, XIV, 206-7.

<sup>5</sup> *Essay on Dramatic Poesy*, XV, 365.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, 205.

<sup>6</sup> *Essay on Satire*, XIII, 112-13.

<sup>4</sup> *Ded., Aeneis*, XIV, 206-7.

<sup>7</sup> *Essay on Dramatic Poesy*, XV, 365.

<sup>8</sup> *To the Earl of Roscommon*, XI, 27; *Account of Annus Mirabilis*, IX, 92.

<sup>9</sup> Preface to *Virgil*, XIII, 341.

Dryden's attitude toward rhyme changed as he grew older. Before 1676 he said: "The necessity for rhyme never forces any but bad or lazy writers to say what they would not otherwise."<sup>1</sup> "Rhyme puts a necessary clog on the poet's imagination. . . . He who wants judgment to confine his fancy in rhyme will want it as much in blank verse."<sup>2</sup> After 1676 Dryden says "Rhyme binds passion."<sup>3</sup> It is troublesome and slow.<sup>4</sup> He who can write well in rhyme can write better in blank verse.<sup>5</sup> Dryden's statement that he has not altered his former opinion of rhyme although he has refrained from practicing it may be sincere despite the apparent change. It is significant that the aesthetic superiority of blank verse is granted in one passage. (He who can write well in rhyme, etc.).

*I. Verse forms.* Dryden's comment upon verse and stanza forms is very brief. He tried to correct the current mis-use of the term "pindaric line." This line, the Alexandrine, was called pindaric because Cowley used it in his odes.<sup>6</sup> Ronsard introduced the Alexandrine into France. Dryden confused the Alexandrine proper (6[x-]) with the long Alexandrine (7[x-]).<sup>7</sup> The English heroic line consists of no more than ten syllables.<sup>8</sup> Blank verse, properly *prose mesurée*, is the heroic without rhyme.<sup>9</sup> Burlesque verse has eight syllables and four feet. It is too short for a dignified style.<sup>10</sup>

To summarize Dryden's position on the critical points in English prosody: Poetic beauty to Dryden meant aptness, smoothness, and regularity. Dryden combined the "syllable-counting" method of verse structure with the "foot-accent" system. He did this by sacrificing polysyllabic feet. Dryden's criticisms of blank verse,

<sup>1</sup> *Account of Annus Mirabilis*, IX, 93; *Essay on Dramatic Poesy*, XV, 292, 363, and *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ded., The Rival Ladies*, II, 138-36.

<sup>3</sup> *Prologue to Aureng Zebe*, V, 201; *Preface to All for Love*, V, 339.

<sup>4</sup> *Ded., Essay on Dramatic Poesy* (2d ed.), XV, 278.

<sup>5</sup> *Ded., Aeneis*, XIV, 211, 232.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, 208.

<sup>7</sup> *Preface to the Third Miscellany*, XII, 68.

<sup>8</sup> *Essay on Satire*, XIII, 121.

<sup>9</sup> *Essay on Dramatic Poesy*, XV, 364.

<sup>10</sup> *Essay on Satire*, XIII, 112.

prophetic of recent discussions of free verse, and his theories of primitive poetry belong properly in another paper. A discussion of these points is therefore postponed.

### III. DRYDEN AND BYSSHE

Dryden's position on critical points of contemporary prosody can be estimated by comparing his theories with those advanced in the first chapter of Bysshe's *Rules for Making English Verse*.<sup>1</sup>

Bysshe opens his discussion by the following sentence: "The Structure of our Verses, whether Blank, or in Rhyme, consists in a certain Number of Syllables; not in Feet compos'd of long and short Syllables, as in the Verses of the Greeks and Romans." Dryden believes that blank verse is not in the proper sense verse at all, but a *sermo pedestris*. He admits that a verse consists in a certain number of syllables *and* in feet. These feet derive their accent by direct tradition from the long and short syllables of the Greeks and Romans.

Bysshe continues:

And though some ingenious Persons formerly puzzl'd themselves in prescribing Rules for the Quantity of *English* Syllables, and, in Imitation of the *Latins* composed Verses by the Measure of *Spondees*, *Dactyls*, etc., yet the Success of their Undertaking has fully evinc'd the Vainness of their Attempt, and given Ground to suspect they had not fully weigh'd what the Genius of our Language would bear; nor reflected that each Tongue has its peculiar Beauties, and that what is agreeable and natural to one, is very often disagreeable, nay, inconsistent with another. But the Design being now wholly exploded, it is sufficient to have mentioned it.

Dryden believed that it is possible to prescribe rules for the quantities of English syllables and to compose English verses by the measure of spondees, though not of dactyls. Dryden would admit that each tongue has its peculiar beauties, but he would protest that the design was not wholly exploded.

In his second paragraph, Bysshe continues: "Our Verses, then, consist in a certain Number of Syllables; but the Verses of Double Rhyme require a Syllable more than those of Single Rhyme." The rest of the chapter which consists of sixteen lines of prose and thirty-three lines of verse elaborates this statement. Some of the illustra-

<sup>1</sup> Edward Bysshe, *The Art of English Poetry* (8th ed., 1737), p. 1.



tive material is taken from Dryden's poetry. Dryden would, of course, have no quarrel with this thesis, although one doubts whether he would elaborate it as fully as Bysshe did.

The difference in the position of these prosodists may be seen to best advantage in the following table.

DRYDEN	BYSSHE
1. The English verse is composed of feet.	1. Feet "do not occur in English."
2. Feet are composed of neither more nor less than two syllables.	2. Disagrees.
3. English verses are equisyllabic.	3. Equisyllabism is, with two exceptions, the first essential of English verse.
4. The Alexandrine is a regular exception to this rule.	4. The exception is the feminine rhyme which introduces eleven syllables, or the Alexandrine.
5. There is certainty of quantity in English verse.	5. The idea that quantity persists is absurd.
6. Accent derives from the classical "long."	6. Accent plays no part in Bysshe's scheme.
7. Pause is useful in varying line flow.	7. Pause is an essential fact in the structure of English verse. It takes the place in Bysshe's scheme which Dryden assigns to accent.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

R. D. JAMESON



## JOHN HOUGHTON, A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY EDITOR AND BOOK-REVIEWER

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Among the changes taking place in England in the late seventeenth century, there have been noted the gradual passing of the patron of letters, and the rise of the independent publisher. The device of publishing, by subscription, valuable and yet non-popular books takes its beginning about the same time. In contrast to the conditions described by Wither in 1624, in *The Schollers Purgatory discovered in the Stationers Commonwealth*, literary men could get some financial return, if not complete justice, from publishers like Richard Marriott and Jacob Tonson. The publishers, in turn, as the author's share in the profits increased, could prosper only according to the response of the reading public. In that day, as in ours, we can be sure that certain types of literature found a ready sale, while other works found "fit audience, though few."

The relation between the production of literature and the response of the public was coming to be a matter of greater importance to the literary men of Dryden's time than it had been to earlier authors. For a better understanding of that relation, and of the tastes and capacity of the reading public in the late seventeenth century, one does well to turn to the periodicals of that time. The literary gossip in the *Gentleman's Journal*, for example, which began in 1692, affords fascinating glimpses into the interests of its patrons.<sup>1</sup> The reader whose interests were scientific could turn to the *Athenian Mercury*, or, if he wanted something heavier, to the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*. For the scholarly reader there were such journals as La Crosse's *Works of the Learned*, which summarized notable contemporary books. Even for the farmer and the tradesman there were special periodicals. These latter have received less attention than the others which have been mentioned, yet they have a certain value, since they show the literary interests

<sup>1</sup> See Dorothy Foster's study of this periodical, "The Earliest Precursor of Our Present-Day Monthly Miscellanies," *P. M. L. A.*, XXXII, 22-58.

and inclinations of a class of readers which was rapidly growing in numbers and wealth, if not in taste.

In this connection the two periodicals edited by John Houghton may merit a brief study. They have, of course, been known to the historians of journalism,<sup>1</sup> but their contribution to literary history and to book-reviewing has received no attention. Yet, as a reviewer of books, Houghton anticipated, in a specialized field and for readers with a particular interest, methods which have been generally regarded as of much later origin. It was not to the gentry or the scholars that he appealed; it was to a middle class seeking edification, and interested in reading.

The first number of his *Collection of Letters for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade* is dated September 8, 1681.<sup>2</sup> Although it antedates by some months the *Weekly Memorials for the Ingenious*, which seems to have been the first regular journal in England devoted largely to summarizing books, there had been a considerable amount of some types of book-reviewing before this time. In the newspapers of the Civil War and Restoration, periodical reviewing was actually born in England. At the time of Houghton's first issue, there was in the newspapers, and especially in the controversial journals called out by the Popish Plot, a somewhat virulent type of book-reviewing, consisting for the most part of unscrupulous and vigorous attacks on books and pamphlets of the opposing party. Oldenburgh, the first editor of the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, printed summaries of books, and occasionally ventured to recommend particular books to the virtuosi who were his readers. He was, however, always careful to keep his personality well hidden. The reviewer who spoke as one having authority had not yet appeared.

Houghton's first *Collection* was published at irregular intervals until 1683. In keeping with its title, the contents are principally economic and agricultural articles. But in the second number

<sup>1</sup> See H. R. Fox Bourne, *English Newspapers*, London, 1887, I, 51, note; Alex. Andrews, *The History of British Journalism*, London, 1859, I, 88. A brief account of Houghton's life is in the *D.N.B.* J. Crossley, in *Notes and Queries*, first series, III, 248, has a note on the life of Houghton's two publications.

<sup>2</sup> It probably appeared about that time, as it was advertised in the *London Gazette* for September 12-15, 1681. It sold at first for "a penny the sheet," but with the second volume the price was raised to twopence, "which is caused by reason of a far greater Charge than the other" (*Collection*, I, 184).

appeared "An account of a book written by Mr. Thomas Firmin, intituled, *Some Proposals for the Employment of the Poor.*" The book is summarized briefly, and the author is called "charitable and industrious." In the fourth number Houghton used Cook's *A Discourse of Trade*, with the theory of which he disagreed, as the starting-point for "An Essay to prove that 'tis better for *England* to have *Ireland Rich and Populous*, than *Poor and Thin.*" This same *Discourse of Trade* provoked an article in the next issue also. Another general essay was called forth by "A Book intituled *Corporation Credit.*" Houghton wrote: "I Conceive it very proper to my intention of endeavoring the Advance of *Trade*, to give a short account of the *Bank of Credit* that is now Establishing, which is the Subject of the Book; and take it, if you please, as communicated to me in a Letter."<sup>1</sup>

In addition to this use of books as the subjects for general essays, rather than summaries or attacks, Houghton's first periodical is of interest because of the very frank editorial recommendations. He is particularly glad to recommend books written by his friends, or by his associates in the Royal Society, his membership in that body apparently being one of his proudest achievements. "My very good Friend, the Industrious Mr. *John Collins*, hath written . . . *A Plea for the bringing in of Irish Cattle*, etc. To which I recommend you."<sup>2</sup> Dr. Muffet's *Health-Improvement* is stated to be "the best that was ever written in any Language, for the most healthful Diet."<sup>3</sup> "Mr. *Evelyn* is a great Man, One that I have the Honour to be acquainted with, . . . and his *Sylva* is so good a Book, that I have not heard of any thing written on the *Subject* like it," is another outspoken approbation.<sup>4</sup>

Houghton's second periodical, the initial number of which is dated March 30, 1692, differed but little in title from his first, being called *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade.*<sup>5</sup> Except

<sup>1</sup> *Collection*, p. 139, January 16, 1683.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 11, p. 119, December 14, 1682.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 8, p. 77, July 20, 1682.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II, No. 3, 65.

<sup>5</sup> In form it is a half-sheet folio. It appeared irregularly, weekly and semi-weekly, for several years. Crossley states that it was not discontinued until September 24, 1703, but I have seen no issues after 1696. The first number contained a testimonial in behalf of the venture, signed by some of Houghton's fellow-members of the Royal Society, among them Pepys, Evelyn, and Halley.

for a brief article in each number, it is made up of price lists, mortality statistics, and advertisements. Houghton ran an employment agency, sold everything from "spaw-water" to manuscript sermons, and even operated a marriage bureau.<sup>1</sup> The advertisements of book sales are particularly interesting.<sup>2</sup>

Mention should be made of the light these advertisements throw upon the conditions of periodical circulation, in a time when evidence is most meager. Houghton tried to build up a regular subscription list by giving a certain reduction for quarterly payments, and abandoned this scheme only to advise his country readers to obtain "club rates" from their book sellers.<sup>3</sup> He also allowed the return of unsold copies, we learn from an advertisement in his seventh number. By the time the paper was a year old its circulation was fairly extensive, and was not confined to England, if we may credit his statement "that these Papers go weekly to Amsterdam."<sup>4</sup>

"Epitomes of Books of Husbandry and Trade" were included among the promises in the first number, but rarely appeared. Instead, Houghton wrote personal commendations of some of the books he advertised. "I have perused this Book," begins his sanction of the *Chronological Tables of Europe*; "I find it a great help to *History* and being so prettily contrived for the *Pocket*, I think it a very necessary *Vade Mecum* for the Ingenious. I believe the author has been very exact in it."<sup>5</sup> Bishop Wilkins' *Mercury* also pleased

<sup>1</sup> Two examples may serve: "A Witty arch Boy that is apt to play by the way when he goes of Errands, would be disposed to a Captain or Master of a ship, if any wants such" (No. 156, March 26, 1695). "I have an Altar-piece of *Albert Durer's Hand*, of great Value to sell" (No. 204, June 26, 1696).

<sup>2</sup> In 1696 sermons "before 1640" were sold at one shilling sixpence per dozen; plays brought from three to six shillings a dozen, the price being regulated by size alone; "Poetry Folios" were three shillings a dozen; a dozen voyages and memoirs could be had for four shillings (No. 205, July 3, 1696).

<sup>3</sup> See advertisements in Nos. 1 and 6. This last idea seems to be original with Houghton. Quarterly payments had been known before. Anthony & Wood paid his Oxford bookseller two shillings "quarteridge" for the two official newsbooks before the *Gazette*, but obtained this from a friend in Oxford. See his *Life*, ed. A. Clark, II, 413; V, 67. In 1691 *The General History of Europe* sold for sixpence a number, and could be had for eight shillings fourpence a volume. But the weekly papers seem to have preferred quarterly to annual subscriptions.

<sup>4</sup> No. 54, August 11, 1693. The method of circulation is made clearer by this notice, from No. 41, May 12, 1693: "These Letters may be brought to any ones House about *London* for a Penny the Week. And into the Country if they will speak to their Carrier or Bookseller, and at the same price, within the compass of the penny-post."

<sup>5</sup> No. 64, October 20, 1693.

him. "I have read this Book over, and do think it a Piece of great Ingenuity, becoming the Bishop of Chester."<sup>1</sup> Similar indorsements are of frequent occurrence; they all state that the indorser has "read the book," and they all deal with works of some solidity, if not merit. On rarer occasions he added favorable comments even to the advertisements of contemporary periodicals.<sup>2</sup>

About some books Houghton felt a little hesitancy in giving his own opinion, and called in expert advice. "I have enquired of several very Learned Men about these Volumes" he wrote of Howel's *Institution of General History*, "and understand that . . . they are Books of great esteem, well becoming so learned a Man, . . . and that I, or any one else need not be ashamed to recommend them."<sup>3</sup> "So far as my Capacity will reach, I think this Book deserves to be considered by all learned Men," he wrote of *Reason and Religion*.<sup>4</sup> "I dare not pretend sufficient skill in a Work of this Nature;" he wrote concerning a Latin Dictionary, "but I have taken pains to have a true account from such, I believe are thorowly verst in it, and I am told 'tis the best Dictionary extant."<sup>5</sup> J. Wilkins' *Mathematical Magic* received a flattering welcome. "With delight I have read over this Book, and do think it a very good one; But lest my Judgment should fail, I have enquired of the greatly experienced in Mathematical studies, who concur with me."<sup>6</sup>

That this practice of personally recommending books was well received by Houghton's readers we have his own testimony. He discontinued it for a time, and then returned to his former method with this statement: "I find by several of my Correspondents that more Books would be bought if well recommended, wherefore I shall recommend such and no other, as for the main that is in them, I know to be good, or I shall have an encouraging character of from such I believe proper Judges."<sup>7</sup> Although he printed many advertisements of books, and although booksellers sometimes tried his

<sup>1</sup> No. 66, November 3, 1693.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, No. 51, July 21, 1693.

<sup>3</sup> No. 56, August 25, 1693.

<sup>4</sup> No. 95, May 25, 1694.

<sup>5</sup> No. 82, February 23, 1694.

<sup>6</sup> No. 69, November 24, 1693.

<sup>7</sup> No. 144, May 5, 1695.

patience sorely,<sup>1</sup> he does seem to have saved his recommendations for books which in his judgment were deserving. If the number of book-advertisements he printed may be taken as in any way a safe guide, then the book publishers must have found that the public he addressed in these recommendations responded well.

Peter Motteux, whose *Gentleman's Journal* appeared for the first time with the number for January, 1692, and so may antedate Houghton's second *Collection* by two months, personally recommended many books to his "Gentleman in the Country." Motteux wrote for gentlemen of leisure, selected books with his readers' interest in mind, and occasionally commented slightly on matters of style. Houghton wrote for tradesmen, and recommended books for this narrower circle of readers in Motteux' own spirit, but without the stylistic comments. Both men depart notably from the method of summary and abstract generally practiced by the reviewers of their time. But Houghton, in his first periodical, had anticipated Motteux by ten years, "which," as Houghton liked to add when he quoted from his esteemed contemporary, the *London Gazette*, "is all I see useful for posterity."

ROGER PHILIP McCUTCHEON

WAKE FOREST COLLEGE

<sup>1</sup> This advertisement, from No. 62, October 6, 1693, was inserted more than once: "I desire all Booksellers to send me no new Unlicensed Books, nor no new Titles to old Books, for they will be rejected."



## THE DIFFUSION OF VOLTAIRE'S WRITINGS IN ENGLAND, 1750-1800

Despite a number of recent studies,<sup>1</sup> much research remains to be accomplished before we can form a satisfactory estimate of what the intense and many-sided activity of Voltaire meant for the intellectual and literary life of eighteenth-century England. In particular, it is essential that any attempt to measure his influence on his English contemporaries should be based upon an ample and precise knowledge of the diffusion of his works among the general reading-public. How numerous, relatively speaking, were his English admirers? In what classes of society were they chiefly to be found? To which of his writings did they give the heartiest welcome?

In the investigation of questions such as these, students of comparative literature have tended to restrict themselves, in the past, to two main types of sources—translations and the judgments of critics and general readers. That much can be learned from them goes without saying; it is undeniable, however, that by themselves they yield an incomplete and at times a misleading conception of the real vogue of the writer whose fortunes in another country than his own one is attempting to trace. Consider, for example, the case of translations. It is something, of course, to know which works of Voltaire were turned into English during the eighteenth century and through how many editions each of them ran;<sup>2</sup> but, in the first place, we have no right to assume—quite the contrary, as we shall see—

<sup>1</sup> The majority of these concern the fortunes of Voltaire's plays on the English stage; see Georg Baumgärtner, *Voltaire auf der englischen Bühne des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Strassburg, 1913); G. H. Nettleton, in the *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, X (1913), 90-92, 96-97, 493-94, and in his *English Drama of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century* (1914), pp. 198-201, 235-37; H. L. Bruce, "The Period of Greatest Popularity of Voltaire's Plays on the English Stage," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXIII (1918), 20-23, and *Voltaire on the English Stage* (Berkeley, 1918). The study of his influence on particular writers is less advanced. See, however, Ed. Fueter, *Histoire de l'historiographie moderne*, traduit de l'Allemand par Émile Jeanmaire (Paris, 1914), pp. 450-60 (influence on Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon); A. J. Barnouw, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, VIII (1913), 315-18 (borrowings from Voltaire in Goldsmith's *Bee*); and R. S. Crane and J. H. Warner, "Goldsmith and Voltaire's *Essai sur les mœurs*," in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, February, 1923.

<sup>2</sup> There is as yet no adequate bibliography of these translations. The list in the British Museum Catalogue is far from complete.

that all, or even a majority, of his English public read him in translation, and in the second place, even if such an assumption were warranted, we should still remain in the dark concerning the social and cultural status and the geographical distribution of the individuals who made up this public. It is possible, to be sure, to attain greater precision on this latter point by studying the judgments and allusions of readers; but as documents of this sort are in the majority of cases the work of critics or other professional writers, it is seldom that we can generalize from them to the tastes of the public at large. There remains, however, a third means of measuring the success of literary works which is not subject to the specific limitations of those just described: a study, namely, of the frequency of their occurrence on the shelves of private libraries. It is this method—not a new one,<sup>1</sup> though it has never, to my knowledge, been used in the solution of problems of English literary history—which I propose to apply in this article to the study of Voltaire's popularity in England during the second half of the eighteenth century.

For this purpose I have examined, chiefly at the British Museum, the sales-catalogues of 218 English private libraries of the period with a view to determining what works of Voltaire their owners possessed.<sup>2</sup> Except that I eliminated in advance all collections that seemed to represent the miscellaneous stocks of booksellers or auctioneers rather than the actual libraries of individuals, I made my

<sup>1</sup> I do not know who is to be considered its "inventor," but apparently one of the first scholars to realize its value was that master of methods in literary history, M. Lanson (see his "Programme d'études sur l'histoire provinciale de la vie littéraire en France," in the *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, IV [1902-3], 461-64, and "La méthode de l'histoire littéraire," in *De la méthode dans les sciences*, 2<sup>e</sup> série, 2<sup>e</sup> édition [Paris, 1911], p. 244). At any rate, it is to one of M. Lanson's pupils, M. Daniel Mornet, that we owe the fullest demonstration that has yet been given of its possibilities. In an article entitled "Les enseignements des bibliothèques privées," published in the *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* in 1910 (XVII, 449-96), M. Mornet set forth the results of an extremely detailed examination of five hundred catalogues of French private libraries, mostly of the period from 1750 to 1780. Thanks to his full discussion of the assumptions involved in the method and of the precautions necessary to avoid error (see especially pp. 451-53), his article has a value far beyond that attaching to its specific contributions to our knowledge of the currents of taste in pre-revolutionary France. Its influence, direct or indirect, can be traced in more than one French monograph published since 1910. See, for example, P. M. Masson, *La religion de J. J. Rousseau* (Paris, 1916), III, 24, 230; P. Van Tieghem, *Ossian en France* (Paris, 1917), I, 5, 103-4, 259, 322, 430, and *La poésie de la nuit et des tombeaux en Europe au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1921), p. 75; and Walther de Lerber, *L'influence de Clément Marot au XVIII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Lausanne and Paris, 1920), p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> A list of the libraries examined will be found at the end of the article. All of those in the British Museum are catalogued, under their dates, in *A List of Catalogues of English Book Sales, 1676-1900*, now in the British Museum (London, 1915).

selection of catalogues to study entirely at random, in no case rejecting any from my list because they happened to contain no Voltaire. For this reason, and for the further reason that most of the libraries included were small enough so that in all probability they reflected the personal interests of their owners,<sup>1</sup> I believe we are warranted in assuming that they furnish a basis for legitimate deductions as to the preferences of English readers during the period within which they were brought together.<sup>2</sup>

Such deductions must of course be made with due recognition of the geographical and social distribution of the owners of the libraries: what may be true of one region or of one section of society will not necessarily be true of the nation as a whole. In one respect the information which we may hope to extract from our documents is rather narrowly limited. Of the 218 libraries examined, the location of 118 is given in the catalogues: of these, 91 belonged to persons residing either in London or in the nearby counties of Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, Essex, Hertford, Sussex, Berks, Oxford, and Cambridge.<sup>3</sup> Probably, if we could know the provenience of the others, we should find that a similar proportion obtained among them also. In other words, it is evident that, for the most part, we have to do with an essentially metropolitan public, and that we can learn but little, from our sources, concerning the extent to which Voltaire was read by persons living in the more remote provincial areas. In another respect, however, the material at our disposal is more varied: we are not restricted to readers belonging to any one occupation or station in life. Clergymen, it is true, predominated: there were 59 of them, including a number of schoolmasters, several University professors and fellows, and one bishop. But other professions were represented as well—medicine by 21 libraries, the law by 12, the army and the stage by 2 each; and there was also a fairly large sprinkling

<sup>1</sup> The majority of them ranged in size from 300 to 2,000 items.

<sup>2</sup> All of them belonged to persons who died between 1754 and 1800. Many, no doubt, had been in process of formation for some time before that date; but it is to be remarked that of the 172 libraries containing Voltaire—over three-fourths of the whole number studied—all but 28 contained works published, and therefore purchased, after 1750.

<sup>3</sup> The remaining 27 were distributed as follows: Devonshire (1), Cornwall (1), Dorsetshire (1), Gloucestershire (2), Somersetshire (1), Wiltshire (1), Norfolk (3), Northamptonshire (3), Hampshire (1), Suffolk (1), Shropshire (2), Lincolnshire (1), Nottinghamshire (1), Leicestershire (1), Yorkshire (1), Durham (1), Scotland (2), Ireland (1), "the country" (2).

of government officials, Members of Parliament, etc. (17), of Fellows of the Royal Society (19, 6 of them counted under other heads), of writers and scholars (14), and of persons possibly best described as private gentlemen (26).<sup>1</sup> Only two classes, indeed—the higher nobles (2) and the bourgeoisie (5)—were present in too small numbers to give to the group as a whole the character of a thoroughly representative cross-section of the educated reading-public of the time.<sup>2</sup> Even without these two elements, however, the composition of the group is perhaps sufficiently heterogeneous to justify us in regarding any conclusions that we may reach concerning the demand for Voltaire's works among its members as representing with fair accuracy the general attitude of the intelligent public, at least in London and the immediately surrounding region.

It is clear, in the first place, that this demand was an extensive one, surprisingly extensive if we consider the many elements in Voltaire's work that were calculated to give offense to orthodox and respectable Englishmen of the type that was no doubt in a majority among the owners of our libraries. That no less than 172,<sup>3</sup> or 78 per cent, of these libraries, including those of 43 of the 59 clergymen, contained copies of one or more of his writings, is on the face of it a remarkable fact. Its full significance appears, however, only when the figures for Voltaire are placed beside similar statistics for other writers of the period whose popularity is well known. I have made calculations for the following six writers: Pope, represented in 115 libraries; Young (the *Works* and the *Night Thoughts*), in 62; Thomson, in 51; Rousseau, in 50; Gray, in 43; Helvétius, in 30 (out of 199); and *Ossian*, in 28 (out of 190). Even if we allow for the fact that the number of Voltaire's separate publications was much larger

<sup>1</sup> Of the 46 owners whose status is not described in the catalogues, a considerable number doubtless belonged to this class.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the distribution of the 500 libraries studied by M. Mornet (*loc. cit.*, pp. 453-54): "Haute noblesse: 62—Noblesse (sans titre spécifié): 34—Ecclésiastiques: 45—Magistrats: 29—Avocats: 43—Notaires: 8—Médecins . . . : 14—Académiciens: 16—Officiers: 2—Commerçant: 1—Peintre: 1—Architectes: 2—Fonctionnaires (Inspecteurs, secrétaires . . .): 74—Sans indications de profession: 63—Anonymes: 106." "Ce sont là, on pouvait n'en pas douter," he adds, "gens de bibliothèques, c'est-à-dire gens de loisirs et de loisirs studieux. . . Ainsi nous n'atteignons ni la province, puisque tous ces catalogues sont de Paris, ni la petite bourgeoisie, ni le peuple."

<sup>3</sup> When two or more libraries are joined in a single catalogue, I have counted more than one only when there are duplicate copies of particular works. This method is obviously bound to give rise to errors; the general results, however, would be practically the same were all such catalogues omitted.

than that of any of the others, the very general interest shown in him by the owners of our libraries remains none the less extraordinary.

Needless to say, this interest was less intense in some individuals than in others. Nevertheless, at least a dozen of the libraries had collections of Voltaire ranging from ten to twenty items. Two of the most interesting, because most varied, of these belonged respectively to the Rev. Benjamin Wheeler, Regius Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford (sold in 1783) and to George Merrick Ascough, of the Inner Temple (1800). In the first, out of a total of 2,007 works, ten were by or about Voltaire: *Le Philosophe ignorant* (1766),<sup>1</sup> a collection entitled *Original Pieces*, including the "Tryal of J. Calas" (1762), the *Traité sur la tolérance* (1763), the *Histoire de Charles XII* (1732), *Micromégas, avec une Histoire des Croisades* (1752), *L'Ingénu* (1767), *La Guerre civile de Genève* (1769), *La Défense de mon oncle* (1767), the *Histoire de la Guerre de 1741* (1756), and Mickle's *Voltaire in the Shades* (1770). The library of Ascough was smaller (982 items), but it was no less rich in Voltaire; on its shelves were *Micromégas* (1752), *La Pucelle d'Orléans* (1762), *Candide* (1759), two editions (1752 and 1780) of the *Siècle de Louis XIV*, the *Lettres philosophiques* (1736), the *Histoire de Charles XII* (1773), two volumes of *Romans et contes philosophiques* (1772), the *Essai sur les mœurs* (1773), the *Histoire de l'Empire de Russie* (1759), and three volumes of a Geneva edition of the *Oeuvres* (1768). Other individuals whose curiosity concerning Voltaire had led them to form especially large collections of his works were Edward Nourse, Senior Surgeon to St. Bartholomew's Hospital (1762), George Dowdeswell, M.D. (1775), the Rev. Michael Lort (1791), John Monro, M.D., Physician to Bethlehem Hospital (1792), and Edward Mason, Secretary to the Duke of Cumberland (1797).<sup>2</sup>

We have not, however, given an adequate impression of the popularity of Voltaire with the owners of our libraries when we have merely indicated its extent and intensity. It remains to analyze in detail the character of the demand, to inquire which of Voltaire's writings attracted our readers, and what was the relative diffusion of each.

<sup>1</sup> The dates in parentheses after the works mentioned in this paragraph are those given by the catalogues for the editions listed. Such indications are not always trustworthy.

<sup>2</sup> On Nourse, Lort, and Monro, see the notices in the *D.N.B.*

The list is a long and varied one. Excluding editions, partial or complete, of the collected works, one or more of which were to be found in 63 of the 218 libraries,<sup>1</sup> I have noted in all 48 separate titles, distributed as shown in the accompanying table.<sup>2</sup>

A few words will suffice to bring into relief the general facts established by this table.

1. Though all phases of Voltaire's production from 1719 to 1778—tragedy, epic poetry, criticism, science, history, romance, "philosophical" propaganda—were represented on the shelves of our libraries, it requires only a glance to see that interest in certain phases of his work was considerably more pronounced than in others. Several of the histories, the *Lettres philosophiques*, the *Henriade*, and *Candide*—these were evidently the writings by which he was best known. The favor shown to his histories is especially striking: four of them were among the seven most popular works on our list,<sup>3</sup> and no other single class of his works was represented in so many different libraries.<sup>4</sup> The reason doubtless was partly that the owners of these libraries shared in the widespread and growing taste for history characteristic of the period,<sup>5</sup> and partly that in the case of such productions as the

<sup>1</sup> Of the 77 copies of these, 54 belonged to editions in the original French, ranging in date from 1732 to 1785. The following is a list of them with the number of copies of each which I have found: 1732 (2), 1738 (5), 1739 (2), 1740 (4), 1742 (1), 1746 (2), 1748 (2), 1750 (1), 1751 (4), 1752 (1), 1756 (4), 1757 (6), \*1759 (1), \*1761 (1), 1764 (2), \*1765 (3), 1768 (4), 1775 (1), 1784 (1), 1785 (4), undated (3). For their contents see G. Bengesco, *Voltaire: bibliographie de ses œuvres*, IV (Paris, 1890), 1 ff. (The editions starred do not appear in Bengesco.) Of the 23 collections in English, all but 9 belonged to the comprehensive translation by Smollett and others (1761).

<sup>2</sup> In calculating the number of libraries in which these works are found, I have made use of a procedure devised by M. Mornet, and described by him as follows (*loc. cit.*, p. 459): "Les chiffres marquent le nombre de bibliothèques sur 500 où on les rencontre. Il y a d'ailleurs fallu faire une adaptation. Un catalogue de 1745 peut bien contenir le *Dictionnaire* de Bayle; il ne saurait renfermer la *Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761). Les totaux réels de nos fiches ne sont donc pas établis sur les mêmes moyennes. Nous avons alors calculé quelle était la proportion dans les catalogues qui, par leur date, pouvaient comprendre l'ouvrage étudié (100 exemplaires [i.e., occurrences] par exemple pour 200 bibliothèques: proportion 2). Nous avons supposé la même proportion théorique dans les catalogues hors de cause par leur date (20 catalogues, proportion 2 = 10). Nous avons ajouté le chiffre obtenu au chiffre réel (100 + 10 = 110). C'est ce total qui nous a servi. Dans tous les cas nous indiquons, pour contrôle, entre parenthèses, le chiffre réel des fiches. On verra que les modifications sont d'ailleurs de peu d'importance."

<sup>3</sup> How great a relative popularity this implies will perhaps appear from the following figures for certain other well-known eighteenth-century writings: Pope's *Works* (74 libraries), Pope's *Homer* (65), Young's *Night Thoughts* (35), Thomson's *Seasons* (32), Rousseau's *Nouvelle Héloïse* (24), Helvétius' *De l'Esprit* (20).

<sup>4</sup> One or more of the histories were listed in 134 catalogues; of these, 21 contained no other of Voltaire's works.

<sup>5</sup> On this see the *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, X (1913), 316-35.

*Histoire de Charles XII* and the *Siècle de Louis XIV*, if not of the *Essai sur les mœurs*, the "philosophical" intentions of Voltaire were not so obtrusive as to obscure his merits as historian and writer in

Work	Libraries	Copies
<i>Histoire de Charles XII</i> (1731) . . . . .	72	75 (36 Fr. + 35 Eng. + 4 uncertain)
<i>Siècle de Louis XIV</i> (1751) . . . . .	68	76 (46 Fr. + 30 Eng.)
<i>Lettres philosophiques</i> (1733-34) . . . . .	54	56 (22 Fr. + 34 Eng.)
<i>La Henriade</i> (1728) . . . . .	45	48 (40 Fr. + 8 Eng.)
<i>Candide</i> (1759) . . . . .	42 (38)	41 (28 Fr. + 13 Eng.)
<i>Histoire de la guerre de 1741</i> (1755) . . . . .	34	37 (20 Fr. + 17 Eng.)
<i>Essai sur les mœurs</i> (1753-54) . . . . .	31	40 (23 Fr. + 17 Eng.)
<i>La Pucelle d'Orléans</i> (1755) . . . . .	20	20 (19 Fr. + 1 Eng.)
<i>La Philosophie de Newton</i> (1738) . . . . .	18	19 (10 Fr. + 8 Eng. + 1 Ital.)
<i>Micromégas</i> (1752) . . . . .	16	16 (11 Fr. + 5 Eng.)
<i>Histoire de Russie</i> (1759) . . . . .	15 (14)	15 (9 Fr. + 6 Eng.)
<i>La Philosophie de l'histoire</i> (1765) . . . . .	15 (12)	12 (7 Fr. + 5 Eng.)
<i>Essay on the Civil Wars of France</i> (1727) . . . . .	13	15 (all Eng.)
<i>Traité sur la tolérance</i> (1763) . . . . .	13 (11)	11 (6 Fr. + 5 Eng.)
<i>Dictionnaire philosophique</i> (1764) . . . . .	11 (9)	10 (5 Fr. + 5 Eng.)
<i>Annales de l'Empire</i> (1753) . . . . .	10	10 (6 Fr. + 4 Eng.)
<i>Critical Essays on Dramatic Poetry</i> (1761) . . . . .	8 (7)	7 (all Eng.)
<i>L'Ingénu</i> (1767) . . . . .	6 (5)	5 (all Fr.)
<i>Zadig</i> (1747) . . . . .	5	6 (3 Fr. + 3 Eng.)
<i>L'Orphelin de la Chine</i> (1755) . . . . .	5	5 (4 Fr. + 1 Eng.)
<i>Le Taureau blanc</i> (1774) . . . . .	5 (4)	5 (2 Fr. + 3 Eng.)
<i>La Défense de mon oncle</i> (1767) . . . . .	5 (4)	4 (2 Fr. + 2 Eng.)
<i>Lettre ... à M. Hume</i> (1766) . . . . .	4 (3)	3 (2 Fr. + 1 Eng.)
<i>Le Philosophe ignorant</i> (1766) . . . . .	4 (3)	3 (2 Fr. + 1 Eng.)
<i>Questions sur l'Encyclopédie</i> (1770-72) . . . . .	3 (2)	2 (all Fr.)
<i>Prix de la justice</i> (1778) . . . . .	3 (2)	2 (all Fr.)
<i>Hérode et Marianne</i> (1725) . . . . .	2	2 (all Fr.)
<i>Essay on Epic Poetry</i> (1727) . . . . .	2	2 (all Eng.)
<i>Brutus</i> (1731) . . . . .	2	2 (all Fr.)
<i>Le Temple de goût</i> (1733) . . . . .	2	2 (all Eng.)
<i>Mahomet</i> (1742) . . . . .	2	2 (1 Fr. + 1 Eng.)
<i>Babouc</i> (1748) . . . . .	2	2 (all Eng.)
<i>Histoire des Croisades</i> (1752) . . . . .	2	2 (all Fr.)
<i>La Princesse de Babilone</i> (1768) . . . . .	2	2 (all Fr.)
<i>L'Homme aux quarante écus</i> (1768) . . . . .	2	2 (1 Fr. + 1 Eng.)
<i>Œdipe</i> (1719) . . . . .	1	1 (Fr.)
<i>Alzire</i> (1736) . . . . .	1	1 (Fr.)
<i>La Mort de César</i> (1736) . . . . .	1	1 (Fr.)
<i>Vie de Molière</i> (1739) . . . . .	1	1 (Fr.)
<i>Mérope</i> (1744) . . . . .	1	1 (Fr.)
<i>Catilina, ou Rome sauvée</i> (1752) . . . . .	1	1 (Fr.)
<i>Le Cantique des cantiques</i> (1759) . . . . .	1	1 (Fr.)
<i>Contes de Guillaume Vadé</i> (1764) . . . . .	1	1 (Fr.)
<i>Théâtre de Pierre Corneille</i> (1764) . . . . .	1	1 (Fr.)
<i>Les Questions de Zapata</i> (1767) . . . . .	1	1 (Fr.)
<i>La Guerre civile de Genève</i> (1768) . . . . .	1	1 (Fr.)
<i>Fragments sur l'Inde</i> (1773) . . . . .	1	1 (Fr.)
<i>La Bible enfin expliquée</i> (1776) . . . . .	1	1 (Fr.)

the eyes of a public that counted among its members a large number of country rectors and college dons.<sup>1</sup> It is also not difficult to account for the wide diffusion of the *Lettres philosophiques*, the subject-matter of which was calculated to appeal even more strongly to English readers than to French.<sup>2</sup> It is less easy perhaps to appreciate the reasons which induced one out of every five of those whose libraries I have examined to purchase the *Henriade*—the proportion was not much greater for Pope's *Homer*,<sup>3</sup> but it is not impossible when we recall the extraordinary enthusiasm which this work inspired during a whole century in France,<sup>4</sup> and bear in mind the high prestige enjoyed by the genre of the epic during the same period in England itself.<sup>5</sup> As for *Candide*, the only one of Voltaire's romances which had any appreciable vogue among our readers, the very general interest which Englishmen took in the controversy over optimism, combined with the widespread advertisement which the press gave the work on its appearance in 1759, is doubtless sufficient, even if we forget its intrinsic merits of substance and style, to explain its unusual success.<sup>6</sup> When we turn from these works to the other titles on our list, we cannot but be impressed by the very limited circulation which most of them had. Of the 27 tragedies written by Voltaire, I have noted only 9 in the catalogues examined, and of these the most popular, *L'Orphelin de la Chine*, appeared in only 5 libraries. A similar ill-fortune befell his critical writings on epic poetry and the drama, which were represented in no more than 11 libraries, and his comedies, which, at least in separate editions, were not represented at all. Still more striking, and certainly more significant, was the fate of the large body of writings—letters, dialogues, dictionaries, sermons, biographies, anecdotes—in which, especially after 1750, he conducted his tireless and witty offensive against the foes of enlightenment. Of most of these I have found no trace whatever; of the others, only a

<sup>1</sup> Of the 31 libraries containing the *Essai*, 6 belonged to clergymen. The proportions were somewhat higher for the *Charles XII* (21 out of 72) and for the *Siècle* (15 out of 68).

<sup>2</sup> As it seems, indeed, to have done, if we may judge from the fact that it was present in only 41 of M. Mornet's 500 libraries (*loc. cit.*, p. 465) as compared with 54 of my 218.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 266, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> See Mornet, *loc. cit.*, pp. 460, 464, and Bengesco, *op. cit.*, I, 99–114.

<sup>5</sup> See R. D. Havens, *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry* (1922), pp. 276–78.

<sup>6</sup> I propose to treat these and other matters relating to the fortunes of *Candide* in England in a later article.



comparatively few copies: the most popular seem to have been the *Traité sur la tolérance* (11 libraries) and the *Dictionnaire philosophique* (9 libraries).<sup>1</sup> There is of course nothing in this that need surprise us; aside from the fact that many of these works were addressed primarily to French readers and dealt with abuses that were less felt, even by radicals, in England than in France, it was only natural that a public in which clergymen formed the largest single element should have resisted the contagion of writings which, though perhaps no more dangerous to orthodox views than the *Essai sur les mœurs* or *Candide*, were certainly more shocking in tone and expression. Whatever the cause, the fact itself is clear: it was Voltaire the historian, Voltaire the epic poet, Voltaire the writer of tales, and not to any appreciable extent Voltaire the deist and religious critic, that aroused the interest of the Englishmen whose libraries we have been examining.

2. Another general fact revealed by the table is the relatively small part played by translations in the diffusion of Voltaire's writings among the particular group of readers represented by our libraries. English versions were available for at least 31 of the 48 works on the list; for only 6 of these, however, did the number of English copies exceed that of copies in the original; in several cases—the *Siècle de Louis XIV*, the *Henriade*, *La Pucelle*, *Micromégas*—the greater popularity of the French texts is particularly notable. The same situation appears when we consider the composition of individual collections; only 31 of these were made up exclusively of translations, as compared with 56 which had copies only in French.<sup>2</sup>

3. Finally, it is interesting to observe—though the point does not appear in the table itself—that in the case of a majority of the works on our list, only a few of the copies found in the libraries belonged to editions dating later than the year of original publication. Of some works, it is true, there were no later editions; but even if we disregard

<sup>1</sup> The total number of libraries containing works of this class was only 30.

<sup>2</sup> As to the provenience of the French copies, it is perhaps a fact deserving note, as throwing light on a question that has frequently been discussed—namely, the significance of "Londres" on the title-page of an eighteenth-century French work—that a large proportion of them—93 out of the 231 whose place of publication is indicated in the catalogues—belonged to editions bearing a London imprint. It does not follow of course that all of these editions were printed primarily for the English market, but apparently this was the case more often than has been supposed.

these, the fact remains none the less striking. For example, of the 46 copies of the French text of the *Siècle de Louis XIV* (1751), only 9 were later than 1752, and these were comprised in four editions, dating 1753 (5 copies), 1769 (2), 1780 (1), and 1788 (1); according to Bengesco, however, the work was also printed in 1764, 1765, 1768, 1770, 1771, 1774, 1777, and 1798.<sup>1</sup> The cases of the *Henriade* (1728) and of *Candide* (1759), both of them productions which ran through numerous editions,<sup>2</sup> are even more interesting. Of the former, only 9 out of 40 copies, and of the latter, only 3 out of 28—the figures refer to the French texts—belonged to editions printed later than the year of first publication. In interpreting these facts, we must not forget of course that many of these works could be read also in one or more of the various collected editions of Voltaire, numerous copies of which, as has been seen, were to be found in our libraries. Nevertheless, it is perhaps safe to conclude that though Voltaire's successive productions found a ready market in England on their first appearance, the demand for particular works fell off sharply as soon as novelty had ceased to be an element in their appeal.

Such are the main results of our inquiry so far as it concerns the writings of Voltaire himself. To make the story complete, we should perhaps add to these the fairly numerous works in which Voltaire was the object, sometimes of eulogy, but more often of criticism and abuse. I have noted 19 of these, scattered through 24 libraries. The list includes the *Voltaireana* of Trevenol and Mannory (1748; 3 libraries), Villaret's *Esprit de M. de Voltaire* (1759; 1 library), Nonnotte's *Erreurs de Voltaire* (1762; 2 libraries), Mickle's *Voltaire in the Shades* (1770: 4 libraries), Sabatier de Castres' *Tableau philosophique de l'esprit de M. de Voltaire* (1771; 2 libraries), and Condorcet's *Vie de Voltaire* (1787; 1 library).

It is perhaps unnecessary, in conclusion, to dwell upon the limitations of the method of research by which these results have been obtained. That our generalizations are applicable only to certain sections of the English public, that the figures given for particular

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 340-54.

<sup>2</sup> For the *Henriade*, see Bengesco, I, 99-114; for *Candide*, see the edition by André Morize (Paris, 1913), pp. lxxvi-lxxiv.

works have only a relative value,<sup>1</sup> that in order to reach completely representative results, even within these limits, it would be necessary to examine a great many more catalogues than I have been able to do, and that even under the best of conditions we could not be justified in assuming that the owners of the libraries had actually read the works of Voltaire which they possessed, to say nothing of having read them with admiration or approval—all this is obvious enough. Nevertheless, after all such deductions are made, we are, I believe, warranted in attaching some value to the testimony of over two hundred catalogues selected entirely at random, and in concluding that the impression which they give of the diffusion of Voltaire's works in England during the second half of the eighteenth century is, in its main features at least, a true one.

#### CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF LIBRARIES EXAMINED<sup>2</sup>

**1754.** \*Rev. George Henry Rooke, Master of Christ's College, Cambridge. \*Richard Mead, M.D. \*An anonymous library (S.-C. 375. [1.]). **1755.** \*Henry Fielding. \*William Benson, Auditor of H. M. Imprest. \*Rev. John Mall, Master of the School at Bishop-Storford, Herts, and two other gentlemen (2). **1756.** Rev. Lees Ward, Rector of Holton. Rev. John Mickleborough, Rector of Landbeach. \*Martin Folkes, President of the Royal Society. **1757.** \*Rev. Martin Challis, of Hillington, Norfolk. \*Battista Gastaldi, Resident from the Republic of Venice. **1758.** Rev. Thomas Lipyeatt. **1759.** \*Rev. Mr. Sturgeon, Cambridge (?). \*Thomas Nutting, Alderman and Justice of the Peace, Cambridge, and the Rev. Mr. Nicholson, Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge (1). \*J. Thomas. \*Joseph Clarke, D.D., Rector of Long-Ditton, Surrey. \*Lomax Martyn, Serjeant-at-Law, and Henry Thomas Carr, Esq. (2). **1760.** \*Rev. Jacob Omer, Vicar of Margate, Kent, and Rev. John Colson, Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge (2). \*Andrew Peter DuPont, Merchant of Bucklersbury. \*Two Cambridge libraries (S.-C., 375. [9.]) (1). Thomas

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mornet, *loc. cit.*, p. 453: "Enfin, s'il est le plus souvent hasardeux d'accorder à ces chiffres une valeur *absolue* et d'affirmer la signification des 56 bibliothèques où se rencontre un ouvrage de Ronsard, il rest qu'ils ont une valeur *relative*, qu'ils sont comparables entre eux, puisque les mêmes raisons d'erreur se rencontrent de l'un à l'autre. C'est à ces indications relatives que nous nous en tiendrons presque toujours."

<sup>2</sup> In this list an asterisk shows that the library in question contained one or more works of Voltaire. When several libraries are grouped in one catalogue, I have indicated by a figure in parentheses the number of libraries which I have counted in figuring my totals (see note 3 on page 264, above). I have added British Museum press-marks for a few anonymous libraries whose identity would not otherwise be clear.

Heath, Exeter. Joseph Ames, F.R.S. **1761.** \*Smart Lethieullier, Esq. Aldersbroke, Essex. \*Alexander Hume Campbell, Lord Register of Scotland. **1762.** \*Dr. Robert Taylor, F.R.S., one of His Majesty's physicians. \*Rev. Dr. Naylor, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Clerk of the House of Commons. \*Edward Nourse, Senior Surgeon at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. \*George Humphreys, Surgeon. \*Sir James Colebrooke, Bart. \*Richard Davies, M.D., Bath. \*James Ralph and Uvedale Price (1). \*Rev. Thomas Hayter, Bishop of London. **1763.** \*Oliver St. John, F.R.S. \*Rev. John Savage, Vicar of Clothall, Herts, and Rev. Savage Tyndall, Vicar of Barking, Essex, and Fellow of All-Soul's College, Oxford (2). \*Humphrey Edwin, Esq. \*Augustine Erle, Esq., and R. Reynolds, Esq., Hertford (2). **1764.** \*Rev. John Dalton, Rector of St. Mary's Hill, London, and Prebendary of Worcester. \*John Wilkes, Esq. \*Richard Mead, Esq., Albemarle Street. \*Jacob Robinson, Ludgate Street, bookseller (his private library). \*John Hutton, St. Paul's Churchyard. \*William Young, Esq. **1765.** George Parker, Earl of Macclesfield. \*Joseph Harris, Assay Master of the Mint. \*Dr. Joseph Letherland, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians. \*Rev. Edward Townshend, Dean of Norwich. \*Hon. Horatio Townshend. \*Sir John Bernard, Rev. Dr. Simpson, Vicar of St. George's in the East, Dr. Middleton, Bristol, and Dr. Ross (4). **1766.** \*David Mallet. \*Benjamin Clements, "an eminent Nursery Man at Isleworth." \*Rev. Samuel Chandler, F.R.S. Ebenezer Mussell, Bethnal Green. \*John Baber, Esq., Sunning-Hill Park. **1767.** \*Dr. John Hadley, Physician to the Charter-House. \*An anonymous library (S.-C.S. 7. [2.]). \*Montagu Brooke, York. **1768.** John Anstis, Garter King at Arms. John Anstis, Jr., Garter King at Arms. **1769.** \*Robert Hoblyn, Nanswhyden, Cornwall (see also under **1778**). **1770.** \*Philip Stanhope, Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of Dresden. \*Rev. Cornelius Humphreys, Chaplain to the Tower. **1771.** \*Phillip Carteret Webb, Esq. Rev. Dr. Gregory Sharpe, Master of the Temple. **1772.** \*Benjamin Stillingfleet, Esq. \*Henry Baker, F.R.S. \*Rev. Mr. Beighton, Egham. \*Robert Wood, Esq. John Canton, F.R.S. **1773.** \*A general officer. **1774.** \*Richard Morley, Counsellor-at-Law. \*Phillip Miller, F.R.S. \*Oliver Goldsmith (in James Prior, *The Life of Oliver Goldsmith*, London, 1837, II, 577-84). **1775.** \*Anthony Askew, M.D. \*Rev. Christopher Twynihoe, Turnworth, Dorset. \*Rev. Spencer Cowper, Dean of Durham. \*George Dowdeswell, M.D. \*Nathaniel Templeman, Esq., Lincoln's Inn. **1776.** \*John Walcot, Esq. \*Edward Stanley, Secretary to the Customs. \*A gentleman (S.-C. S. 10. [2.]). \*Rev. Caesar De-Missy. \*Dr. John Campbell (author of the *Political Survey of Great Britain*). Richard Blyke, Deputy Auditor of H. M. Imprest. **1777.** John Ives, F.R.S. John Ives, Jr., F.R.S. \*A gentleman (S.-C. S. 11. [1.]). \*Rev. Edward Harwood. \*Arthur Villetes, Minister to Switzerland. \*George Lewis, F.R.S. \*John Norris,

Hempstead, Kent. \*A gentleman (joined to the library of John Ives). 1778. \*Robert Hoblyn (see under 1769). \*Rev. Bernard Wilson, Vicar of Newark-upon-Trent and Prebendary of Worcester, and a gentleman (2). A gentleman (S.-C. S. 13. [1.]). 1779. \*John Grant, Baron of the Exchequer in Scotland. \*John Simmons, Leicester. 1780. \*Rev. Philip Furneaux. Thomas Tofield. 1781. \*George Scott, Woolston-Hall, Essex. \*John Fothergill, M.D. 1782. \*Peter Dore, Norroy King at Arms, and another gentleman (1). \*Rev. Egerton Leigh, Archdeacon of Salop. \*Robert Cary. \*Thomas Wilbraham, M.D., F.R.S. 1783. \*Rev. Benjamin Wheeler, Regius Professor of Divinity, Oxford. \*Rev. Thomas Billio. \*Rev. Marshall Montague Merrick. \*Anselm Yates Bailly. \*Mr. Beauzeville. 1784. Rev. Edward Betham, Rector of Greenford, Middlesex. \*John Upton, F.R.S. ("brought from his House in Woodstock Street"). \*Rev. William Stafford Done, Archdeacon of Bedford, and another gentleman (2). 1785. \*Rev. Walter Harte, Canon of Windsor, and Ralph Bigland, Garter King at Arms (1). \*Rev. John Chapman, Archdeacon of Sudbury. \*John Stuart, Third Earl of Bute. \*A gentleman from Northamptonshire. 1786. \*Thomas White, Barrister-at-Law. \*Samuel Street. \*Caleb Jeacocke, Denmark Street, Soho, and Robert Bloomfield, M.D., F.R.S. (1). \*John Lewis Petit, M.D., F.R.S. \*Edward Wynne, Esq., Little Chelsea. \*Andrew Coltee Ducarel, F.S.A. Jonathan Toup, M.A. Rev. William Robertson. 1787. \*Rev. Mr. Edwards, of Jesus College, Oxford, and Rector of Peterstone. \*T. Egerton. Rev. Edmund Barrell, Sutton, Kent. 1788. \*Rev. Edmund Bettesworth. \*Rev. John Glen King, F.R.S., and John Baynes, Barrister of Gray's Inn (1). \*Floyer Sydenham. \*Rev. William Martin, Killishandra, Ireland. \*Robert Tomlinson, Senior Physician to Guy's Hospital. 1798. \*Rev. Zachary Brooke, Rector of Forncet, Norfolk. \*Edward Jacob, Esq., F.S.A. \*Edward Archer, M.D., Physician to the Small-Pox Inoculating Hospital, Pancras. \*Rev. Mr. Williams, Rector of Harlington, Middlesex, and another gentleman (2). 1790. \*Circulating Library, Stamford (900. g. 29. [3.]). \*Adam Smith (in *Catalogue of the Library of Adam Smith*, London, 1894). \*Rev. William Sellon and S. Chapman, M.D. (1). \*Gustavus Brander, F.R.S. ("brought from his Seat at Christ-Church, Hants"). 1791. \*Sir Hildebrand Jacob. Rev. Dr. Warde. \*Rev. Michael Lort, F.R.S. \*Rev. John Hadley Swain and Josiah Beckwith, Attorney-at-Law (1). \*A Divine of the Church of England ("brought from the country"). 1792. \*Rev. John Towne, Archdeacon of Stowe, and another gentleman (2). \*Edward Umfreville, Barrister-at-Law, and John Landen, F.R.S. (2). \*John Monro, M.D., Physician to Bethlehem Hospital. Richard Heaton, Barrister-at-Law. 1793. \*Francis Robinson, Esq., Wanstead, Essex, and another gentleman (1). 1794. \*Richard Pryce, Surgeon, Shrewsbury. \*Rev. William Williams, Vicar of Marden. \*William Chafin Grove, Esq., Zeals, Wiltshire. Barak Longmate, Engraver, Soho.

**1795.** Thomas Strong, F.A.S. \*Two gentlemen (1). \*Rev. Robert Robinson, Chesterton, and another gentleman (1). \*A gentleman of Kent (S.-C. S. 27. [4.]). Rev. Richard Southgate, Rector of Warsop. Thomas Allen, Esq. **1796.** \*Mr. Leathes, Apothecary, George Street, Hanover Square. \*George Harris, LL.D. \*William Gerard Hamilton, Secretary of State in Ireland. A gentleman (S.-C. S. 29. [4.]). **1797.** \*Rev. Matthew Field, Prebend of St. Paul's. \*James William Dodd, of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. \*Edward Mason, Secretary to the Duke of Cumberland. \*Edward Bearcroft, F.A.S., Barrister-at-Law. A clergyman (S.-C. S. 30. [4.]). Edmund Thomas Warren Horne. \*Rev. Arthur Willis, Rector of Tewing, Herts, and Rev. William Wilmott, Rector of Digswell, Herts (1). **1798.** Naphthali Franks, Mortlake. \*Thomas Chauntrell, Highbury Place, Islington. \*Edward Wortley Montagu. Mr. Frost, Barrister-at-Law. \*Rev. Richard Farmer, F.R.S., F.A.S. **1799.** \*George Mason, Esq. \*John Brampston, Northamptonshire. \*Mr. Boyd. \*Mr. Morris ("brought from the country"). Rev. Richard Price. \*Mr. Hatfield ("a gentleman in the army, going abroad"). \*Richard Bigland, Esq., Gloucestershire. E. Gregory, Esq. \*Thomas Rokeby, Esq., Northamptonshire, and Mr. Pyle, Surgeon (1). \*Felix Vaughan, Barrister-at-Law. **1800.** \*Joseph Mainwaring, F.R.S. \*George Merrick Ascough, of the Inner Temple. \*A gentleman (S.-C. S. 35. [10.]). \*Rev. Thomas Bowen, Chaplain of Bridewell Hospital. \*George Steevens, F.R.S., F.S.A. **1807.** \*Isaac Reed. **1823.** \*David Garrick (d. 1779).

RONALD S. CRANE

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

## SOME SOURCES FOR THE *MERY TALES*, *WITTIE QUESTIONS*, AND *QUICKE ANSWERES*

In his *Die Englischen Schwankbücher bis herab zu "Dobson's Drie Bobs"* (1607) (Berlin, 1912) Schulz gives a list of the sources of the *Mery Tales* (ca. 1535) so far as they had been discovered. The list is compiled wholly from the researches of de Vocht, Stiefel, and others.<sup>1</sup> The purpose of this article is to point out the correct sources of five or six stories which, so far as I know, have not yet been traced.

Regarding Tale 111, *Of Titus and the iester*, Stiefel remarks that since the story begins with "Suetonius sheweth," the compiler must have known Suetonius, and since Barlandus, telling the anecdote in his *Ioci*, adds a scholion which contains the quotation from Martial, Barlandus also was used. De Vocht, too, says that "beyond doubt . . . he (the compiler) could derive his tale 111 . . . only from Barlandus's *jocus* and its scholion."<sup>2</sup>

The story appears in the *Mery Tales* as follows:

Suetonius sheweth that Titus the father prouoked a scoffer, that stode iesting with euery body, that he shulde lyke wyse saye somewhat to hym; I woll, sayde the scoffer, after ye haue done youre easement. He iested at the emperour's countenance, he loked alway as one that streyned hym selfe.

On suche a visaged man writeth Martiall.

Utere lactucis ac mollibus utere malvis,  
Nam faciem durum Phoebe cacantis habes.

For this tale, however, the compiler did not need to go to Barlandus and combine the anecdote there with its scholion, for he found the

<sup>1</sup> Schulz, pp. 30-31; H. de Vocht, *De Invloed van Erasmus op de Engelsche Tooneel-literatuur der XVI. en XVII. Eeuwen*, Ghent, 1908; *Anglia*, XXXIII, 120 ff. (1910); A. L. Stiefel, *Anglia*, XXXI, 453 ff. (1908). The assigning of a share in Tale 67 to the *Mensa Philosophica* is perhaps Schulz's original contribution, as I do not find authority for it elsewhere; if so, it is his only one. In two or three cases Schulz implies certainty where proof is impossible.

<sup>2</sup> Stiefel, *Anglia*, XXXI, 504; De Vocht, *Anglia*, XXXIII, 125.

complete story ready to his hand in the work from which he took most of his other stories, the *Apophthegmata* of Erasmus:<sup>1</sup>

Huic simillimum est quod de Vespasiano patre narrat Suetonius, quum scurram multa in alios iacentem, provocasset ut in se quoque diceret aliquid; Dicam, inquit, ubi ventrem exonerare desieris: alludens ad formam Caesaris, qui faciem habebat nitentis. In cuiusmodi iocus exstat Martialis:

Utere lactucis ac mollibus utere malvis,  
Nam faciem durum Phoebe cacantis habes.

De Vocht and Stiefel and Schulz<sup>2</sup> accept the *Apophthegmata*<sup>3</sup> as the source of Tale 135. But there is another version in the *Adagia*,<sup>4</sup> and a comparison of the two Latin versions with the English shows that the *Adagia* was the source. There is no need of quoting more than the three phrases which serve as evidence.

In the first place, where the *Mery Tales* has "Agesilaus king of the Lacedaimonians . . . . Tachas the kyng of Egipt," the *Adagia* has "Tachas Rex Aegyptiorum . . . . Agesilaum Lacedaemoniorum Regem"; the *Apophthegmata* has only "Agesilaus in Aegyptum . . . . Tacho Regi."

Secondly, where the English has "beynge offended wyth his saying," the *Apophthegmata* has nothing, and the *Adagia* version has "dicto offensus."

Finally, where the English has "it chaunced through a sedycion that arose amonge the Aegyptians," the *Apophthegmata* has only "regno pulsus," and the *Adagia* has "evenit ut exorta seditione apud Aegyptios."

Regarding Tale 137, de Vocht<sup>5</sup> quoted the *Apophthegmata* version of the anecdote, and part of it as told again in the *Lingua*: "Caesar delectatus eo dicto, complexus hominem, Adhuc, inquit, te mihi est opus, annum etiamnum apud se detinuit, ut eo magistro disceret silentium." Stiefel and Schulz accept the *Apophthegmata* story as the source. De Vocht's quotation from the *Lingua* contains a phrase, "ut eo magistro disceret silentium," to which nothing in the *Apophthegmata* corresponds—and the *Mery Tales* has "to

<sup>1</sup> Erasmus *Opera* iv. 300 F.

<sup>2</sup> De Vocht, *De Invloed*, etc., p. 69; Stiefel, p. 511; Schulz, p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> *Opera* iv. 104 C.

<sup>4</sup> *Opera* ii. 339 C.

<sup>5</sup> De Vocht, *De Invloed*, etc., pp. 55-56. The *Apophthegmata* anecdote is in *Opera* iv. 206 B.



teache hym the arte to keepe sylence." But it is on the face of it highly improbable that the compiler would add to his story one phrase from another book, and the improbability becomes certainty in view of the fact that a complete version of the tale occurs in the *Adagia*.<sup>1</sup>

First of all, the *Adagia* supplies the original of the English phrase quoted above—"Quo auditō respondit, sibi illo adhuc opus esse, quo disceret & tacendi artem."

The morals of the English and *Apophthegmata* versions are quite different. The former is this:

By this tale we maie perceyue, that of al things a prince, a ruler, a judge, ought speycially to eschewe wrathe. For the morall booke sayeth: Anger troubleth the mynde, that it cannot discerne the truth. And Seneca wryteth, that slowe tarryinge doeth profite in nothyng but in wrathe.

The *Apophthegmata* moral is as follows:

Sive approbans Philosophi dictum, quod tutum esset iram premere ne prorumpat in verba: sive sentiens, Philosopho profuturum fuisse, si hoc dictum non addidisset jam abiturus. Quamquam tam salubris admonitio magnificum aliquod praeium merebatur.

Thus the *Apophthegmata* moral has no application of the story to princes and rulers. In the *Adagia*, however, Erasmus is telling the story as an illustration of the proverb *Festina lente*, and in the course of his long discussion he urges that rulers should not give way to haste and anger.

The third point is that on the same page of the *Adagia*, immediately before Erasmus tells the anecdote, he quotes the Senecan maxim which is quoted in the English but is not in the *Apophthegmata*: "Seneca scripsit, nulli rei prodesse moram, nisi iracundiae."

Concerning Tale 136 de Vocht says:

For the story of Corax and Tisias . . . the compiler did not use a Greek model, but, as Stiefel presumes, a Latin translation, viz., the one by O. Luscinus in his *Ioci ac Sales* (no. xv., p. B<sub>3</sub>b). The first sentence, where Luscinus expounds the name κόραξ has not been rendered in English; nor have the last few lines where Luscinus explains the Greek answer κακοῦ κόρακος κακὸν ὄν and the vicious dilemma ἀντιστρέφον, of which he says that there is a second famous instance, of Protagoras and Euathlus, told by Aulus Gellius, and which he quotes in the next number (xvi) of these *Ioci ac Sales*. But for these sentences, the Latin and the English texts are identical.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Opera* II. 406 F.

<sup>2</sup> De Vocht, *Anglia*, XXXIII, 122.

But the compiler could have drawn upon a much more familiar source than Luscinius. As I have shown above, Tale 135 was taken from page 339 of the *Adagia*; on page 343 occurs the story of Corax and Tisias.<sup>1</sup> One can hardly avoid the belief that after taking Tale 135 from the *Adagia* the compiler ran his finger down two or three columns and came upon an anecdote which he decided to use as Tale 136. *Caeteris paribus*, that is much more probable than that he went to Luscinius.

This opinion is confirmed by a close comparison of the three versions; it is necessary to quote them in full, and significant corresponding words or phrases are numbered for the purpose of comparison.

*Mery Tales:*

A certayne man called Corar, determynd hym selfe for mede to teache the arte of Rhetorycke, with whom a yong man, named Tisias, couenanted on (1) *this wyse that he wold pay him his wages, whan he had perfectly learned the scyence.* So whan he had lerned the art, he made no haste to pay his teacher, wherfore hys mayster sued hym. *Whan* (2) *they came before the iudges,* the yonge man demaunded of hys mayster, what was (3) the effecte of the scyence? He aunswered: In reasonyng to perswade. Then go to (4), if I perswade these honourable iudges, that I owe you nothyng, I (5) *will pay you nothyng:* for you are cast in your action. And yf I cannot perswade them, than wil (6) *I pay you nothing,* because I haue not yet perfectly learned the art. Corar wrestyng the yonge mans owne argumente agaynst hym selfe, said: If thou perswade them, that thou oughteste me nothyng, than (accordyng to the couenant) thou must nedes pay me my wages: for thou haste the art perfectly. Now yf thou canst not perswade them: yet shalt thou pay mee my wages, because thou arte condemned by the Iudges' sentence to be my detour. . . ."

*Erasmus:*

Corax quidam primus Syracusis . . . instituit artem Rhetoricen mercede profiteri. Cum hoc adolescens Tisias hac (1) *lege* pactus est, ut tum demum mercedem persolveret, ubi jam artem perdidicisset. Dein ubi jam arte cognita, praemium reddere cunctaretur, Corax in jus discipulum vocat. Ibi (2) iuuenis huiusmodi dilemma proponit. Percontanti, quis esset (3) artis finis? ubi Corax respondisset, persuadere dicendo, Age (4), inquit, si persuadeo iudicibus, me nihil debere, non (5) *reddam*, quia vici causam; sin minus persuadeo, non (6) *reddam*, qui non perdidici artem. At Corax Tisiae dilemma tanquam vitiosum ἀντιστροφόν, in discipulum

<sup>1</sup> *Opera* ii. 343 F. Erasmus also gives in full the version which occurs in Aulus Gellius.

retorsit ad hunc modum: Imo, inquit, si persuades, dabis, quia tenes artem, debes ex pacto; sin minus, dabis, quia sententiis iudicum damnatus.

Luscinius:

Corax . . . . quidam Syracusis cepit artem rhetoricem mercede profiteri. Quo cum pactus adulescens quidam Tisias, ut tum demum persolveret mercedem, ubi artem plene didicisset. Deinde quum percepta disciplina Tisias differret in longum solutionem, Corax discipulum in ius trahit: at ille interrogat magistrum, quis illi (3) *videatur* artis finis. Respondit Corax, persuadere dicendo. *Igitur* (4), inquit Tisias, Si persuasero iudicibus nihil me tibi debere, *frustraberis* (5) *spe aliquid a me accipiendi*, quia causam vicerō. Sin minus persuasero, nihil *debebo*, (6) quia artem exacte non didici. At Corax dilemma hoc tanquam vitiosum in discipulum retorsit, his verbis. Si persuades, mercedem solves ex pacto, quia artem iam tenes. Sin minus, ex iudicum sententia debebis, quia ad solvendum condemnatus. . . .

Although these Latin versions are so much alike that one has to cavil on the ninth part of a hair, I think a comparison of corresponding expressions shows that the English was translated from Erasmus.

Stiefel thinks that Tale 63 was taken from the *Apophthegmata*<sup>1</sup> rather than from Aulus Gellius, Macrobius or Barlandus, because Tales 61 and 62 are from the *Apophthegmata*, and because of the supposed rendering of Erasmus' "Barbarico apparatu magnifice instructum" into the English "riche and sumptuous appaile." It seems, however, at least plausible that the compiler went directly to Aulus Gellius,<sup>2</sup> as he did in the case of Tale 21.

There is nothing in Erasmus corresponding to the English "Whan kynge Antiochus had prepared to make warre to the Romainys . . . ."; Aulus Gellius has "copias ingentes quas bellum populo Romano facturus comparaverat." Moreover the rendering of the very phrase which Stiefel regards as a translation of Erasmus seems to me to point to Gellius.

The *Mery Tales*: "So they shewed and mustred, . . . . of whose ryche and sumptuous armour and appaile al the felde *glistered and shone*."

Erasmus: ". . . . suum exercitum Barbarico apparatu magnifice instructum. . . ."

Gellius: ". . . . exercitum insignibus argenteis et aureis florentem; inducebat etiam currus cum falcibus et elephantos cum turribus equitatumque frenis, ephippiis, monilibus, phaleris *praeifulgentem*."

<sup>1</sup> Opera iv. 256 D.

<sup>2</sup> Noctes Atticae v. 5.

The source of the moral of Tale 21 has not, I think, been noticed by anyone, and may be added here. There is a discourse on the evils of a wagging tongue, in which the "prudent" Hesiod is quoted as having said: "The tongue shulde not ronne at large, but be hydde as a precious treasure." This does not indicate an acquaintance with Hesiod, but only a little further knowledge of Aulus Gellius, who writes in another place:<sup>1</sup>

Quapropter Hesiodus, poetarum prudentissimus, linguam non vulgandam, sed recondendam esse dicit proinde ut thesaurum, eiusque esse in promendo gratiam plurimam, si modesta et parca et modulata sit:

γλώσσης τοι θησαυρὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἀριστος,  
φειδωλῆς πλείστη δὲ χάρις κατὰ μέτρον ἰούσης.

That this saying came from Gellius is clear from the compiler's use of the word "prudent," and from the fact that, though he has a "crib" before him, he translates not Hesiod's Greek, but Gellius's Latin—in itself a sufficient indication that he was no Grecian.

In view of the evidence, therefore, it may be regarded as certain that Tale 111 was not taken from Barlandus but from the *Apophthegmata* of Erasmus, that Tales 135, 136, 137, were taken from the *Adagia*, and that the moral of Tale 21 came from Aulus Gellius. Of Tale 63 one can only say that it seems probable that it was taken from Aulus Gellius and not from Erasmus.

De Vocht and Schulz gave the *Adagia* as the source of only one tale (105). If this were so it would be rather odd, since Erasmus was a particular favorite of the compiler, and a very large proportion of the anecdotes which make up the *Mery Tales* were taken from the *Apophthegmata*, the *Colloquies*, the *Lingua*, and the *Epistolae*. The *Adagia* was one of Erasmus's most popular works—ninety-eight editions were issued before 1550—and it is only natural to find some of its very suitable material in a jest-book. The three tales which have been shown to be from the *Adagia* (135–137) belong to the supplementary series of stories which first appeared in an edition of the *Mery Tales* between 1547 and 1553.<sup>2</sup>

DOUGLAS BUSH

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

<sup>1</sup> *Noctes* i. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Stiefel (*Anglia*, XXXI, 516) showed that there must have been an edition before the known one of 1567.

## PURPOSE IN THE WRITING OF HISTORY<sup>1</sup>

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In his *Defence of Poetry* (ca. 1583) Sir Philip Sidney writes that the historian "denieth in a great chafe, that any man for teaching of vertue, and vertuous actions is comparable to him." The historian, Sidney continues, bases his claim to superiority, upon the belief that, by concrete examples, he can present to his readers the cumulative experience of the ages. Philosophy, like history, has the definite purpose of teaching moral lessons; and since these two subjects are complementary, "the one giveth the precept, and the other the example." Sidney himself, however, is interested primarily in presenting the poet's claim, and he argues that the poet most effectively accomplishes the function of both history and philosophy: "hee coupleth the general notion with the particular example."<sup>2</sup>

In this study I am concerned, not with the comparative merits of history, philosophy, and poetry, but only with the function of history as noted by Sidney. The accepted purpose of history was to teach virtue by furnishing to the individual examples for imitation or for warning. This conception Sidney sets forth clearly; and in so doing he simply states a convention of long standing. My purpose in this paper is to discuss the origin, the persistence, and the influence of this convention, with especial regard to the English chroniclers and historians. Finally, I hope to suggest how this persistent classical tradition hindered the correct representation and interpretation of fact in history, and artistic workmanship in literature.

The theory of purpose in the writing of history is of Greek origin. At the beginning of Book i of his history (ca. 440 B.C.),<sup>3</sup> Herodotus

<sup>1</sup> For many suggestions and criticisms in the preparation of this paper, I am indebted to Professors J. M. Manly and C. R. Baskervill, of the University of Chicago.

<sup>2</sup> Sidney, *Defence of Poetry*, reprinted from Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I (Oxford, 1902), 162-63.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus' history, translated by Rawlinson, reprinted in Dent's Everyman's Library (1910). For the views of the ancients concerning the use of history, see Bury, *The Ancient Greek Historians* (New York, 1909), pp. 242-59.

writes, "This is the showing forth of the Inquiry of Herodotus of Halicarnassos, to the end that neither the deeds of men may be forgotten by lapse of time, nor the works great and marvellous, which have been produced, some by Hellenes and some by Barbarians, may lose their renown. . . ." The aim to furnish examples that may be profitable to his readers seems to me to be implicit in these lines, even as there was an implied purpose in the writing of Greek tragedy.

It is certain, however, that the successors of Herodotus in the writing of Greek history, not only implied, but definitely stated a moral purpose. At the beginning of his general history (ca. 146 B.C.) Polybius speaks of "the knowledge of past events" as affording "the best instructions for the regulation and good conduct of human life." "But," he continues, "as the greater part, or rather all of them [the historians] have taken every occasion to declare, repeating it, as we may say, from one end of their writings to the other, that history supplies the only proper discipline to train and exercise the minds of those who are inclined to enter into public affairs, and that the evil accidents which are there recorded to have befallen other men contain the wisest and most effectual lessons for enabling us to support our own misfortunes with dignity and courage, there is little need to repeat again what others have so often urged with eloquence and force."<sup>1</sup>

It is obvious from these lines that the purpose-formula had become a convention by the time of Polybius. But it remained for Diodorus Siculus (ca. 60 B.C.) to give the most elaborate expression of all the Greek historians of the moral purpose in the writing of history.

In the Preface to *The Historical Library*,<sup>2</sup> Diodorus refers to history as a study which is both profitable and pleasurable, a "preserver of the virtues of worthy men," and a means of furnishing "experience without hazard to the individual." At the beginning of Volume II of the same work, Diodorus writes, "Having, throughout the whole work, used the common and accustomed liberty of an historian, we have both praised the good, and condemned the bad, as they have fallen in our way, to the end that those whose genius and inclination prompts them to virtue may be the more encouraged to noble actions,

<sup>1</sup> *The General History of Polybius* (in five books), translated from the Greek by J. Hampton (London, 1811), p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *The Historical Library of Diodorus, the Sicilian* (in fifteen books), translated by G. Booth (London, 1814), 2 vols. Preface, I, viii ff.

*in hopes of having the glory of their names continued to all succeeding generations; and on the other hand that they who are bent to wickedness may be curbed and restrained from the heat, at least, of their impiety, by those marks of dishonour and disgrace fixed upon them.*"<sup>1</sup>

The claims of Diodorus in the Preface of his work become the conventional claims of later chroniclers in Italy and in England. He insists that his history is designed to offer both profit and pleasure; that it affords to the individual the vicarious experience of the ages; and that it furnishes abundant examples for moral guidance.

In connection with the Greek historians Plutarch (ca. 55–120 A.D.) ought to be mentioned. In the *Parallel Lives of Famous Greeks and Romans* he covers almost the whole history of Greece and Rome from legendary times to his own day, though the biographical and moral purpose is uppermost. "It must be borne in mind," he says in his life of Alexander the Great, "that my design is not to write histories but lives. And the most glorious exploits do not always furnish us with the clearest discoveries of virtue or vice in men."<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, therefore, gave "particular attention to the marks and indications of the souls of men." In the life of Pericles Plutarch writes, "*Moral good is a practical stimulus; it is no sooner seen than it inspires an impulse to practice; and influences the mind and character, not by a mere imitation which we look at, but, by the statement of the fact, creates a moral purpose which we form . . . and so we have thought fit to spend our time and pains in writing of the lives of famous persons. . . .*"<sup>3</sup> In the life of Aristides,<sup>4</sup> in the comparison of Alcibiades and Coriolanus,<sup>5</sup> and in fact in all his Works, Plutarch's ethical purpose is evident.

His influence was powerful. He was not only a source for much information of the historians and chroniclers from the second century on, but he appealed strongly to the Renaissance writers of England, who found in him examples of historical characters that would serve for imitation or for warning.

Among the Roman historians the moral theory in the writing of history is exemplified in the works of Livy, Paternulus, and Tacitus.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Plutarch's Lives* (Dryden's translation revised by Clough), *The Harvard Classics*, Vol. XII, Preface.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 193.

In the Preface to his history of Rome (ca. 10 B.C.), Livy writes, ". . . . To the following considerations I wish every one seriously and earnestly to attend; by what kind of men, and by what sort of conduct, in peace and war, the empire has been both acquired and extended. . . . *This is the great advantage to be derived from the study of history; indeed the only one which can make it answer any profitable and salutary purpose; for being abundantly furnished with clear and distinct examples of every kind of conduct, we may select for ourselves, and for the state to which we belong, such as are worthy of imitation; and, carefully noting such, as, being dishonorable in their principles, are equally so in their effects, learn to avoid them.*"<sup>1</sup>

Paterculus wrote his Roman history<sup>2</sup> (30 A.D.) largely from the biographical point of view. In his history men are commended or blamed for good or evil deeds. Referring to the death of Calpurnia (Bk ii, p. 139), Paterculus writes, ". . . her virtue makes her eminent; her country is unknown." He praises the virtues of Cnaeus Pompeius (Bk ii, pp. 146 ff.). In one chapter (chap. 116, p. 386) he gives a catalogue of eminent men who had taken part in the wars, concluding thus, "If any man shall say that I have sought an occasion of making mention of these men, he shall charge one that doth willingly confess it; for a just clearness without falsehood among good men will never be called a crime" (pp. 388-89). To a summary of the virtues of Tiberius Caesar, Paterculus devotes a chapter (chap. 126), concluding, ". . . for the excellent Prince by doing well himself doth teach his subjects, and being greatest in power, yet by his example greater" (p. 416). The purpose of perpetuating the memory of great Romans whose lives would serve as examples was undoubtedly in the mind of the historian.

<sup>1</sup> *The History of Rome* (ca. 10 B.C.) by Titus Livius, translated from the original with notes and illustrations by George Baker (New York, 1855), 2 vols. Preface, I, 15-16. The Latin is as follows: ". . . . Ad illa mihi pro se quisque acriter intendat animum, quae vita, qui mores fuerint; per quos viros, quibusque artibus, domi militiaeque, et partum et auctum imperium sit; labente deinde paulatim disciplina, velut dissidentes primo mores sequatur animo; deinde ut magis magisque lapsi sint; tum ire coeperint praecipitis; donec ad haec tempora, quibus nec vitia nostra, nec remedia pati possumus, perventum est. Hoc illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli. documenta in illustri posita monumento intueri: inde tibi tuaeque rei publicae, quod imitere, capias; inde foedum inceptum, foedum exitum, quod vitare" (Titus Livius, *Selections*, ed. J. L. Lincoln, New York, 1854).

<sup>2</sup> C. Velleius Paterculus, *His Roman History in Two Books*, rendered into English by Sir Robt. Le Grys, Knight, London, 1632.



The element of moral purpose is likewise evident in the writings of Tacitus. In the beginning of his history (69 A.D.) he laments the chaos into which Rome had fallen as a result of her vices; then he continues, "And yet this melancholy period, barren as it was of public virtue, produced some examples of truth and honor." He then cites various examples.<sup>1</sup> When Galba is about to adopt Piso as an heir to the empire, he cites Nero as a warning, ". . . his own vices, his own cruelty, hurled him from his throne, no more to trample on the necks of mankind. In the first lines of the *Agricola*, Tacitus refers to the custom in ancient times of transmitting "to posterity the lives and characters of illustrious men." He approves the custom, and writes, "So true it is that the age which is most fertile in bright examples, is the best qualified to make a fair estimate of them." In the concluding remarks on *Agricola*, he writes, ". . . to emulate your bright example, will be the truest mark of our respect, the best tribute your family can offer.

The convention of moral purpose, with all that it implies, established by the Greek and Roman historians persisted steadily in England from the time of Bede well into the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> In the ecclesiastical history (*ca.* 731) Bede writes, ". . . sive enim historia de bonis bona referat ad imitandum bonum auditor sollicitus instigatur; seu mala commemoret de pravio, nichilominus religiosus ac pius auditor sive lector, devitando quod noxium est ac perversum ipse sollertius ad exsequenda ea quae bona ac Deo digna esse cognoverit accenditur."<sup>3</sup>

Of the English chroniclers who followed Bede and the classical historians in the use of the formula, examples are numerous. In the Preface of Henry of Huntingdon's *Chronicle* (1154) the author writes that in history are exhibited "the grandeur of heroic men, the wisdom of the prudent, the uprightness of the just, the moderation of the temperate." He concludes as follows: "*The attentive reader will learn in this work both what he ought to imitate and what he*

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, *Historical Works. The History, Germania, and Agricola*, translated by Arthur Murphy (London, J. M. Dent & Sons), 2 vols. II, 14.

<sup>2</sup> The idea appears in the letters of Bolingbroke in the eighteenth century (*Letters on the Study and Use of History* [London, 1779] I, 15, 20), and seems to have influenced Carlyle (Sartor Resartus, "Altemus Series," p. 188) in his conception of history.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Radulf de Diceto, *Abbreviationes Chronicorum*, 29. Cf. also English edition *Ecclesiastical History* (Preface), ed. Miller, 1890, E.E.T.S.

*ought to eschew; and if he becomes the better for this imitation and this avoidance, that is the fruit of my labors which I most desire; and in truth the direct path of history frequently leads to moral improvement.*"<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting to compare with this Preface a statement by William of Malmesbury (d. 1142), a contemporary of Huntingdon. Malmesbury writes, " . . . . For what more concerns the advancement of virtue; what more conduces to justice; than to recognize the divine favour toward good men, and his vengeance upon the wicked? *What, too, can be more grateful than to commit to the page of history, the exploits of brave men, by whose examples others may shake off their indolence, and take up arms in defence of their country.*"<sup>2</sup>

The Preface of Robert de Monte's Chronicle<sup>3</sup> (1186) contains an elaborate expression of the accepted purpose of history. This Preface, with slight changes in phraseology, was used by Roger of Wendover in his *Flores Historiarum* (1235), by Matthew Paris in the Prologue of his *Chronica Majora* (ca. 1259),<sup>4</sup> and in a *Flores Historiarum*<sup>5</sup> (1326) by various authors. This common Preface may be summarized as follows: What reply should be made to dull detractors who ask why there should be written records of the lives and deaths of men, and of the recollection of prodigies in heaven and earth? The answer is: "*Let them know that the good lives and virtuous manners of men of old time, are recorded to serve as patterns<sup>6</sup> for the imitation of*

<sup>1</sup> Preface of Henry of Huntingdon's Chronicle, XXVII, ed. Foerster, 1853. Cf. also the Latin original: " . . . . *In quo scilicet opere, sequenda et fugienda lector diligens dum inveniret ex eorum imitatione et evitacione, Deo cooperante melioratus, mihi fructum afferet exoptabilem plerumque, etenim ad ipsam morum puritatem juxta callem directum historie resiliivimus*" (*Historia Anglorum*, Prol. 3, ed. Thomas Arnold [London, 1879]). Elsewhere in the Preface Huntingdon quotes lines from Horace in praise of Homer for the moral instructions that may be drawn from his works.

<sup>2</sup> Preface modern history, ed. Giles, Bohn's Antiquarian Library, London, 1847.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted Ralph de Diceto, *Imagines Historiarum* (1148-1202), "Rolls Series" (London, 1876), 2 vols. I, 30, ed. William Stubbs (London, 1876). Cf. also Migne, *Patrologia*, CLX (Paris, 1854), 411-546.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. H. R. Luard, 1872. (*Chronicles and Memorials . . . of the Middle Ages*.)

<sup>5</sup> This work was long attributed to one Matthew of Westminster, but it is now known that Matthew of Westminster was an imaginary person and that the *Flores*, etc., ascribed to him, was written by various persons at various times. The *Flores*, etc. (from the creation to 1326), ed. H. R. Luard. "Rolls Series" (London, 1890), 3 vols., translated by C. D. Yonge, *The Flowers of History to 1307*. Bohn's Antiquarian Library (London, 1853), 2 vols. Cf. Gross, *The Sources and Literature of English History* (2d ed., 1774), p. 352.

<sup>6</sup> The Prologue of Richard the Canon in his *Itinerarium . . . regis Ricardi* (1187-99) and that of Giraldus Cambrensis in his *De Rebus a Se Gestis* (ca. 1205) are of interest because of their reference to the custom of the Greeks to preserve the memory of their

*subsequent ages; and that the examples of the wicked are set forth, not that they may be imitated, but that they may be shunned.* But prodigies and portents, in past time, threaten the faithful with famine, or mortality, or other sources of supreme vengeance. Therefore, the recollection of these events is handed down in books, that if at any time similar occurrences should take place, sinners who recollect that they have by any means incurred the wrath of God, may flee to the remedy of repentance and appease God by such means."<sup>1</sup>

Here then in a preface which was used by three chroniclers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—one of whom, Matthew Paris, has been characterized as the greatest of all our mediaeval chroniclers<sup>2</sup>—we have, not only a full statement as to the purpose of history to afford examples to be imitated or to be avoided, but also an elaboration for the purpose of justifying the recording of prodigies and portents. This elaboration is interesting as indicating how far afield the purposeful notion was taking the chroniclers in their collection of the materials of history; and it suggests also a probable reason why so many of them began their chronicles with an account of the creation.<sup>3</sup> They wished, not only to glorify their own country

great men in histories, and because of Richard the Canon's citation of Dares, the eye-witness, to justify himself.

Richard's Prologue, in part, is as follows: "Hoc Grai veteres divinitus attendentes, scripti remedium obicere prudenter, et scriptores suos, quos dixere historiographos ad conscribendos regum historias studiosius exciverunt. Unde feliciter contigit ut vocis vivae silentium vox scripta suppleret, ne ipsis mortalibus earum commorerentur virtutes. Romani vero, Graecorum aemuli, perpetuandae virtutis obtentu, non solum stilli assumpserunt officium sed et statuas adjicerunt; et sic tam veteres repraesentando, quam provocando posteros, virtutis amorem, tum per oculos, tum per aures, ad interiora multipliciter demissum imitantium mentibus firmitus impresserunt . . . ." etc. (*Gesta Ricardi Regis Angliae . . . . per Ricardum Canonam* [ed. William Stubbs, London, 1864]. Prologus, I, 34).

Giraldus' Preface runs in part as follows: ". . . Inclitorum gesta virorum quondam Grai veteres primo per imagines deinde per scripta tenacius et expressius memoriae commendabant; quatinus exacti temporis virtutum extantium aemula posteritas posset imitatione laudabile ad similia provocari. Fabulosis enim seu relationibus seu lectionibus quibus hyperbolica promuntur et impossibilia ad imitationem nullus accenditur. Sed ubi vera viri virtus emicat, ibi ad imitandum et virilia complexandum meus virtuosa consurgit . . . ." (*Giraldus Cambrensis, De Rebus a se Gestis . . . .* [ed. J. S. Brewer, "Rolls Series," London, 1861], Prologus, ll. 1-12).

<sup>1</sup> *Flores*, etc., Preface, translated and edited by C. D. Yonge, 1853.

<sup>2</sup> W. L. Jones, *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, I, 198.

<sup>3</sup> Diodorus Siculus, first century A.D. began his *Historical Library* with an account of the creation. The *Chronicon ex Chronis* (1117) of Florence of Worcester is notable as being the first attempt in England at a universal history beginning with the creation and embracing within its compass all the nations of the known world.

by contrast, but also to find abundant examples of virtuous men in the history of all nations.

When we consider this interest in finding illustrations, we are not surprised to find Florence of Worcester, as early as 1117, compiling his *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, and Higden, in the fourteenth century (ca. 1352) writing his *Polychronicon*. They were, I think, following out an old idea, but on a slightly larger scale than usual. They believed that the more numerous the records of past ages and peoples, the more varied and abundant would be the examples for their own age.<sup>1</sup>

In his Prologus, Higden states the value and purpose of history as follows: ". . . In historico contextu chronographorum diligentia nobis delegato relucet clarius norma morum, forma vivendi, probitatis incentivum, trivium quoque theologicarum virtutum, et quadrivium cardinalium trabearum, quorum notitiam apprehendere seu vestigium imitari nostra modicitas non sufficeret, nisi sollicitudo scriptorum nostrae transfunderet imperitiae memoriam transactorum."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Regarding instances for illustration Erasmus (ca. 1525) writes, ". . . Such facts may be drawn from the history of every nation—from the company of the great historians of Greece and Rome, from the Hebrew scriptures; from the events handed down to memory from the story of the Egyptian, the Persian, the French, the British nations; from the stories of Sparta, of Thebes and Athens, even from the traditions of the Scythians" . . . (Woodward, *Erasmus Concerning Education*, 130).

<sup>2</sup> Quoted *Eulogium Historiarum*, I, xlv n.

Cf. also *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis*, etc., Vols. I–II, ed. Churchill Babington; Vols. III–IX, ed. J. R. Lumby. "Rolls Series" (London, 1865–86), 9 vols. Prologus, Vol. I.

Cf. also Henry Knighton, *Preface, Chronicle* (ca. 1366) ". . . "Igitur historia cum sit nuncia vetustatis praeteritae, testis transactorum temporum est, et memoria vitae bonorum atque malorum norma praeluceus his qui se regere tam in corpore quam in anima regulariter disponunt. (*Chronicon Henrici Knighton*, ed. Lumby, "Rolls Series" [London, 1889], 2 vols.)

Other parts of Knight's Preface are strikingly similar to the Preface of the *Polychronicon*.

Cf. also the Proemium of the *Eulogium Historiarum sive Temporis* (ca. 1366). *A monacho quodam Malmesburiensi Ezaratum*, ed. F. S. Haydon, "Rolls Series" (London, 1858), 3 vols. The Proemium copies, almost word for word, the Preface of the *Polychronicon*.

Cf. also Froissart, Jean ". . . Je suis sur que si ils regardent et lisent en ce livre, que ils trouveront autant de grands faits et de belle apertises d'armes, de durs rencontres, de forts assauts, de fieres batailles et de tous autres manievements d'armes qui si descendent des membres de pousse, que en nulle histoire dont on peut parler, tout soit ancienne que nouvelle. Et ce sera à eux matière et exemples deux encourager en bien faisant, car la memoire des bons et les records (souvenirs) des preux attisent et enflamment par raison les coeurs des jeunes bacheliers, qui tirent et tendent à toute perfection d'honneur, de quoi pousse est les principaux chies (chefs) et les certain ressorts" (*Les Chroniques Francais*, ed. Mignot, Paris, 2d ed., V, 102 [*Chroniques de Jean Froissart*, Prologue]).

Cf. also Kriehn, *American Historical Review*, VII (1902), 262 ff.

Probably the most thoroughgoing expression of the purpose formula in the latter part of the fourteenth century is found in the Preface of the *Speculum Historiale*, etc., a careless compilation, by Richard de Cirencester (d. 1401). It reads as follows: ". . . . *Mores namque et actus praecedentium subsequenter redundant in exemplum. . . . Et ut breviter praesentem concludamus materiam, in Anglorum regibus vix aut raro quempiam reperies, qui in vita sua aliquod non commisserit laudabile aut virtuosum, quod posteris suis non immerito relinqueretur in exemplum. Talium igitur et tantorum gesta principum veneranda memorati scriptores, ut diximus, ad instructionem futurorum suis scriptis commendarunt, quatinus dictorum exemplis principum posterius ad incitamenta virtutum provocati, eos quos mirarentur imitari studerent.*"<sup>1</sup>

As we come to the consideration of the prevailing idea concerning the function of history in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it is necessary to give attention to the Italian writers;<sup>2</sup> for it is at this period that their influence on the English writers and chroniclers began to be manifest. Though the Italians differed somewhat from the English in method, their idea in general as to the purpose of history was strikingly similar to that of the English.

As examples<sup>3</sup> of the Italian notions of history consider the following: Vergerius writes, "History . . . gives us the concrete

<sup>1</sup> *Speculum Historiale*, etc., ed. J. E. B. Mayor, "Rolls Series" (London, 1863). Praemium, p. 3.

NOTE.—The Preface of the *Historia Anglicana* (1272–1422), by Thomas Walsingham, is noteworthy for its point of view. He rejected the legends and superstitions of his predecessors and evinced a desire to find the truth. He writes: "Nam si rem mecum penitus introspecterent Matthaeos Parisium et Westmonasteriensem cum suis fabulis et portentis (quibus hodie nemo credit) potius edendos, quam homines pios et scriptores sinceros reliquis illorum historiis (quae hodiernae veritati magnopere suffragantur privandos putarent). Quibus si ad Popisticae disciplinae expugnationem, mutilato inverso et conciso eorum opere, uteremur, illi contra justissimi reclamarent, aut non esse illorum hominum historias, aut si sint, deletas, corruptas, mutatas, imperfectas adulteratas esse" (Thomas Walsingham, Monk of St. Albans, *Historia Anglicana*, Preface, 2, ed. H. T. Riley, "Rolls Series" [London, 1863], 2 vols.).

<sup>2</sup> The comparison of history and poetry is a commonplace in the Italian critical treatises of the sixteenth century. The comparison appears in Daniello (1536), Varchi (1553), Minturno (1559), Scaliger (1561), Castelvetro (1570), etc. The practice seems to have begun with Aristotle (cf. *Poetics*, chap. ix). In these comparisons the moral purpose of history, if not stated, is so strongly implied that a statement was felt to be unnecessary. Sidney, who follows Minturno, Scaliger, and others, sets forth in detail the accepted purpose of the historian (cf. *supra*, p. 1). (Cf. Spingarn, *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance* [1899], chap. xi, 29, etc.)

<sup>3</sup> As early as 1070 Gregory of Catino had written, "On this account, therefore, are the lives of the just especially described that we may pass ours while they last in a careful happiness like theirs and free from offense. For it is written that the example of the just should make us more careful; and if we follow in their steps we shall not stumble in the way" (Balzani, *Early Chroniclers of Europe*, Italy, p. 153).

examples of the precepts inculcated by philosophy. . . . History provides the light of experience—a cumulative wisdom fit to supplement the force of reason and the persuasion of eloquence” (tr. *De Ingenuis Moribus* [1404], quoted Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre*, etc., p. 106). Guido d’Arezzo, in a letter to Baptista de Montefeltro (1405) writes, “The study of the past enlarges the foresight in contemporary affairs and affords to citizens and monarchs lessons of incitement or warning in the ordering of public policy. . . . From History also we draw our store of examples of moral precepts” (quoted Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 128).

According to Patrizzi and Tridentino there are three principal causes for the writing of history: (1) To acknowledge the providence of God, (2) to teach wisdom by the examples of the wise, (3) to lead men to greater good and similarly to shun evil (Einstein, *Italian Renaissance in England*, p. 312).

Battista Guarino, referring to the Roman history of Valerius Maximus, writes (1459), “The . . . author is also valuable as affording actual illustrations of virtuous precepts couched in attractive style” (Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre*, etc., p. 169). Woodward says of Vittorino that he seemed to be mainly attracted to history for its moral and anecdotal interest; that he was devoted to Livy but refused to accept criticisms of the accuracy of the historian<sup>1</sup> (Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 58).

Of the English writers of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, Caxton, Elyot, More, the last two show most appreciably the influence of contemporary Italy—an influence which ultimately was to teach English historians the modern attitude toward history. It is interesting to notice, however, that among the Renaissance writers in England the time-worn tradition of purpose persisted.

Caxton regards the evidences of a historical Arthur, King of Britain, as conclusive, and prints Malory’s *Morte D’Arthur* (1485) to the “*intent that noble men may see and learn the noble acts of chivalry, the gentle and virtuous deeds that some knights used in those days by*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Cardinal Sadoletto (1477–1547). In his *De Liberis recte instituendis* he commends for pupils Roman and Greek historians “ad confirmandam prudentiam,” for “from history we may easily learn what ought to be avoided, what pursued, in the affairs of life.” He thought the influence of history was not limited to the affairs of state but history would furnish examples for the emergencies of private station (Woodward, *Education in the Renaissance*).

*which they came to honour, and how they that were vicious were punished and oft put to shame and rebuke; humbly beseeching all noble lords and ladies, with all other estates . . . that shall see and read in this said book and work that they take the good and honest acts in their remembrance and to follow the same. . . . For herein may be seen noble chivalry, courtesy, humanity, friendliness, hardiness, love, friendship, cowardice, murder, hate, virtue, and sin. Do after the good and leave the evil, and it shall bring you to good fame and renown."*<sup>1</sup>

In the early sixteenth century, Lord Berners, Erasmus, and Vives continue the tradition. In the Preface to his translation of Froissart's *Chronicle*,<sup>2</sup> Berners expatiates upon the value of history to human conduct and achievement. He maintains that history not only furnishes examples to be followed or avoided, but affords also the unified and cumulative experience of the ages. Furthermore, it moves men to utilize this experience to follow the laudable actions in the hope of obtaining immortality. "The most profytable thyng in this worlde," he writes, "for the instytucion of the humayne lyfe is hystorie. . . . Ones the contynuall redying therof maketh yonge men equal in prudence to olde men: and to olde fathers stryken in age it mynystreth experyence of thynges. More it yeldeth private persons worthy of dignytye, rule, and govvernaunce. It compelleth themperours, hygh rulers and governours to do noble dedes: to thende they may optayne immortall glory. It exciteth, moveth, and stereth the strong hardy warriors, for the great lande that they love after they ben deed, promptly to go in hande with great and harde parels in defence of their countre. And it prohybeth reprovablen persons to do mischevous dedes for fear of infamy and shame."

<sup>1</sup> Malory's *King Arthur* (1485), Prologue, reprinted Pollard, *Fifteenth Century Prose*, pp. 236 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted Flügel, *Neuenglisches Lesebuch* [1895], pp. 525-27. Cf. also Berner's translation of the *Chronicles of Froissart*, ed. G. C. Macaulay, 1913 (Globe edition), Preface, pp. xxviii ff.

Cf. also Martin Luther, *Prologue to Galeatius Capella* (1539). Martin Luther: "Denn was die Philosophie, weise Leute, und die ganze Vernunft lehren oder erdenken kann, das zum ehrlichen Leben nützlich sei, das geben die Historien Exempeln und Geschichten gewaltiglich, und stellen es gleich vor Augen, als wenn man dabel . . . da findet man beide, wie die gethan, gelassen und geblet haben, so fromm und weise gewesen sind und wie es ihnen gegangen oder wie sie belohnet sind; auch wiederum, wie es ihnen gegangen oder wie sie belohnet sind; auch wiederum, wie die gelebt haben, so base und unverständig gewesen sind, und wie sie dafür bezohlet sind" (quoted Flügel, *op. cit.*, p. 526).

Vives strongly maintained the conventional notion as to the moral value of history. In his *Practical Wisdom* he writes, ". . . For how much better is it that a man should be warned by the evils which have befallen others, than await the experience of them in his own person? So history serves as the example of what we should follow and what we should avoid. . . ." In moral philosophy examples are of more avail than precepts; for everyone more willingly and more promptly imitates what he admires. Who is not more quickly drawn to keeping his word by the loyal and magnanimous example of M. Attilius, even in the midst of the most pressing danger than by "twenty treatises on the subject? . . . And we are deterred from crimes rather by the terrible end of malefactors than by the detestation of vice proclaimed by philosophers."<sup>1</sup>

The attitude of Erasmus as summarized by Woodward<sup>2</sup> was, it seems to me, typical of the Renaissance educators. Erasmus admired history because it furnished, (1) a model of rhetorical treatment of narrative or debate, (2) a study of facts for the illustration of our arguments, (3) a gallery of moral example. With respect to the character of these illustrations, Erasmus wrote, "The rarer and more marvellous the instance, the greater will be the interest evoked. From old stories and annals, and also from modern history, we should learn by heart, and so have in readiness examples of virtue and vice, of remarkable occurrences of any kind."<sup>3</sup>

Here then is the age-old formula, somewhat elaborated, and the moral purpose given a new impetus by the Renaissance belief that the virtue of the antique world might be restored by forcefully and persuasively setting forth examples of the virtues of the ancients.

Elyot, like Erasmus and Vives, lays stress upon the study of the classic historians, not only for the moral instructions to be derived but also for the sake of acquiring a style. But Elyot, like Lord Berners, goes beyond Erasmus in estimating the value and function of history. According to Elyot, experience comes in two ways: (1) Through personal contact with society and the world in general—that is, living, (2) through a knowledge of the acts and deeds of other

<sup>1</sup> Watson, *Vives on Education* ("Practical Wisdom"), pp. 233-34.

<sup>2</sup> Woodward, *Erasmus Concerning Education*, pp. 128 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Erasmus, *Opera* I, pp. 389 ff.; cf. also Woodward, *Erasmus Concerning Education*, p. 130.



men. ". . . . The knowledge of this experience is called example and is expressed by historie"<sup>1</sup> (*Governour*, II, 384 [Crofts]). Elyot, therefore, strongly recommends that princes and prospective governors read history.<sup>2</sup> Speaking of the portrayal of Cyrus and of Alexander, he says, "The comparison of the vertues of these two noble princes equally described by two excellent writers (Xenophon and Quintus Curtius Rufus) well expressed shall provoke a gentel courage to contende to follow their vertues."<sup>3</sup>

From the time of Elyot's *Governour* (1531) to the end of the century, historians, poets, translators, and critics, expressed with little variation, but with great frequency, the current opinions as to the purpose and use of history. Among those who used the ancient formula were Polydore Vergil<sup>4</sup> (1534), Thomas Wylliam in his *Dedication to the Historie of Italy* (1549), the anonymous writer of *The Institution of a Gentleman* (1555), Stow in his *Chronicle* (1580), Sidney in his *Defence of Poetry* (ca. 1583), Puttenham in his *Arte of English Poesie* (1589), Thomas Bedingfield in the Dedication of his translation of Machiavelli's *Florentine History* (1595), Geoffrey in his translation of *The Historie of Guicciardini* (1599), Cleland in his *Institution of a Nobleman* (1607), John Pits in the *Relationum Historiarum*<sup>5</sup> (1619), Richard Brathwaite in *A Survey of History*<sup>6</sup> (1638). The frequent evaluation of history from this standpoint was in keeping with the renewed interest in the classics and in antiquity: and, in the sixteenth century, the moral purpose in writing was probably

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lord Bolingbroke, "History is philosophy teaching by examples. . . . The school of example is the world; and the masters of this school are histories and experience (Letters I, 15, 20 [ed. 1752]).

Cf. also Vives, ". . . . We gain our experience by course of time in the pursuit of practical affairs. What has happened to others we get to know from the memory of past ages which is called history" (Watson, *Vives on Education*, 227).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Patrizi, "Cognitis historiae Regibus Ducibus emperoribus et omnibus Principibus perquam necessaria habenda est (*De Regibus et Reg. Instit.*, Bk. II, Lit. IX [*Governour*, II, 8 n.]).

<sup>3</sup> *Governour*, I, 85, ed. Crofts, 1883.

<sup>4</sup> Though Vergil believed history would furnish examples for imitation, etc., his method of writing history was, to a certain extent, modern. Cf. his works, *De Inventaribus Rerum* (1499), *Historia Anglicana* (1534).

<sup>5</sup> In the Proemium of his work Pits discusses at length the purpose and value of history, giving the conventional opinions, and citing in support of them Diodorus Siculus, St. Augustine, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, etc.

<sup>6</sup> The subtitle of Brathwaite's work is *A Nursery for Gentry*. Brathwaite emphasizes throughout his book the moral value of the study of history by men of gentle blood.

emphasized because of the Puritan attacks on poetry and on the stage.

This conception of the purposeful function of history tended, if not to determine, at least greatly to influence, the historian's choice of material. Though his chronicle was to deal primarily with the English people, the early chronicler often chose to begin his record with the beginning of time. There were, from his standpoint, two advantages in this method: the historian could demonstrate the ancient and noble lineage of the English people, and he could find in his biblical sources, examples of virtuous instruction<sup>1</sup> for his readers. In the Preface of the *Flowers of History* (ca. 1326) we are told that Moses in his *divine history* sets before us "the innocence of Abel, the envy of Cain, the simplicity of Jacob, the craftiness of Esau, etc. . . . in order that we may imitate the good and avoid being followers of the wicked."<sup>2</sup> "See how sacred history teaches morals," writes Henry of Huntingdon.<sup>3</sup> "While it attributes faithfulness to Abraham, fortitude to Moses . . . on the contrary it sets forth the injustice of Ahab, and the weakness of Oziah."

But the historian's idea of the function of history influenced his selection—if we grant that there was really selection—of matter, not only in range of time, but in character as well. Accounts of legends, miracles, omens, portents, marvelous sights, and strange sounds are of so common occurrence in the early histories that it is scarcely necessary to cite examples. Henry of Huntingdon concluding his account of the battle of Hastings, remarks, "Thus the hand of the Lord brought to pass the change which a remarkable comet had foreshadowed in the beginning of the same year (1066)."

Geoffrey of Monmouth, in his history, tells of a certain English pond which in shape was a perfect square, and contained four kinds of fish, one variety in each corner, none of which was ever found in any other part of the pond.<sup>4</sup> In the *Flowers of History* (p. 502) is a

<sup>1</sup> The purpose of Miracle and Mystery plays is paralleled by that of the chronicles.

<sup>2</sup> *Flowers of History*, translated and edited by Yonge, 1853.

<sup>3</sup> *English Chronicle*, Preface, p. xxvi, ed. Forester, 1853.

<sup>4</sup> *The British History of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, translated by A. Thompson, new edition revised and corrected by J. A. Giles, London, 1842, chap. vii, pp. 184-85. It should be noted that though many of his contemporaries and successors regarded Geoffrey's book as authentic history, there were some, notably William of Newburgh (*Historia Anglicana*) and Thomas Walsingham, monk of St. Albans, who rejected Geoffrey's history as a mass of lying fables. Cf. Norgate, Kate, *England under the Angevin Kings* II, 446; Kingsford, C. L. Art. *Geoffrey of Monmouth* in *DNB*; Gross, *Sources of Literature and History* (1784).

story of how Robert the priest laid a curse upon twelve men and three women, who were disturbing worship by singing and dancing in the cemetery. "May it please God," exclaimed the priest, "and the holy Magnus that you may remain singing thus to the end of the year." His wish was fulfilled and the dancers were released only at the end of the year by the archbishop. As a result of their long dissipation, some of the dancers died soon afterward. The historian concludes, "Let those persons read this who are bound by vows of obedience, that they may perceive how much efficacy there is in such obedience."

In the case of the episode of the dancers, it is obvious that the writer's conception of the purpose of history caused him to introduce the story. And such a conception, it seems to me, explains the appearance of much of the irrelevant and fictitious matter of the chronicles.<sup>1</sup> The Preface to the *Flowers of History* explains such records in these words: *But prodigies and portents in past time, threaten the faithful with famine, or mortality, or other sources of supreme vengeance, and the recollection of these things are recorded so that if in the future there should be similar occurrences those who have incurred the wrath of God may repent and appease Him.*<sup>2</sup>

Such is the chronicler's justification for interspersing legendary matter, reports of omens, portents, and the like in the chronicles. The practice was entirely consistent with the moral purpose of the historian. Furthermore, he not only had precedent for such a custom,<sup>3</sup> but in most cases he found it easy to believe the most miraculous accounts. He did not indeed distinguish sharply between fact and fiction. The result was, of course, there was no clear line of demarcation between authentic history and legendary or imaginary accounts in poetry or prose.<sup>4</sup> Henry of Huntingdon writing of historians in general, regards among them Homer as "setting forth in his narrative what is virtuous and what is profitable better than is done in the disquisition of philosophers."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The patriotic motive would account for the introduction of a certain amount of irrelevant matter into the chronicles.

<sup>2</sup> Preface, ed. Yonge, 1853.

<sup>3</sup> The classical historians, notably Livy and Tacitus, made free use of omens, portents, legends, etc., in their histories.

<sup>4</sup> Guevara's *Diall of Princes*, translated by Berners, 1525, and the *Mirror of Magistrates* (1559, 1563, etc.) are primarily for the purpose of furnishing examples. There is in each a mingling of fact and fiction.

<sup>5</sup> *Chronicle*, ed. Foerster, 1853, Preface.

Richard, Canon of St. Trinity, London, writing in the Prologue of his *Itinerarium . . . gesta regis Ricardi* (1187-99), refers to the Greeks and Romans, and asks, "Quis iter Jasonis, labores Herculis, Alexandri gloriam, Caesaris victorias nosset, si scriptorum beneficia defuissent." Alfred of Beverly, a Yorkshire priest, Geoffrey Gaimar, a French minstrel, Wace, the Norman poet, all contemporaries of Geoffrey, treated his book as genuine history.<sup>1</sup> And the chroniclers with few exceptions from Roger of Wendover to Holinshed followed Geoffrey as a sober historian (C. L. Kingsford, *DNB*). By a modern historian, the book is properly characterized as "an elaborate tissue of Celtic myths, legends and traditions, scraps of classical and Scriptural learning, and fantastic inventions of the author's own fertile brain, all dexterously thrown into a pseudo-historical shape and boldly sent forth under the imposing name of History."<sup>2</sup>

In his Preface to the *Recuyell*, etc. (1471), Caxton speaks of the French book from which he translated as containing "strange and marvellous histories." He admits the discrepancies in the various

<sup>1</sup> Regarding Monmouth's *Histories*, Gairdner writes, ". . . This bold invasion of the province of history by the genius of romance, was a thing at that time so unprecedented, indeed so utterly inconceivable to most readers, that there seemed no alternative between accepting it for what it professed to be, and denouncing it as an impudent fabrication" (*Early Chroniclers of Europe*, England, p. 165). It does not appear to me that such an invasion was at all "inconceivable" and, indeed, not "unprecedented." The very use of the virtue and vice formula, the employment of strange stories and legends by previous chroniclers indicate that there never had been a sharp line of demarcation between the province of literature and that of history. History had for long been camping on the borderland of literature and, occasionally, breaking over the boundary.

And though Geoffrey's *Histories* carried the invasion perhaps a step farther, it was altogether a natural thing—a step in the development of the distorted historic conception from Bede to Brathwaite. The wide acceptance of Geoffrey's *Histories* was owing to the fact that they were close to his readers' conception of history.

The feeling of the nearness in purpose of history and literature finds further demonstration in the early employment by the chroniclers of the "utile dulci" formula of Horace—a formula destined to become the conventional "profitable and pleasurable" ideal of the literary productions of the Elizabethan period. In the Prologus of his *Polychronicon*, Higden refers to historians as not only setting forth examples, but ". . . velut utile dulci commiscetes"; and Henry Knighton (Monk of Leicester) in his chronicle of nearly the same date (ca. 1350) writes in a similar manner, expressing his intention of making a record of the past "et velut utile dulci consultius immiscere, etc." Both these chroniclers, as many others, speak of the power of history to immortalize the fame of men. This convention in Elizabethan poetry and earlier is well known. It seems to me apparent that from an early period there was little discrimination between the purpose and function of history and literature, and that the historian constantly invaded the province of literature. The results, of course, were detrimental to art in literature, and to the presentation of fact in history.

<sup>2</sup> Kate Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, II, 455.

accounts of the Trojan story, but all are agreed on the general destruction of the city; and in this incident he finds an example of "how dreadful and jeopardous it is to begin a war and what harms, losses, and deaths followeth."<sup>1</sup> *The Golden Legend* (1483) and the *Morte D'Arthur* (1485), which I have already mentioned, Caxton also regarded as history.

So widely, indeed, had the term "history" come to be applied by the time of Elyot's *Governour* (1531), that the author held that there was no doctrine, divine or human, that was not expressed by history, or at least mixed with history.<sup>2</sup> He included in history everything from Aristotle's description of animals, Theophrastus on herbs and trees, to historical romances of his own day. He defends the histories of the Greeks and the Romans against the charge of "lyes and faynyng of poets." But granting that some histories are "interlaced with leasyngs," Elyot sees no reason why we should neglect them as long as we can profit<sup>3</sup> by reading them. He maintains that there are but few ancient writers of history who do not express "the beautie of vertue, and the deformitie of lothelynes of vice."

"These historical men," writes George Puttenham (*Arte of English Poesie* [1589]), "nevertheless used not the matter so precisely to wish that all they wrote should be accounted true, for that was not needful nor expedient to the purpose; namely, to be used either for example or for pleasure."<sup>4</sup>

To summarize, the purpose of the early historians to teach virtue and to glorify their own country, influenced them in their selection of the materials of history, both as to range of time and as to character of subject-matter. The result is that the chroniclers often begin their records with the creation and extend them to their own day; they intermingle authentic history, legends, miracles, omens, portents, till at length pure romance comes to be regarded as history on the ground that it fulfils the function of history. These points

<sup>1</sup> Epilogue, Book, II.

<sup>2</sup> *Governour*, II, 385, ed. Crofts.

<sup>3</sup> If we can profit by reading "the sayge counsaile of Nestor, the subtille persuasions of Uliesses . . . the valliant courage of Hector, etc., what forceth it us, though Homere writes leasinges?" (*Governour*, II, 399-400).

<sup>4</sup> Puttenham recognizes three classes of histories: (1) Wholly true, (2) wholly false, (3) partly true and partly false. He cites Homer, Musaeus, Xenophon, as historians; and regards Arthur, Sir Bevyys, Guy of Warwick, as histories (*Elizabethan Critical Essays*, II, 40 ff.).

have been demonstrated from the chronicles and writings of Henry of Huntingdon, Robert de Monte, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Caxton, Elyot, Puttenham, Sidney, and others.

The purpose which seemed to inspire so many of the chroniclers doubtless influenced them in their method of presenting such matter as they did select. To them there was little necessity of sifting and weighing evidence, and thus attempting to discern the true sequence and meaning of events.<sup>1</sup> They were not interested in the conflict of policies or the science of government. They best understood the plain facts of battle and death, of plague and famine, and of sudden comets and strange monsters. Above all, perhaps, they were interested in striking personalities, for in them they could realize the fulfilment of their purpose. But for the sake of examples, their hero was likely to be overrated and their tyrant painted in blacker colors than his character would warrant.

This interest in character, owing in part, at least, to the chronicler's purpose, is well illustrated by the biographical sketches<sup>2</sup> in William of Malmesbury's *Chronicles*—a chronicle characterized as "a kind of biographical drama, where, by a skilful gradation of character and variety of personage, the story is presented entire."<sup>3</sup>

The character sketch also indicates classical influence—an influence not inconsiderable on the early historian. In More's *Chronicle* of the reign of Richard III there occurs perhaps the most elaborate and unified development of character that had appeared in the early histories. The use of orations by warriors to encourage their men to action, illustrated in Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, and

<sup>1</sup> There are exceptions to the generalization. The narrative of Bede is based upon written documents and verbal communications and constitutes the authentic source of our information from 597-731 (Gross, *Sources*, etc., p. 379 [1815]). William of Malmesbury was the first writer after Bede who attempted to give to his details of dates and events a systematic connection, in the way of cause and sequence. Owing to his protest against pseudo-historical writers and his systematic presentation of events, William of Newburgh has been termed "the father of historical criticism" (Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, II, 445).

<sup>2</sup> Examples of Malmesbury's sketches are those of Godfrey of Boulogne, at the siege of Antioch; Robert of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror; Henry Beaulerc. Examples of the biographical sketch by other chroniclers are Joceline of Brakeland's description of Abbot Sampson; Giraldus Cambrensis of Henry II; Nicholas Trivet of King Edward I. These sketches seem to me significant, not only as indicating the writers' purpose, but as contributing later to the character sketch in the drama. Cf. Gairdner, *Early Chroniclers of England*, pp. 85, 143, 181, 265.

<sup>3</sup> Malmesbury's *Chronicle*, Preface, XIII, ed. Giles.

sanctioned in the sixteenth century by Erasmus (*Copia Verbum etor Rerum*, I, 106), and the device of the prophecy, as illustrated by Merlin's prophecy in *Flores Historiarum*, are classical inheritances. These classical devices—the oration, the prophecy, the character sketch—the English chronicler used to realize his moral aim in the writing of history.

Woodward's<sup>1</sup> characterization of the use of history in the Renaissance, is, in a large measure, true for history centuries before that period. He writes, in substance, that the use of history for moral guidance, so common in the Renaissance, prejudiced humanist history as a serious subject, either of inquiry or of instruction. History became fragmentary, artificial, a cento of examples, of commonplaces, of biographical idealizations. Critical study tended to be shirked as spoiling good illustrations; and the art of the historical writer was limited to clothing accepted versions of facts in novel and ingenious form.

#### NOTE

1. For an expression of the modern scientific conception of history, compare Langlois and Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History* (translated by G. G. Berry . . . [New York, 1898]), pp. 316-22. The text says, among other things, "It is an obsolete illusion to suppose that history supplies information of practical utility in the conduct of life (*Historia magister vitae*), lessons directly profitable to individuals and peoples; the conditions under which human actions are performed are rarely sufficiently similar at two different moments for the "lessons of history" to be directly applicable.

The writers regard history as a "science of reasoning" which is concerned with the "utilization of documents." It is valuable as an aid to our understanding of the institutions of the present; as a complement "to the political and social sciences, which are still in process of formation"; but chiefly as "an instrument of intellectual culture." It is intellectually valuable, because the practice of the "historical method of investigation" cures the mind of credulity; history prepares us to understand and tolerate a variety of usages and cures us of a morbid dread of change; and finally the contemplation of past evolutions . . . saves us from the temptation of applying biological analysis . . . to the explanation of social evolution."

It ought to be added, however, that this view of history is held only by scholars. The older view, somewhat modified, has persisted even to the

<sup>1</sup> Woodward, *Erasmus Concerning Education*, pp. 131 ff.

present. Johnson (*Essay on Gray, Lives of Poets*), Bolingbroke (*Letters on Study . . . of History* [1779], I, 15, 20), and others carry on the tradition in the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century, Carlyle (*Sartor Resartus*, "Altemus Series," Philadelphia, n. d., p. 188, etc.) holds a kindred view in his belief that "history is made up of innumerable biographies"; and Professor DeVericoeur, in 1870, writes, ". . . the necessity of historical studies as a regulator of the human mind and as a teacher of Christian morality appears indisputable (*Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, I, 55-56). The title of Lord's *Beacon Lights of History* shows the underlying purpose. Does the ancient purpose still persist in some of the volumes in the recent *Chronicles of America*?

2. I do not mean to imply that the conception of history which I have dwelt upon in this paper was the only one in existence until the seventeenth century. As early as Polydore Vergil, there began a conception of the purpose of history and of historical methods closely akin to that set forth by Langlois and Seignobos. This tradition was carried on by the Italians Machiavelli, Guicciardini, Flavio Biondo, Tito Livio, Patrizzi, and Tridentino, and others, and by the English Sir Thomas More, Ben Johnson, Sir Thomas Hayward, Edmund Bolton, and others. But that is another story, affording abundant material for a paper on the development of the modern conception.

D. T. STARNES

RICE INSTITUTE  
HOUSTON, TEXAS



## THE MARÉCHAL DE BIRON ON THE STAGE

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The connection between the Spanish and Italian theaters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, although long recognized in a general way, has been so little studied in detail that any definite evidence of actual close contact is particularly welcome. Such proof exists in an interesting collection of forty-eight scenarios for improvised plays, discovered by F. De Simone Brouwer in the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome twenty-one years ago.<sup>1</sup> The discoverer dates the MS in the middle and latter half of the seventeenth century and prints the list of titles with such suggestions as he is able to make about possible derivations of some of the plots. The first of the series is *Il medico di suo honore*, evidently from the identically entitled play of Calderon; the fourth, printed by Brouwer, *L'ateista fulminato*, and the twenty-fourth, *Il convitato di pietra*, are apparently also from Spanish sources.<sup>2</sup>

Several of the other scenarios have, I believe, Spanish origins, as for instance, No. 45, *Le glorie di Scanderbech con la libertà della patria sotto Amurat, imperatore di Constantinople*, compared by Brouwer to A. Salvi's *melodramma, Scanderberg* (1714), but more probably from an earlier Spanish play, though whether from Perez de Montalvan's *Escanderbech* (1632), or from another version of this popular theme, I have not yet determined.<sup>3</sup> Two of the scenarios I have, however, identified with certainty as versions of Spanish tragedies; of one of these, No. 48, *Gli honesti amori della Regina d'Inghilterra con la morte del Conte di Sessa*, I hope to write more fully in a short time; the other, No. 14, a remarkably abbreviated text, called *Il Marescial di Biron*, not commented upon by Brouwer, I print herewith, showing

<sup>1</sup> *Ancora una raccolta di scenari*, in "Rendiconto della reale accademia del Lincei, classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche," Ser. V, Vol. X, Rome, 1901, pp. 391 ff.

<sup>2</sup> But cf. A. Farinelli, in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, XXVII, 15 and 29, for a denial of any Spanish original for *L'ateista fulminato*; he says an "auto" called *El ateista fulminado* is "pura, semplice ed inutile fantasia di fantastici commentatori," but cannot deny the Spanish origin of the thematic material.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of the Spanish plays on Scanderberg, cf. G. W. Bacon, *An Essay upon the Life and Writings of Dr. Juan Perez de Montalvan* (Philadelphia, 1903), p. 45.

it to be a reduction to *Commedia dell'arte* form of Juan Perez de Montalvan's impressive tragedy *El Mariscal de Birón*.

The precise origin of the Casanatense MS is not discoverable; very probably it came from Naples, where at the period of its writing the *commedia dell'arte* flourished, where Spanish actors and plays were particularly popular, and where numerous Italian versions of Spanish plays have been abundantly found in both written and improvised form.<sup>1</sup> There are some indications that the actors to whose repertory the scenarios belonged were an especially accomplished troupe, for there is unusual latitude given them for invention of dialogue and stage business and there are listed more changes of scene and more various properties than the poorer companies could afford. One other peculiarity will strike anyone familiar with *commedia dell'arte* outline plots—the comparative subordination of the clown's or Zanni's rôles to those of the serious characters: consequently the tragic tone of the tragedies among these plays is better preserved than in any of Scala's *Favole* or in the scenarios printed by Bartoli. With so much by way of introduction I present the *Maréchal de Biron*.

#### MARESCIAL DI BIRON

##### ATTO PRIMO

##### PARIGI

Maresciale Bertol.°	Sopra la venuta del Duce di Savoia, e non essersi vestito per incontrarlo in compagnia della Corte, perche il suo brio non gli permetteva d'andar come semplice Cavaliere con gli altri. Bertolino gl'aderisce, poi dice haver veduto Madama Bianca, dicono di sua bellezza, in questo.
Trombe, Tamburri	
Rè	
Duca di Savoia Monteny	facendo complimenti insieme, parlando, gli altri alla muta. in questo.
Conte di Soisons Con. di Fuentes	
Trombe, e Tamburi	
Regina Bianca	fanno accoglienze al Duca. Rè vede il Biron mal vestito in disparte, si duole di lui, la Regina si licentia, e via con

<sup>1</sup> A. Belloni, *Il Seicento* (Milan, 1898-99), pp. 288 ff., and B. Croce, *I teatri di Napoli* (Bari, 1916), chaps. v and vi.

**Dame** le Dame. Bianca nel partire dice al Maresciale, che vada à vederla, come è sera, gl'altri restano, parlano insieme il Conte di Fuentes e Biron, al quale il Rè consegna per hospite il Duca di Savoia, e tutti dentro.

## VILLA

**Bianca** malinconica; interrogata da Olivetta della cagione, lei  
**Olivetta** racconta sua historia, e suo sogno. Olivetta la consola con questi parole, Con dirti ch'era sogno, à tutto ti hò risposto, in questo.

**Rè con li** saluta Bianca, e tratta seco amorosamente, lei si scusa,  
**Due Cav.<sup>li</sup>** in q.<sup>to</sup>

**Marescial di Biron**, che parla dentro con i Cavalieri della guardia del Rè, in fine entra, e mostrandosi geloso di Bianca, parla col Rè altieran<sup>te</sup>, Rè lo riprende dell'orgoglio, e per obbligarlo lo fa Duca all'hora, e parte Maresciale e Bianco restano, fanno scena amorosa, in questo.

**Bertol.<sup>o</sup>** dice al Maresciale, che il Rè lo chiama, si licentiano, e via. Bertolino resta, e cerca, dove è il Duca di Savoia, perche Biron gli verrà a parlare, discorre da se, in q.<sup>to</sup>

**Duca di Savoia** Sentendo che il Biron è stato dal Rè hoggi fatto Duca,  
**Lafin** vedono il suo servo Bertol.<sup>o</sup> Duca lo chiama, lui parla a spropositi. Savoia ordina gli siano dati cento scudi, lui ricusa con lazi di cerimonie ridicole, poi gl'accetta, e via p. farseli dare, Duca e Lafin restano, in questo.

**Bertol.<sup>o</sup>** torna affannato e dice, che Biron viene da S. A., e via, in q.<sup>to</sup>

**Duca di Biron** Saluta il Duca di Savoia, si confidano i loro segreti, e pensieri, Savoia gli promette sua sorella con  $\frac{M}{500}$  scudi di dote, se gli libera il Marchesato di Saluzzo, e con tal concerto entrano, e finisce l'atto.

## ATTO SECONDO

## PIEMONTE

**Trombe** e Tamburi dentro a battaglia.

**Re** con armi bianchi alla mano fuori, e dentro, si sente da una parte strepito de'voci, che dicono, Viva francia, e dall'altra, viva Spagna, e si sente combattere, Re e Duca di Biron dentro.

**Trombe** e Tamburi di nuovo, e nell'istesso

**Biron** fuori, Bertol. fa lazi di paura, e di ardimento, Biron dentro, Bertol. resta dicendo le sue facetie contro la guerra, e via per ispalicarsi; all'ombra di un'arbore.

Biron con spada nel fodero, dicendo da se, che le cose tutte caminano, come le ha lui disegnate, e disparte, e che subito poi il di Savoia gli ha promesso la sorella in moglie, in questo.

Conte di fuentes con spada nuda, che v`a per tutto il campo, cercando Biron per provarsi seco con armi. Fuentes lo sfida, lui scuopre i segreti trattati con Savoia, onde non dice battersi seco, se tutti doi pugnano `a uno, fuentes lo sprezza, come codardo, e via. Biron resta, poi facendo riflessione alle parole ingiuriose dettegli dal di fuentes risolve voler difendere il Castello, e fargli conoscere il suo valere, e gridando armi, armi, coraggio, viva francia, entra dentro.

Savoia  
fuentes combattendo, che fanno ritirare, in q.<sup>to</sup>

Soissons  
Monteny che si vanno difendendo, e ritirando, in q.<sup>to</sup>  
Lafin

Rè f`a animo `a i suoi, in q.<sup>to</sup>  
Biron dicendo, `a me tocca sire questa gloria, io solo gli rintuzzarò, Lafin dice Biron ricordati & lui risponde già sò, ma hò da essere così, e via tutti, resta il Rè dicendo, che volendo Biron, tutto il perduto si racquisterà, e via.

Lafin sopra la confusione de gl'ordini del Biron, ed hora da lui med.<sup>o</sup> rotti, pregando alla disperata per francia, poi via.

fuentes f`a passata dicendo, che la notte e quasi gionta, e bisogna ritirare l' esercito stanco, e via.

Rè e  
Biron che già l'orgoglio di Savoia comincia `a cedere `a i francesi: e facendo gridar vittoria di dentro, via p. far ritirare, e rinfrescar l'esercito.

Bianca  
Olivetta esser venuta anch'essa al Campo, per goder della vista, e delle prodezze di Biron, in questo.

Bertol.<sup>o</sup> con un plico di lettere in mano del Biron, e vuol dargli nuova che Biron hà vinto, lei gli tronca le parole, e dice che già lo sà, gli vede le lettere, f`a lazi p. levargliele, in fine gli le tolgono. Bianca apre il plico, e vi trova un ritratto, trova esser lettere di Savoia col ritratto della sorella, Bertol.<sup>o</sup> suoi lazi di paura del Biron, vol partire, in q.<sup>to</sup>

Biron chiama indietro Bertolino, gli ordina che cerchi Lafin che vuol parlargli, Bertol. via correndo, loro restano, in questo.

Rè  
Monteny  
Lafin  
Soissons

Per entrare vedono Biron, si fermano alla portiera senza esser veduti, Bianca rimprovera Biron, gli mostra il ritratto, Duca nel volersi scusare, scuopre tutti i suoi tradimenti contro il Rè. Bianca, che hà osservato il Rè commanda più volte à Biron, che taccia, dicendogli in doppio senso, che più parla, più si rovina, e parte, con Olivetta.

Rè si fuora, fingendo esser arrivato all'hora, parla in metafora, Biron si ammutisce, Re entra, Biron resta, fa suoi dubij, e crede che il Rè sia sospettito de'suoi tradimenti.

Rè torna, e dice à Biron, che vuol parlar seco à solo, e lo fa chiuder la porta, poi dolcemente gli scuopre, come sà tutti i trattati di Biron, lui nega tutto, Rè gli mostra le lettere, lui gli volta le spalle. Re lo va stimulando, anco non si precipiti con la sua obstinatione, lui sempre peggio, Re parte, dicendoli, à Dio. Biron resta solo col suo medesimo brio, e bestialità, poi si addormenta in una sedia, in questo. ordina sia legata, e disarmato, Biron, che dormendo sogna, e parla, poi si sveglia strepitoso. Re commanda dia la spada, lui la dà, ma al Rè, qual parte, dicendo, Biron, tu à questo mi sforzati, e via, gl'altri conducono via Biron, e finisce l'atto secondo.

Rè  
Soissons  
Monteny  
Soldati  
con corde  
ed armi.

## ATTO TERZO

Conte di Soissons  
Biron disarmato  
Guardia

Dicendo a Biron che il Re, il cancelliero e il foro de' Giudici sono usciti fuora per venire da lei, Biron sempre più altiero, sprezza la sentenza, mostrando non vederla, in q.<sup>to</sup>

Cancelliero  
Giudici  
Ministri di  
Giustizia

Intima la sentenza della morte à Biron, quale s'atterisce, e fa mille effetti, ma sempre altieri, in questo.

Rè  
Accompag.<sup>to</sup>  
Corte

Dicendo parole da se, che mostrano dolore della morte di Biron, quale si gette à i piedi del Rè, e lo ferma, Re doppo sue grand'istanze dice che parli, che lo starà ascoltando, Biron prega il Re, che lo salvi della morte rinfacciandoli, ma con humiltà tutti i suoi servigi fatti alla Corona, doppo sua oratione rispondegli il Re che tutto è bene mà non è più tempo, va via, così gl'altri à uno à uno, resta ultimo il Conte di Soissons, al quale dice il Biron, che almeno prima di morire possa vedere, e parlare anco una volta à Bianca, lui, che lo dirà al Re, e via, Biron resta solo à far suo lamento, in q.<sup>to</sup>

Conte di	D'ordine Regio commanda al Biron, che parli, e tutto
Soissons	concluda in un solo discorso, ma che gli siano bandati
Gente armata	gl'occhi. asciano gl'occhi à Biron con una legaccia, o
Giudici	sciarpa, e subito prima, che cominci à parlare, Bianca
Bianca	fa un violente sospiro, loro subito la mandano via, e
vestita	resta il Conte di Soissons, un Giudice con guardia,
di lutto	Biron parla pensando, che ella ascolti, poi tutti via, lui
con manto	non sente, che alcuno risponda, si sbenda gl'occhi, non
cop erta	vede alcuno, e via ancor lui dolente.

In order to prove the origin of the play and because Perez de Montalvan's tragedy on the Maréchal is difficult to find in this country, I append a synopsis taken from the edition in the New York Public Library, wrongly called *El Mariscal de Viron*, printed in Valencia, 1772. This "comedia famosa"<sup>1</sup> requires the following dramatis personae, a larger number than the Italian version needs:

El rey de Francia, galán.	Un Canciller.
El Mariscal de Virón, galán	Jaques, Gracioso
El Duque de Saboya, galán	Monteñi
El Corde de Suisón, galán	Un criado
El Conde de Fuentes, Barba	Damas
Monsieur de Lafin	Soldados
La reyna de Francia, Dama	} Musicos
Madama Blanca, Dama	
Belarina, criada	
Claudia, criada	

The three-act tragedy follows the lines of the Italian play but is so full that it explains the lacunae of the scenario. From the beginning it is clear that Biron's treason is motivated by his jealousy of the king, who loses no opportunity to flirt with Blanca. The Maréchal stresses his love, his pride, and his loyalty to the king in a confidential speech to Jaques at the opening of the first act, but the audience in a short time learns that his love is the strongest of his three leading passions, for when, a little later in the first act, Biron comes upon Henry paying exaggerated compliments to Blanca, he flies into a passion and is only apparently placated by the king's pointing out

<sup>1</sup> A. Schaeffer, *Geschichte des spanischen Nationaldramas*, I, 441 f., dates the play after 1629, for he believes its source to be *Historia trágica de la vida del Duque de Birón*, by P. Mártir Rizo, Barcelona, 1629.

that as they are such close friends they may both love the lady. She, of course, as in the scenario, has already made clear in a talk with Belerina that she loves Biron and has dreamed of him, and Belerina, as in the scenario, has replied with a refreshing innocence of Freudian theories,

"Con decirte que era sueño.  
A todo te he respondido."

The heroine's melancholy is not interpreted by the hero as it should be; instead he turns away from her and falls at once a victim to Savoy's plot, though he debates a little between constancy to his lady and his king and the impulse to revenge his wounded honor on them. He finally accepts Savoy's offer of his sister, though that unprincipled duke in an aside informs the spectators that

"Bueno es Carlos para amigo,  
Mas para cuñado, no!"

The second act is partly filled by a battle in which Biron plays a double rôle, first working against his country and then, reproached for treachery by Fuentes, "confuso y perplexo," returns to the French side and procures the victory for his king. But his treason is discovered by Blanca, in a letter with the portrait of Savoy's sister, which she opens as a messenger is bringing it to the Maréchal; "Amor, morir me conviene," she exclaims, and in a long conversation with him she wrings the whole truth from him just as the king and several French lords enter, "al paño," and overhear the damning indictment. When Blanca sees the listeners she tries to turn her speech in such a way that it will seem to have been only an outburst of jealousy, but the king, though he admires her courage and invention, has no choice but to condemn Biron on the evidence he has heard. Biron absurdly falls asleep in his chair and raves a little in his dreams; wakened, he hears his doom, tries to escape, but finally gives his sword to the king instead of to Soissons as commanded and goes away to prepare proudly for death.

The third act consists of long speeches asking pardon for the Maréchal, and an exaggerated account of his execution off stage, given by Blanca in a mourning garment, and pronounced with all the

embellishments of rhetoric, in spite of her first words, that she is "more marble than alive." The king ends the play:

"Y con esta tendrá fin  
La prodigiosa fortuna del Mariscal de Viron,  
Que fué de la Patria suya  
El mas valiente Francés.  
Aunque de menos fortuna."

Evidently this play of mingled love and honor, war and treason, contributed nothing to George Chapman's two-part tragedy, though how many other stage versions of the famous Maréchal's story may have been inspired by it, in addition to the parody by Maldonado chronicled by Schaeffer and the Italian version here first printed, we have not yet the means of knowing.

WINIFRED SMITH

VASSAR COLLEGE



## NATURE IN OLD FRENCH

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Nature became a distinguished allegorical figure in French literature during the thirteenth century. Her use then and earlier was based on Latin literature and tradition. Formerly<sup>1</sup> I showed that *Natura* was most conspicuously developed by Latin allegorists of the twelfth century, Bernard Silvester, Jean de Hauteville, and Alan of Lille. Two chief conceptions underlay their employment of her. First, Bernard in his *De Universitate Mundi* presented a theory as to the construction of the universe and the creation of man, a theory which he derived from Plato's *Timaeus* and modifications of it. Second, Jean in *Archithrenius* and Alan in *De Planctu Naturae* and *Anticlaudianus* taught the Stoic moral doctrine that man should live according to the laws of nature. Thus principles of natural philosophy and of ethics appeared in figurative garb. Yet these substantial uses do not mark the scope of *Natura* in Latin. In fact she appeared most frequently in unsustained personification. The three occasions thus comprised in Latin are the basis for the employment of Nature in Old French. The interest in the goddess proved more incidental for cosmic theory than for moral doctrine. She was personified in every sort of poem. She was used as a literary device or ornament, either as a brief personification or else as an allegorical figure serving to convey, somewhat frigidly, such an emotion as grief at death. Occasionally she represented a concept or principle in which the poet had sufficient interest to allow her chief part in an extended allegory. This paper will consider her in special personifications and in more important circumstances, as in the *Roman de la Rose*, *Les Échecs Amoureux*, works on alchemy, encyclopedias, and the like.

### I

Often Nature was expressly said to work in the capacity of an agent of God.<sup>2</sup> But in general she acted as the creatrix of both the

<sup>1</sup> "The Goddess Nature in Early Periods," *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Philol.*, XIX, 224 ff.

<sup>2</sup> (I give representative cases.) Nature and God creating: cf. curse by both, *Le Mystère de la Passion*, A. Greban, ed. G. Paris and G. Raynaud (Paris, 1878), I. 24895.

material world and creatures therein;<sup>1</sup> now and then, in decorative passages of the French taste, she created spring with its birds and flowers. The difficulty with associating her with this season is the same as that which applies to the frequent use of her in any situation: she became an item in a conventional formula.

The most usual employment of the personification was for hyperbole. An added dignity attached itself to any character which was said to have been formed by the work of a goddess instead of by ordinary processes. The audience or readers of the Old French period scarcely thought of Nature as a colorless abstraction or a rhetorical figure, but rather as an actual though at times ambiguous personality. The people she created were either most homely or most beautiful men and women. The majority of cases occur in the long descriptions of beautiful women.<sup>2</sup> The poet who wrote for a public which was already acquainted with such examples had but two other devices to indicate superlative beauty: he could say that God assisted in the formation or that God deemed the instance so important that he took over the whole affair himself. The device with

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Richier, *La Vie de Saint Remi*, ed. W. M. Bolderston (London, 1912), ll. 847 ff., handsome man. Chrétien, *Erec and Enide*, ed. W. Foerster (Halle, 1913), l. 421, beautiful woman. Thibaut, *Li Romans de la Poire*, F. Stehlich (Halle, 1881), ll. 2075 ff. Froissart, as *Méliador*, ed. A. Longnon (Paris, 1895-99), 3 vols., ll. 29954 ff. *Oeuvres de Guillaume Coquillart*, ed. P. Tarbé (Reims, 1847), I, 7 ff., for a relation between God, Nature, and Venus. God creating Nature, *Mystère de Saint Crispin et Saint Crespinien*, ed. L. Dessalle et F. Chavaille (Paris, 1836), p. 46. And so on.

<sup>1</sup> Nature creating or laboring in general: Chrétien, *Yvain*, ed. Foerster (Halle, 1914), ll. 382-83. J. Acart de Hesdin, *La Prise Amoureuse* (1332), E. Hoepffner (Dresden, 1910), ll. 97 ff. (making spring). Jehan de la Mote, *Li Regret Guillaume*, A. Scheler (Louvain, 1882), ll. 116 ff. (making spring). Guillaume de Machaut, *Oeuvres*, Hoepffner (Paris, 1908-11), 2 vols., as in II, *Remede de Fortune*, ll. 2207 ff., 2253 (making spring); *Poésies Lyriques*, V. Chichmaref (Paris, 1909), 2 vols., I, 222, 226. Froissart, *Oeuvres*, Scheler (Bruxelles, 1870-72), 3 vols., as in II, *Le Joli Buisson de Jonece*, ll. 962 ff. Christine de Pisan, *Oeuvres Poétiques*, ed. M. Roy (Paris, 1886-96), 3 vols., I, 228; II, 162. *La Folle Bobance* (1499), *Recueil Général des Sotties*, ed. E. Picot (Paris, 1902-4), 3 vols., I, 296 ff. E. Deschamps, *Oeuvres Complètes*, ed. Le Saint Hilaire and G. Raynaud (Paris, 1878-93), 2 vols., as in III, 156 (France). Watriquet de Couvin, *Dits*, ed. Scheler (Bruxelles, 1868), as in I, *Li Dis de l'Arbre Royal*, 66 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The device, the most frequent in Old French poetry, was often employed in the later poetry for the poet's lady, not the heroine of a romance. (Such use in Provençal is as early as the twelfth century.) For beautiful women formed by Nature, compare among many the following: *La Chanson des Saxons*, L. Bodel, ed. F. Michel (Paris, 1839), I, 10 (according to two MSS). Chrétien, *Yvain*, work cited, ll. 1493, 1489-90; *Cligés*, Foerster (Halle, 1888), ll. 829 and 907, 2734 and 2780 ff., 4358, 6460; *William of England*, Foerster (Halle, 1889), ll. 1383 ff. A humorous juxtaposition of a lovely woman and a homely bozu, both made by Nature, pp. 13-14, Vol. I, *Recueil Général et Complet des Fabliaux des XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> Siècles*, 6 vols., ed. H. de Montaignon and G. Raynaud (Paris, 1872-90). Nicole de Margival, *Le Dit de la Panthère d'Amours*, ed. H. A. Todd (Paris, 1883), ll. 832 ff.,

Nature alone was employed less often in description of the hideous,<sup>1</sup> but it was not less effective; God's services were rarely required. Plainly such appearance of Nature is merely a literary device of personification explaining no philosophic theory and involving no problem of good and evil.

Of this simple sort are conceivably the earliest references to Nature in Old French, which occur in Gautier d'Arras and Chrétien.<sup>2</sup> The chief instances in the latter were written by 1170; *Cligés*, according to Foerster,<sup>3</sup> may be dated 1152-64, and *Erec* still earlier. Thus Nature was personified in French almost as soon as in the Latin of the same century, but often with a different purpose—namely, to exalt the beauty of a lady or a hero. Just as the Latin authors employed *Natura* in allegory in order to impart philosophy or morality, so Richier introduced her into *La Vie de Saint Remi*.<sup>4</sup>

Nature appeared occasionally as a mother,<sup>5</sup> a view which emphasized her continued care of her creations; her solicitude for a person after birth is shown by the gifts she bestowed. For example:

*Les Enfances Ogier*,<sup>6</sup> ll. 5221 ff., a man's character.

2485 ff. Gautier d'Arras, *Oeuvres*, ed. E. Löseth, 2 vols. (Paris), I, *Eracle*, ll. 2518 ff. Marie de France, ed. K. Warnke (Halle, 1900), *Equitan*, 34; *Le Fraigne*, 242. Adenès II Rois, *Li Roumans de Cleomadès*, A. van Hasselt, 2 vols. (Bruxelles, 1865-66), I, 265 ff.; cf. *The Style of Adenet le Roi Studied in "Berte" and "Cleomadès"*, G. D. Davidson, University of Virginia dissertation (1905). Thibaut, *Li Romans de la Poire*, work cited, l. 1025 (making Franchise). *La Vie de Sainte Catherine d'Alexandre*, ed. Todd, P.M.L.A.A., IV, p. 21. Renaut, *Le Roman de Galerant*, ed. A. Boucherie (Paris, 1888), ll. 1233 ff. *Li Romans d'Athis et Prophilias*, ed. A. Weber (Staefa, 1881), MS C, l. 505. Robert de Blois, *Floris et Liriope*, ed. W. von Zingerle (Leipzig, 1891), ll. 196 ff. Gérard d'Amiens, *Roman d'Escanor*, ed. H. Michelant (Tübingen, 1866), ll. 18301, 18323 ff. *Le Salut d'Amour*, P. Meyer (Paris, 1867), IV, 53 ff., V, 32. Froissart, *Oeuvres*, work cited, as in I, *Li orloge amoureux*, ll. 181 ff. And others. Of man: *Eneas*, ed. J. S. deGrave (Halle, 1891), l. 3916. *Der Münchener Brut*, ed. K. Hofmann and K. Vollmöller (Halle, 1877), ll. 1929 f. *Athis et Prophilias*, work cited, l. 2716. *Recueil . . . des Fabliaux*, work cited, II, 217; III, 6. *Dits et Contes de Baudouin de Condé et Jean de Condé*, Scheler (Bruxelles, 1866), 3 vols., as in I, *Li Dis des Trois Mors et des Trois Vis*. Froissart, *Oeuvres*, work cited, II, *Le Joli Buisson*, ll. 23 ff. And others.

<sup>1</sup> Chrétien, *Yvain*, work cited, ll. 796-99. Philippe Remi, Sire de Beaumanoir, *Oeuvres*, H. Suchier (Paris, 1884), 2 vols., I, *La Manekine*, l. 4174. *Roman d'Escanor*, work cited, ll. 9055 ff. *Octavian*, ed. Vollmöller (Heilbronn, 1883), l. 1859.

<sup>2</sup> Stevenson has remarked upon their use of the figure, *Der Einfluss des Gautier d'Arras auf die altfranz. Kunstepik* (Göttingen, 1910), pp. 87-88. He implied that Renaut followed Chrétien rather than Gautier.

<sup>3</sup> Kristian von Troyes, *Wörterbuch zu seinen sämtlichen Werken* (Halle, 1914), pp. 35-38.

<sup>4</sup> Work cited by Chrétien made a psychological disposition of Nature in *William of England*, citation above.

<sup>5</sup> Guillaume Alexis, *Oeuvres*, ed. A. Piaget and E. Picot (Paris, 1869-1908), II, *Le Passe Temps de tout Homme et toute Femme*, ll. 420 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Adenès II Rois, work cited.

*Complainte sur la mort de Chastellain*,<sup>1</sup> p. 350, ability to write poetry.

*Complainte contre la Mort*,<sup>2</sup> honneur, sens, scauace.

*Le Debat du Rieille-Matin*,<sup>3</sup> to a lady, who thus is "bonne, sage, et belle"; but she lacks pity.

Machaut, *Le Remède de Fortune*,<sup>4</sup> ll. 59 ff., every good to the lady.

Deschamps, a ballade, 3-4<sup>5</sup> fragilité, débilité, ordure (in contrast with Fortune's gifts); another, 7; humilité, beauté, honneur.

Froissart, *Le Joli Mois de May*,<sup>6</sup> ll. 89 ff., to a lady, beauté, bonté, sens, franchise, humilité, avis, manière, loyauté; not pity.

Hence Nature controlled the physical body, mind, and character. She afforded the qualities requisite for a lady in courtly love. Deschamps implied, however, that Nature was insufficient for a man's comfort or happiness.<sup>7</sup>

Nature demonstrated her interest also by nourishing or teaching the person.<sup>8</sup> In this respect she often represented either instinct or self-inclination of the man or the animal (as in *Li Contes dou Bachelier*<sup>9</sup> by Baudoin de Condé, 303 ff.) as distinguished from training or environment. Her instruction Chrétien discussed in *William of England*.<sup>10</sup> In the Lyons *Yzopet*<sup>11</sup> she taught "droiture"; later she had a lion for a pupil; neither item is in the Latin original. In Froissart's *Meliador*,<sup>12</sup> she taught arms; in Machaut's *Dit de l'Alerion*,<sup>13</sup> she had birds for pupils; in his *Remède de Fortune*,<sup>14</sup> she instructed a heart to love a certain lady. At times she engaged tutors for a protégé, as in the case of Charles d'Orleans.<sup>15</sup> Thus her scope embraced all proper manly accomplishments and experience.

<sup>1</sup> Jean Robertet in *Oeuvres de George Chastellain*, K. de Lettenhove (Bruxelles, 1869), VIII.

<sup>2</sup> *Oeuvres*, A. DuChesne (Paris, 1617).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, mcccxiv; VIII, mcccxliv.

<sup>4</sup> P. 496.

<sup>5</sup> *Oeuvres*, II.

<sup>6</sup> *Oeuvres*, work cited, II.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>8</sup> Chastellain, *Oeuvres*, work cited VI, 77.

<sup>9</sup> *Dits et Contes*, work cited, I; cf. Jean de Condé's *Li Dis de Force contre Nature*, pp. 260-66.

<sup>10</sup> Work cited, ll. 1360 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Foerster (Heilbronn, 1882); references XXII, l. 1081, and XLIII, ll. 2175-76; respectively.

<sup>12</sup> Work cited, ll. 24965 ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Oeuvres*, work cited, II, ll. 3507 ff.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 62.

<sup>15</sup> *Poésies Complètes*, ed. C. D. Héricault, 2 vols. (Paris, 1896), I, p. 1. See further, p. 327. Cf. Nature versus education in Robert de Blois, III, *Li Ensegnement des Princes* (sect. VII), ll. 1141 ff.; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, work cited, *La Prison Amoureuse*, ll. 1320 ff. Cf. also such phrases as "livre de nature," *Li histoire de Joseph*, l. 6, W. Steuer, *Romanische Forschungen*, XIV, 3. Heft, p. 281.

Nature's interest in man at maturity centered in four points: his experience with love, his relations to Fortune, his contentions with evil, and his conquest by Nature's enemy Death. In these matters she was frequently in company with Reason or at odds with her.

In general, the poets assumed that Nature is a goddess of good<sup>1</sup> and of life. She has her fixed laws<sup>2</sup> which it is the duty of every creature to obey, especially man's duty. Not to obey is to do wrong; the result of disobedience must be destruction or death. Yet such an outcome is contrary to her ideal—the giving of life. The crime for which man deserves the paradoxical punishment of death is violation of the laws of generation and proper living, a pursuit of wrong loves—the injury of which Natura complained in Alan of Lille's *De Planctu Naturae*. Her gifts ought not to be abused. Occasionally Reason aids her in maintaining a sense of what is right.

## II

Nature's interest in man after he has reached maturity centered, I have said, in four matters—his worldly circumstances, his experiences in love, his battles with evil, and his overthrow by death. Accordingly I now examine the briefer treatments of Nature's relations with Fortune, Amours, Raison, and Mort.<sup>3</sup>

Though in *Consolatio Philosophiae* Boethius did not personify nature in the passage<sup>4</sup> wherein Philosophia defends changeable Fortuna by pointing out the analogy of natural mutability of the universe, Simond de Freine did so in his redaction, the *Roman de Philosophie*.<sup>5</sup> He put Fortune under Nature,<sup>6</sup> the allegory showing the instability of fortune. Nature dislikes the unequal distributions

<sup>1</sup> Nature good or evil. Chrétien, *William of England*, work cited, ll. 1381 ff. Good: *Poètes de Champagne*, Tarbé (Reims, 1851), p. 58. Cf. *Der Cato des Adam de Seul*, S. Ulrich, *Roman. Forsch.*, XV, 1. Heft, ll. 619–22, if one lives according to Nature, God will aid one.

<sup>2</sup> Nature is order: Jehan de la Mote, *Li Regret Guillaume*, work cited, ll. 75 ff., 712 (wishing to conform to nature). *Complainte sur la Comtesse de Charrolois*, p. 133. Chastellain, *Oeuvres*, work cited, VI, *Le Pas de la Mort*, p. 60. Law of Nature: Lyons, *Ysopet*, work cited, XXXIX (1835) (use not in Latin original). Nature controlling things: Jehan de la Mote, work cited, ll. 67 ff. *La Messe des Oisiaux*, work cited, III, p. 120. Cf. also Nature and Amours, and Nature and Raison in my discussion later.

<sup>3</sup> The writers are not consistent in their use of Nature.

<sup>4</sup> R. Peiper, Leipzig, 1875, II, meter 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Oeuvres*, J. E. Matzke (Paris, 1909), ll. 331 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Le Songe Veritable*, Maranville (Paris, 1891), ll. 1637–1728, Fortune associating herself with Nature in relation to man.

of Fortune.<sup>1</sup> Later in discussing Fortune's bestowal of honors upon men, Simond held that thereby contraries are joined unnaturally—a state which, according to Boethius,<sup>2</sup> is abhorrent to Natura. Again, the misfortune of man is attributed to the fact that of all creatures man alone does not obey Nature.<sup>3</sup> H. R. Patch in *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature*<sup>4</sup> has explained the relations between Nature and Fortune, having found the distinction adequately set forth in Frere Lorens' *Somme de Vices et de Vertues*<sup>5</sup> (1279). The gifts of God are divided into those of nature, fortune, and grace; Nature gives the properties of body and soul; Fortune, honors, wealth, and prosperity. Professor Patch followed the tradition to Boccaccio, who extended Fortune's powers (*De Casibus*, p. 170), and to Deschamps, who included among her gifts beauty of body and youth (III, 386).<sup>6</sup>

A relation of Nature with Amours, another figure of the medieval pantheon, arises from her own function.<sup>7</sup> She directs Amours in his influence on man in youth;<sup>8</sup> yet sometimes she and Fortune have less power in "droiture" than does Amours.<sup>9</sup> She may indeed fall under his control,<sup>10</sup> whereby virtue grows and vice becomes virtue. According to Deschamps, Nature regrets such a position.<sup>11</sup> In *La Messe des Oiseaux*,<sup>12</sup> however, Nature may be more comfortably disposed, since she is above Amours. But no matter which is the superior, man should obey the laws of both.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, the Courtisienne

<sup>1</sup> Work cited, ll. 393 ff. (Cf. Boethius, *Consol.*, II, prosa 5.) Christine de Pisan, work cited, I, 97, employing part of *Consolatio* as authority, declared people to be wrong who hold the benefits of Fortune more dear than those of Nature.

<sup>2</sup> Simond, ll. 825 ff.; *Consol.*, II, prosa 6.

<sup>3</sup> Ll. 1160 ff. The implication is in Boethius, III, meter 2.

<sup>4</sup> Harvard dissertation (1915), pp. 227–28.

<sup>5</sup> See Dan Michel's *Ayenbite*, ed. Morris, pp. 24 f.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. also Machaut, *Le Dit de l'Alerion*, work cited, ll. 2472 ff., for Adventure, Fortune, and Nature; Jean de Condé, work cited, III, *Li Dis de Fortune*, p. 152.

<sup>7</sup> Chastellain, *Oeuvres*, work cited, VI, *L'Oultre d'Amour*, p. 74; "Le Dieu d'Amours, frere a dame Nature."

<sup>8</sup> *La Prise Amoureuse*, ll. 316–61. Work cited.

<sup>9</sup> Machaut, *Dit de l'Alerion*, work cited, ll. 250 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *La Prise Amoureuse*, ll. 320 ff. Cf. Froissart, work cited, III, 4<sup>e</sup> *Tresor Amoureux*, Balades XXVI and XXVIII (pp. 172–74).

<sup>11</sup> *Oeuvres*, work cited, V, 307, ll. 21 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Dits et Contes*, work cited, III, ll. 957 ff.; ll. 1096 ff., Nature commands all to love; in l. 1385, the law of Amours and Nature is spoken of on the basis of divine scripture.

<sup>13</sup> *Tresor Amoureux*, work cited, Balade XXIX, p. 175.

in *Le Contreblason de Faulses Amours* affirms that it is necessary for man, like other creatures, to obey Dame Nature in love. The Religieuse responds that there is a high as well as a low love, and that one should seek only the former, which is under the guidance of Dame Raison.<sup>1</sup>

Nature's association with Raison was brought out elsewhere, as in *Li Misere*,<sup>2</sup> a pious satire by "the recluse of Molliens." Man should have Nature and Raisons for counselors, since the two are in accord. By implication, nevertheless, Froissart later put Nature under Raison, lest evil result.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, in *Le Songe Veritable*,<sup>4</sup> Raison sends a letter to the duc d'Orléans, in support of Nature's complaint against the duc's evil conduct toward his brother and his interests. In general, these examples show that Nature in harmony with old Stoic doctrine acts with Reason.<sup>5</sup>

Reason was not the only power higher than Nature.<sup>6</sup> Death in fact could defeat Nature's purposes. In the second elegy on the death of the countess de Charrolois,<sup>7</sup> La Mort informs Vertu that though Nature struggles against her, she finally submits, and thus young and old fare alike. The opposition was also brought out in Alain Chartier's *L'Esperance*.<sup>8</sup> Since man has worked against Nature toward his own destruction, she is much grieved; yet she sets out to oppose Death as far as lies in her capacity, in order that man may live out his proper period, and to this end she finally arouses Entendement from slumber. A different situation occurred in Jean Robertet's *Complainte sur la mort de Chastellain*, wherein the author described a vision.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Oeuvres*, de G. Alexis, work cited, I; d'Estrées thus took up in 1512 Alexis' *Le Blason de F.A.*, ll. 889 ff., 936. Cf. the conflict of mind in *Le Roman de Tristan*, J. Bedier (Paris, 1902-5), 2 vols., ll. 647 ff.; also my forthcoming paper in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, on Genius as an allegorical figure, for other debates as to love.

<sup>2</sup> A. Mayer (Landshut, 1882) (twelfth century), ll. 1786-90. For Reason further, see A. L. Hench, Harvard dissertation of 1921.

<sup>3</sup> *Tresor Amoureux*, work cited, Balades XXXIV and XXXVI (pp. 245-47).

<sup>4</sup> Maranville (Paris, 1891), ll. 2531-2602.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Consolation des Trois Vertus*, in *Oeuvres*, work cited, pp. 276-77; Deschamps II, 29, at death of Bertrand du Guesclin; VI, 116; Machaut, *P.L.*, p. 501.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Machaut, I, *Le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre*, concerning relations with Amours, to the effect that Nature commands one to forget the death of one's beloved.

<sup>7</sup> In volume with *La Dance aux Aveugles*, work cited, pp. 152-53; cf. also discussion on *Roman de la Rose* later.

<sup>8</sup> Work cited, pp. 276-77.

<sup>9</sup> Work cited, VIII, 351-54.

He sees advance three ladies, the first, Nature, who bears a banner, and the other two, Art and Ymitation, who join her in lamenting the death of their champion, Chastellain. Dame Nature extols his qualities, endowments physical, mental, and social, which she had given him. She curses Mort, or Atropos, who is her mortal enemy, spares nobody, and acts most cruelly. As she ends almost swooning, Art expresses rage and sorrow by showing to her sisters, who are the seven Liberal Arts, the cause of her anger, and she adjures God to curse Mort.

This symbolic elegy appears novel in that Nature is accompanied by two figures who are usually her rivals or imitators, but are here appropriate fellow-mourners over the poet whom all had aided. Notwithstanding, the abrupt end of the poem lacks the impressive religious climax that belief in immortality gave to the Middle English alliterative poem *Life and Death*.<sup>1</sup> In the French work no hope is offered by Nature, who strictly is the principle of mortal life. Hence the allegory merely adorns the elegy. In Old French literature, therefore, Nature yielded to Death.

### III

Two important works combine encyclopedic interest with allegorical employment of Nature, *L'Image du Monde* and the *Roman de la Rose*. The former was a popular French encyclopedia of the thirteenth century.<sup>2</sup> A primary version of it is at present assigned to the authorship of Gossouin, and a second admits many interpolations. The first version contains a chapter on the definitions of Nature by Plato and Aristotle, respectively: nature is the principle which makes things grow, and nature is the principle which makes things move. The second version has two interpolations<sup>3</sup> which deserve mention. One states briefly how God is related to the Nature he created: God created the world from nothing; Nature, despite her generative power, is but his tool, subservient to his will. The second

<sup>1</sup> See "Nature in Middle English," *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Philol.*, XX, 186 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *L'Image du Monde de Mattre Goesouin* (Lausanne, 1913). Brunetto Latini's Old French encyclopedia, *Li Livres dou Tresor*, I have considered in "Natura in Earlier Italian," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXVI, 329 ff., because it is in a sense parallel to Brunetto's poem, *Il Tesoretto*.

<sup>3</sup> *L'Image du Monde*, C. Fant (Upsala, 1886), pp. 17 and 27 respectively. They are not in Caxton's *Mirour of the World*, ed. O. H. Prior, E.E.T.S. (London, 1913). For the influence of this encyclopedia on English tradition, see "Nature in Middle English," work cited.



interpolation resembles Alan's account of the making of man by Natura and the Seven Arts:

Le premier conte raconte comment la Nature se concerta avec les sept Arts sur la manière de créer un homme. Par leur grand savoir ils réussirent effectivement à former des quatre elements un corps, mais ils ne purent pas y mettre de la vie, car ils ne disposaient d'aucune âme. Le Nature demanda conseil à la Philosophie, qui, après avoir consulté "ses filles, les sept Arts," déclara qu'il fallait aller au ciel pour en chercher une. La Philosophie et les sept Arts construisirent ensemble un char, attelé de cinq chevaux "selon la raison des cinq sens." La Nature voyagea à travers la terre, l'eau et l'air, jusqu'à ce qu'elle arrivât au ciel, où elle fut reçue avec bienveillance par l'Imagination, la Raison et l'Entendement, les trois "sens," c'est-à-dire facultés de l'âme. Elles la menèrent devant Dieu, qui agréa la demande de la Nature et lui donna une âme, avec laquelle elle s'entourna sur la terre.

This plot in its similarity to *Anticlaudianus* and *De Mundi Universitate* suggests an original recombination of elements by the interpolator or by some associate or imitator of the Latin humanists. If the story was not first composed by the interpolator, the work on which he based his account is apparently lost. The beginning in which Nature makes a physical man with the aid of the Seven Arts resembles the beginning of *Anticlaudianus*, in which Nature consults the Seven Virtues about the creation of a perfect man, and the Seven Arts construct the vehicle for the celestial journey. But the interpolation does not imply that a perfect man is desired because earlier men have been evil. Moreover, in the Latin poem, the work of the Seven Arts in forming man is postponed till God's permission is secured and a soul is obtained. Here, however, the body is made first, and the journey for the soul follows. In addition, the character Philosophie appears and gives advice about the errand after having consulted her daughters. Though the abstract does not so state, these daughters are presumably Theory and Practice, derived from either Boethius' *Consolatio* or from *De Mundi Universitate*, where a related character Physis has daughters so named. The Seven Arts assist the new adviser (who somewhat resembles Nous) in preparing a vehicle to be drawn by the Five Senses, as in *Anticlaudianus*. Then, as in *De Mundi Universitate*, Nature makes the journey in place of Prudentia, who goes in *Anticlaudianus*. Instead of having Ratio for charioteer, she meets Raison and other faculties of the soul

in heaven. The rest of the plot is not novel. As thus presented, the allegory is simpler than *Anticlaudianus*, but one cannot safely argue on that ground that the possible original behind the interpolation is older than Alan's great work. Still, at first sight, the absence of the moral lesson which complicates Alan's two allegories would connect the present version with an earlier attempt to elaborate the allegory in *De Mundi Universitate*.<sup>1</sup>

#### IV

The Old French work which employs Nature most extensively is the *Roman de la Rose*,<sup>2</sup> especially the part written by Jean de Meun. In this influential poem are exhibited most notably the romantic and the encyclopedic tempers which characterize French uses of the figure.

Guillaume de Lorris, who wrote the first part of the poem, adapted prettily the personification of Nature as creatrix. Thus he said that Nature made a fountain (ll. 1441-43), and also exerted herself to her utmost in forming a rose (ll. 1687 ff.). When he described Raison, however, he appropriately declared that Nature was unable to form such a creature, that such a labor could have been performed only in Paradise (ll. 2997 ff.); here he transfers a simple device for exaggerating woman's beauty to an allegorical figure.

Jean de Meun employed Nature at length, chiefly for the encouragement of love as a natural process. Occasionally he spoke on other topics, as when La Vieille asserts that Nature disposed woman to freedom (ll. 14833 ff.). But Jean's main theme was generation.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fant, p. 36, points out that another interpolation, in chapter 13, is based on *De Mundi Universitate*. It treats of the stars, the elements, the world, and man, the little world.

<sup>2</sup> *Roman de la Rose*, F. Michel, 2 vols. (Paris, 1864). Cf. G. Lanson, "Un naturaliste du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Jean de Meung," *Revue Bleue*, LIV, 35-41, and Mary M. Wood, *The Spirit of Protest in Old French Literature* (New York, 1918), which are studies independent of mine.

<sup>3</sup> F. Guillon, *Jean Clopinel* (Paris and Orleans, 1903), tried to prove that Jean de Meun was a political propagandist of Philip IV against the clergy. Unfortunately he based his argument on an indefensible redistribution of the authorship of the two parts of the poem, and a consequent redating of Jean's part. The manuscript evidence is against him, as was pointed out by E. Langlois in a review of Guillon's work, *Romania*, XXXII, 322-25.

Moreover, Jean's essential doctrine is emphatically stated in a portion of the poem which Guillon would assign to Guillaume de Lorris, and therefore from his own premises it might be inferred, contrary to the critic's intention, that Guillaume also was a political pamphleteer.

it is everybody's duty to God and Nature to promote birth (ll. 5120 ff.). All yield to love. Raison declares therefore that youth turns mistakenly from bad conduct to the cloister (ll. 5166 f.). The punishment for disobeying Nature's law is excommunication by Genius (ll. 4958 ff.).

Though such items give the main meaning in Jean's use of Nature, they do not indicate the encyclopedic scope of his treatment, the philosophic background, or the extension of the principle to many aspects of life. These characteristics are revealed in the protracted episode concerning Nature and Genius.

While Venus and Cupid with his barons were preparing to assault the tower, Nature worked at her forge<sup>1</sup> early and late to maintain the life of the species, despite the death of the individual. No man can in fact escape Death; no living thing but the phoenix eludes Death. Dame Nature abhors Death and works against him. She acts also in contrast with Art, who cannot equal Nature, but merely imitates her in sculpture, painting, and alchemy,<sup>2</sup> and cannot impart life to what she produces.

On this occasion, Nature is in grief. Jean declares his wit insufficient to describe her, for even Aristotle and Plato could not fathom her; Parrhasius, Zeuxis, and Apelles were unable to paint her beauties, and Polyclitus and Myron could not carve her form. In her trouble she derives comfort from hearing Cupid's barons swear the oath which Venus urged Cupid to have them take. She is still grieved over a possible past fault, nevertheless, and seeks her priest Genius,<sup>3</sup> who has recorded representations of all corruptible things. He compliments her briefly, and insists upon a long digression against woman. Still, he finds that marriage is necessary. At last he sits on an altar-chair in the chapel, and awaits the confession of Nature. She begins with the account of the creation of God (17666 ff.). This over, she says that God made her his chamberlain to execute His will in the great and fair mansion. Her power is vast; for God directs all creatures to obey, and all do so but one. She next explains the operation of the heavens and the planets,<sup>4</sup> thus establishing a point of departure whence she can discuss many allied topics. To all life comes Death; but many, behaving contrary to nature, die before their normal hour by suicide or neglect of the laws of health (17976 ff.). Some think that such death is due to destiny or planetary influence. Yet if people

<sup>1</sup> The figure of the forge was used in *De Planctu* and *Archithrenius*; possibly before Jean in *Li Romans de la Poire*, ll. 1170 ff. Cf. *La Folle Bobance* (about 1499), work cited. ll. 296 ff.; *La Vraye Histoire de Triboulet*, pp. 30, 38; Deschamps, work cited, VIII, 198.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 16998 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See for an account of his early history "The Allegorical Figure Genius," *Classical Philology*, XV, 380 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The argument recalls that of Wordsworth's *Ode to Duty*.

followed Raison, they would avoid numerous errors that shorten their lives. Nature continues her philosophical lecture by discussing Free-will and Predestination, and then returns to a consideration of the heavens, which, she affirms, always perform their duty. Later she discusses true nobility, which is due to neither wealth nor inherited rank, but depends on character. Again she returns to the heavenly bodies and repeats her statement that they all do their duty. Nor has she any complaint to make of the elements, birds, fishes, beasts. Only man disobeys her laws,—man, the end and aim of all her labor, to whom she has given every good thing that she knows (19953 ff.). From her he received all but his immortal soul, which came from God. Yet by the crucifixion, he betrayed even God's gift. Accordingly, Nature asks Genius whether she is not doing wrong to continue to love man and help so insolent a creature. For his vices a heavy punishment remains in the torment of Hell. Retribution, nevertheless, she will leave to God. But she wishes to assist Cupid. Hence she charges Genius to bear her salutations to him and to Dame Venus and all the barons except False-Seeming and Forced-Abstinence, and to declare that she will support her friends and pardon repenters. After absolving Nature, Genius delivers her message and threatens those who approve of race-suicide. The penalty is to be excommunication.

This brief review shows plainly that Jean de Meun's share in the *Roman de la Rose* belongs to the type of didactic allegory conspicuous in Latin writers of the twelfth century. Jean molded material taken largely from Alan's allegories, *De Planctu Naturae* and *Anticlaudianus*. To be sure, as E. Langlois<sup>1</sup> has pointed out, he used many other authorities like Boethius, Bernard Silvester, and the Chalcidian *Timaeus*. Thus Boethius introduced *Philosophia* (*Consol.* I, pr. 1) and Alan, *Natura* (*D.N.P.*, Migne 210, col. 212) precisely as Jean introduces Raison (l. 3842), but Jean did not need to describe her since Guillaume de Lorris had already done so. *Natura* and *Raison* both deliver discourses on love which are not at once intelligible to the auditor. In one passage (ll. 4896 ff.), Jean substituted Raison for *Natura* in discussing the chief effect of love—the union of opposites. Jean (ll. 17189 ff.) and Alan agreed in making Nature complain that man, whom she tries to help, will not co-operate with her, but insists on ruining himself. Jean put Nature's office in the mansion or palace of God—a detail not in Alan's account, because it would not be pertinent. Jean defined love as the force which produces the union of elements, whereas Alan found the creative force

<sup>1</sup> *Origines et Sources du Roman de la Rose* (Paris, 1891).

to be the will of God, though it so acts indeed as to imply affection or love. Both agreed that the heavenly bodies and the animals are obedient to Nature, and that man is the only exception. The difference in plot between the two allegories caused a change in the messengers: in Jean, Nature dispatches Genius to Venus, Amours, and the others; and in Alan, Nature sends Hymen to Genius, her other self. Genius, though conceived for the same office, is with Jean a decadent character in comparison with the august personage in Alan, and thereby degrades Nature from her traditional height. Nevertheless, she retains an essential dignity. As Jean employs her, she represents the true law of life, which is also the law of reason. "Live according to Nature" means "live according to Reason"—the old Stoic doctrine.

## V

Alchemy, as we have seen, had its place among the encyclopedic interests of Nature in the *Roman de la Rose*, and several poems on the subject were fitly included by Méon in his edition<sup>1</sup> of the famous romance. One of these, *La Fontaine des Amoureux de Science*,<sup>2</sup> is said to have been written in 1413 by Jehan de la Fontaine.

The author represents himself as entering a garden in May—a familiar introduction in medieval verse. He falls asleep and has a dream. In the vision, two ladies, Cognoissance and Raison, appear and guide him to a fountain whence he sees flow seven streams. It belongs to a "Dame d'honneur," Nature, the mother of everything. Then Nature herself approaches, and Raison bids him, "A l'aymer mets toute ta cure." Nature inquires his business. He responds that he once heard a clerk praise Science, the gift of God, and that he wishes to achieve honor. Nature is complaisant: by God's command, so she tells him, she governs the whole world, and she can promise both honor and riches. To this end she proceeds to expound the alchemical philosophy.

The poem is about as clear as any of the works which attempt to explain the process of discovering the marvelous elixir. The well-worn device of a dream-garden is used to adorn the aridities of scientific study. We may note also a special application of a familiar Stoic principle in the promise of honor and wealth to result from obedience to Nature's laws. Nature herself is the operative force of the universe.

<sup>1</sup> *Le Roman de la Rose* (Paris, 1814), IV.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 245-88.

Another work in the same group is less vivid in its use of the figure of Nature, doing little more than introduce her as a teacher. This is the petit *Traicté d'Alchymie, intitulé Le Sommaire Philosophique de Nicolas Flamel*.<sup>1</sup>

The alchemist is advised to aid Nature in her work. Wise men follow her, for she has power from God over germination, and her aid is needed by all.

*Les Remonstrances (la Complainte de Nature a l'alchymiste errant)*, a third work of the group, is more vividly conceived. It was composed early in the sixteenth century, presumably by Antoine Sala.<sup>2</sup> It consists of an accusation followed by a defense—a kind of encyclopedia in two parts showing what one ought to do and what one ought not to do, with the consequence of each course. Some alchemists seek results by guesswork, but only those who study Nature's laws succeed. The first part exhibits Nature rebuking an alchemist:

She is most unhappy because the human race which God formed in his own image for a perfect creation has ceased to follow her laws and to employ Dame Reason. She declares that the alchemist is unable to work as she can, and then she dwells upon the material of her labor. There are degrees of life from metals, plants, animals, up to men, who possess on a small scale everything of the macrocosm. She works for God the Creator, transmuting the four elements to life in accordance with the laws of form. If the alchemist would co-operate with her, they two could make the elixir, the philosopher's stone, with which to transmute the baser metals into the higher.

In the second part the alchemist responds to Nature as his mother, who is the most perfect creature God has formed next to the angels, and the mistress of the macrocosm which He formed for the microcosm man. After reviewing the four elements, he realizes that he cannot succeed without her help, and accordingly promises to act with her, in the hope thereby of becoming rich.

This two-fold poem gives a somewhat different turn to the frequent complaint of Nature that man is no longer heedful of her laws, and results in a settlement not in harmony with her invective in other poems against the danger of wealth.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 215-42. For further information in regard to this poem, see A. Poisson, *Nicolas Flamel* (Paris, 1893), pp. 128 ff., 140-41.

<sup>2</sup> P. Paris, *Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXVII (Paris, 1881), 431, in an article on Jean de Meun. Consult the index of *Die Alchemie in alterer und neuerer Zeit*, H. Kopp (Heidelberg, 1886).

## VI

It remains now to speak of a few other noteworthy employments of the figure of Nature. Two of these curiously enough were used by John Lydgate in English redactions from the French: Guillaume Digulleville's *Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine*<sup>1</sup> (1330 and 1355) and *Les Échecs Amoureux*.<sup>2</sup>

The former allegory presents Nature in a novel guise, in a sense less elevated than in the *Roman de la Rose*. She did not consistently maintain the beauty or dignity ascribed to her by the twelfth century Latin poets.

In the *Pèlerinage*, Raison cannot understand the sacramental changes and refers her trouble to Nature, an old lady. Nature likewise cannot comprehend the miracle, and in anger she rushes to upbraid Grace Dieu for violating her ordinances. His field is the starry heavens, and the circle of the moon should bound his activities; whereas her occupation is with the elements, winds, seasons, flowers, wherewith she is never idle. She protests against miracles. Nevertheless Grace Dieu reproves her hasty wrath. He proceeds to show that all she holds she has had merely through him, and that she is but his servant. Then he explains how the heavens with the influence of the warm sun and other instruments cause her things to grow and prosper, and proves to her that they govern earthly generations. Finally Nature confesses her error and cries for mercy and forgiveness. She is pardoned.

It is evident, therefore, that Nature can do wrong: in the *Roman de la Rose*, she fears that she might have done wrong, and confesses to Genius; but a half-century later, she admittedly does wrong and is more seriously humiliated.

Later in the poem she reappears, displeased at the apparent lawlessness of the making of a part equal to a whole, and she sends Aristotle to rebuke Sapience. Sapience says in answer, however, that she has two schools, one in which she taught Dame Nature herself to make flowers, and one in which she taught the art of Raison. After illustrating her lesson, she dismisses Aristotle back to Nature, who patiently accepts the distinction.

Thus in the *Pèlerinage*, Nature is no longer young, but, in the disrespectful tone with which some of the miracle plays treat reverend

<sup>1</sup> Ed. J. J. Sturzingher (Roxburghe Club, 1893); cf. for Lydgate's version, *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* (1426), E.E.T.S., ed. F. J. Furnival (1899-1901).

<sup>2</sup> See E. Sleper, *Les Échecs Amoureux* (Weimar, 1898), especially pp. 128-39; also Vol. II, 59 ff.; also for more complete synopsis, S. L. Gulpin, *Romanic Review*, XI, 283 ff. For Lydgate, *Reason and Sensuality*, E.E.T.S., ed. E. Sleper (1901).

characters, is satirically represented as an old woman, who displays petulance, and lacks sweet, calm reason, as do the old women of popular fancy. Her power is opposed to reason when reason seems to violate laws. On the other hand, she submits to Raison's transcendent force, when it is shown in the persons of Sapience and Grace Dieu. In general, the limitation of her scope to the lower realms comes from *De Mundi Universitate* or a similar clerical view, rather than from the higher conception employed in *De Planctu Naturae*, where she is youthful, and as the agent of a far-off God, controls the celestial sphere as well as affairs on earth. The age assigned her in the *Pèlerinage* did not gain much support in the tradition.

In the fourteenth century likewise was written the poem, *Les Échecs Amoureux*. A nobler Nature appears here. The resemblance of the beginning of the poem to the *Roman de la Rose* and *De Planctu Naturae* will be clear from the following:

One spring morning, as the author lies awake listening to the birds, a lovely lady enters with divine aroma,—Nature, who is under God the chief goddess, ruling the earth, planets, stars, firmament, spheres, and elements, and repairs the old and forges the new. In person she is young and beautiful; her mantle, made of the four elements, pictures all Creation and the ideas in God's mind. Among the many things on the mantle figures man. The planets revolve in her crown. Nature rebuked the poet for lying so late; he should, she declares, go about the world to see its beauty. He then should praise God, who has made for man everything—beast, fish, and plant. Since man is the less world, like the great world, and like God, he should be virtuous and godlike in conduct. He can be so if he will choose the path of her sister, Raison, not that of Sensualité. If he does not do so, Genius, her priest, will judge against him. After her warning, Dame Nature leaves, and the author sets out on his adventure of performing the judgment of Paris over again, with the result that Venus comes to thank him and promises him a reward. Having declared his allegiance to her, he tells her how he wants to obey Nature and to avoid sensuality. She replies that she is in accord with Nature, acting obediently as a chambermaid indispensable at her forge. Accordingly she wins him over with the promise of the fairest maid. Then she directs him on his journey. So he meets Diana, who, when he asserts that Nature had bidden him view the beauty of her works, denies that Nature had ordered him to follow Venus, because Nature on account of God's providence and wisdom, never commits error. But Diana fails to persuade him. He proceeds, and meeting Cupid, is told to play chess with a



beautiful maiden. She wins. Pallas then gives long instructions as to love, Paris and its university, professions, marriage, and the like. . . .

The theme of this incomplete poem is a man's combat with sensuality. Thus *Les Échecs Amoureux* is related to *De Planctu Naturae*. The description of Nature's beauty follows the Latin work. The adventures to which Nature leaves the poet, however, resemble those in the *Roman de la Rose*, in Ovid, and in others, and recall *Archithrenius* and Brunetto Latini's *Il Tesoretto*.<sup>1</sup>

An analysis of the relation of the personifications and other characters most closely associated with Nature, shows that Nature may be viewed either on the intellectually moral side, or on the physically sensuous, unmoral, or even immoral side. Hence there are *Raison*,<sup>2</sup> who traditionally distinguishes between right and wrong, and *Sensualité*, who ignores the distinction or in fact may frankly favor evil for the sake of the pleasure it may afford. Again these characters represent conflicting elements in Man. A deeper test of the allegory shows that a further parallel carries the matter to another issue: there are the opposed forces of Venus and Diana, each liable to excess. Though Venus maintains that she serves Nature, she is rather the apostate Venus of *De Planctu Naturae* than the previously virtuous assistant. Diana denies that the goddess of love is so intimately related to Nature as she implies. The putting of Venus at Nature's stithy is a modification of Alan and Jean de Meun. The allegorical significance of Nature's early departure may well be that she had to leave for the many other tasks given her as God's minister, and also that man must assume responsibility himself. She conforms to the general representation of her office as established by Alan and Jean de Hauteville. Her instruction is, as usual, morally sound.<sup>3</sup> In sum, the allegorical and other interests of the poem suffice for its direct and indirect influence upon succeeding writers. In England arose a tradition that lasted two centuries.<sup>4</sup> One cause is that its

<sup>1</sup> See "Nature in Earlier Italian," work cited.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Plato's idea of the function of reason and knowledge of self.

<sup>3</sup> See "Nature in Middle English," work cited.

<sup>4</sup> After man has gained experience from travel and encounters with Venus and Diana, he comes to Pallas, whose moderation and wisdom supplement further the sensible aid of Nature. Thus *Les Échecs Amoureux* presents the moral as well as much of the scheme of *Archithrenius*, and may well have received suggestions from it.

central theme, dealing with reason and sensuality, is universal, and the doctrine of moderation as opposed to excess has been enforced by moralists since the days of Socrates and Aristotle.

The familiar attitude of complaint against man's sins appears in a poem by Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre*.<sup>1</sup> In the introduction, he treated the revolt of the peasants, the persecution of Jews, the sect of Flagellants, and the plague of 1349.

The poet wrote that when Nature examined the state of her labors and saw how men killed one another, she went to Jupiter to have thunderbolts forged and a tempest roused for work-days and feast-days. All the violent forces of the universe she bade do their worst. Later God Himself sent death by the plague.<sup>2</sup> (From such a mood the poem shifts to an amorous debate which is not further related to the introduction.)

Jupiter here is not God, but rather an agent of Nature's vengeance.<sup>3</sup> Above Nature appears God, who sends the rarer punishment of sudden death.

Machaut narrated the visitation upon animals and man vividly, since he embodied his reaction to contemporary events.

Simple variations of the theme as handled by Jean de Meun and by Machaut appear in a poem written by Eustache Deschamps after 1382, his fragmentary political satire, *La Fiction du Lyon*.<sup>4</sup>

According to this allegory, the ease of the golden world has led to corruption and at least the gods decide to destroy the world. As the principle hostile to death, Nature intervenes with an encyclopedic discourse (imitative of the *Roman de la Rose*). Inanimate objects obey her, but the only living creatures that do so are plants and fish. After a disquisition on free will, she declares that man has been given a soul to protect his body and woe unto him who does not conquer the body and resist temptation. Everything dies, but Nature repairs and renews it. Water, the first element, is the great agent of life in this world, and accordingly fish do not die while in it,—a peculiar doctrine of immortality. Nature ends her appeal by asking that

<sup>1</sup> *Oeuvres*, Hoepffner, work cited, I, pp. 137 ff. The introduction goes some 430 lines. In the body of the poem occur incidental references to Nature. Nature would have a person forget one who has died, not dwell too long on the occurrence (ll. 2070 ff., 2161 ff.); this position is opposed (ll. 2079 ff.). Again (ll. 3853 ff.), Raison declares that *Bonneurtez* can take from Nature control over a child. Another reference occurs in ll. 3208 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Deschamps, *Oeuvres*, work cited, VII, 114.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Claudianus' *De Raptu Proserpinae and Gigantomachia*, discussed in "Nature in Earlier Periods," work cited, for the relation between Nature and Jupiter.

<sup>4</sup> *Oeuvres*, work cited, VIII, 247 ff.

the gods pity animals and men. But Jupiter, here superior to her, declines to do so. And to his decision, she says merely, "I am silent."

A comparison of Deschamps' material with the *Roman de la Rose* shows a relation plainly. Several differences are apparent, however. The poet adds a doctrine of hydropathy, with a bit of folk-lore on the antiquity of fish.<sup>1</sup> Again, Nature, the dignified character of normal tradition, declares by exception that not only men err, but beasts also. The ordinary view that man alone is opposed to her law Deschamps expresses elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

An application of Nature's creative work and moral aim, slightly different from those above, occurs in Machaut's *Prologue*,<sup>3</sup> which recalls Natura's forming of the perfect man by the aid of the Seven Arts in *Anticlaudianus*.

Nature speaks to Guillaume, saying that she has come with three of her children, namely, Scenes, Retorique, and Musique, who are to give him practical instruction in writing about the pleasures of love. After his answer, Amours comes with three more children, Dous Penser, Plaisance, and Esperance. The poet responds by telling in encyclopedic fashion what music and rhetoric will do for him.

Charles d'Orléans had a more graceful way of indicating the educative method of Nature. The first thought is in *Le Poeme de la Prison*.<sup>4</sup>

"In the past, when Nature caused me to come into the world, she put me first of all, under the control of a dame called Enfance, giving her strict command to nourish and guard me tenderly. Later a messenger named Age came and delivered a letter from Dame Nature to Enfance, saying that thereafter Dame Jeunesse would nourish me." In another poem, *Songe en Complainte*,<sup>5</sup> Age appears to the poet and identifies himself by the incident just related. He affirms that Raison, who should govern everybody, has complained to Nature about Jeunesse and the poet.

An ingenious example of Nature's argument for proper conduct, is afforded by the poem, *Le Debat et Proces de Nature et de Jeunesse*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 2108 ff.; cf. for sources, XI, 159 ff. Cf. also for a discussion of the relation of the general section to the *Roman de la Rose*, Eustache Deschamps *Leben und Werke*, Hoepffner (Strassburg, 1908), pp. 179 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Oeuvres*, V, balade, p. 273, ll. 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Work cited, I, 1 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Work cited, I, 1. *Poésies Lyriques*, work cited, I, 3 ff.

<sup>5</sup> P. 92.

<sup>6</sup> *Le Débat de deuz Demoysselles* . . . , Simonnet Calteau ? (Paris, 1825), pp. 71-82, a late example.

After the author's prologue, Jeunesse protests that Nature lets him grow old. She calls him foolish, for youth must pass. When he says that he is intent on present joys, she insists that his attitude is to disregard the flight of time. Passing over his assertion that she does not care for him, she explains that there are, according to God's own law, three stages of life,—immaturity, maturity, and age. Though he nevertheless prefers merry living, she still wants to restrain him from folly. Even if he is healthy, he will be followed by death without respite. Terrified by the prospect, he protests that God will not let him die young. She asseverates that death comes from excesses. Straightway he points out that even the temperate have illnesses, and therefore he questions the advantage of his improving his conduct. He asks, however, whether there is not medicine against illness and death. She replies that none exists, but that a good life will bring a good end. Jeunesse, though he inclines to her views, finds it difficult to cling to such advantages when he sees an opportunity for present delight. Sternly she recalls him by declaring that man thinks too late of reform,—already death is at hand. He admits that he perceives how small is the value of this world's joy, how ephemeral is man. Finally he decides to live properly during the little space of life still his.

Nature really expresses the author's own ideas. The underlying theory that there is a natural law of virtue recalls the Stoic doctrine, "Live according to nature."

## VII

In conclusion, I emphasize two aspects of the use of Nature in Old French, personification and allegory. The personification did not originate in French, but its extensive employment is characteristic. Moreover, greater fondness for the hyperbole which a poet employs in commending a lady's beauty is there exhibited in other literatures. In older German poetry the device occurs rarely, and it is hardly frequent in early Italian. But in French it is regular.<sup>1</sup>

In the more extensive allegorical uses in Old French literature, Nature goes but once on a long celestial journey; her travels were sufficiently treated by the Latin humanists of the twelfth century, and perhaps even the single instance is really derived from a lost Latin original. Though she was employed in conjunction with the Arts, she has mostly associated with romantic abstractions, which often stand for psychological phenomena, or with the traditional

<sup>1</sup> It clung to French and English literature even down to the nineteenth century.

divinities of classical mythology like Venus and Cupid. She maintains relations with Fortune and Raison. In educative poems, her scientific interests are especially directed to alchemy. Even here, her attitude is moral. She is the principle of generation operating in the universe, but she is conscious of the ethical purpose involved; indeed she represents both growth and Stoic morality. She is God's agent<sup>1</sup> and must endeavor to make all her creatures and instruments obey His commandment against the extinction of species or of life. Such in fact is the lesson in the second part of the most influential work of the Old French period, the *Roman de la Rose*.

E. C. KNOWLTON

OHIO WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

<sup>1</sup> Nowhere have I found an attempt to equate her with God, like that of the author of *Piers the Plowman* making Kuynde a synonym for God. The early church writers opposed vigorously such an equation: see "Nature in Earlier Periods," work cited.



## REVIEWS AND NOTICES

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### *La Fortune Intellectuelle de Herder en France. La Préparation.*

By HENRI TRONCHON. Paris: F. Rieder et Cie, 1920. Pp. 570.

This stout volume, which is to be followed by a concluding volume containing "Les résultats" of Herder's intellectual fortunes in France, contains an exhaustive and valuable statement and discussion of the influence of Herder's writings on French thought until about the year 1830.

Starting with a quotation from Quinet, who translated, a quarter of a century after Herder's death, the *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, the author proceeds to write the history of the entrance of Herder's writings into France. Quinet had said of Herder: "Et cet homme est presque inconnu parmi nous! Et son nom n'y réveille ni souvenirs ni sympathie." To this complaint Mr. Tronchon opposes his own thesis, the chief parts of which are that Herder had been known in France from the beginning of his literary activity, that there had been a number of emphatic expressions of sympathy and profound intellectual indebtedness to him on the part of French leaders of thought, but that the influence of Herder's ideas had never been decisive and lasting. Mr. Tronchon supports his contentions by a detailed examination, distinguished by scholarly care and thoroughness and intellectual integrity, of each of the French writers who had been in direct contact with Herder's ideas.

In the introduction Mr. Tronchon surveys Herder's fundamental conceptions. His summary of what he terms Herder's "intellectual physiognomy" is so compact, clear and balanced that it deserves at least partial quotation: "L'essentiel de cette physionomie intellectuelle semble tout d'abord résider en une curiosité passionnée, en une vivacité d'imagination incroyable, toujours en éveil et en quête, qui explore ou côtoie à peu près tous les domaines littéraires ou avoisinant la littérature, et dont un Encyclopédiste même aurait été déconcerté; en une fongueuse universalité de connaissances ou d'associations, les unes illustrant, pénétrant, aidant les autres. Même dans l'histoire des lettres allemandes, où la littérature, l'art, la religion et la philosophie sont solidaires et forment un tout, où tous les grands esprits ont été à la fois savants, philosophes, littérateurs et même théologiens, l'œuvre de Herder garde une place à part. Elle est, dans son entier, d'une ampleur et d'une généralité à n'en décourager aucun, d'une élévation à séduire toutes les âmes un peu hautes: lui-même, ne donnait-il pas à la sienne, comme dominante, le sens de la noblesse?"

The importance of the grasp of the unity within the endless variety of detail, of "les vues d'ensemble"; Herder's suspicion of abstractions, of any

form of "construction dans l'absolu"; his belief that we were created in the first place not for abstract ideas but for concrete actions; above all, his unparalleled sense of the constant process of development in accordance with all the conditions of our environment, that genetic instinct which is characteristic of the modern historical point of view—all these essential features are concisely stated. To the systematic critics of Herder Mr. Tronchon opposes the neat alternative: "N'est-on *philosophe* qu'au prix d'un système? Ou ce titre appartient-il (quoting from Ch. Adam, *La Philosophie en France*) à quiconque provoque un grand mouvement des esprits dans une direction nouvelle?"

In this historical survey, M. Tronchon shows that the critical journals from the first called attention to Herder's works. The *Journal Encyclopédique* discussed briefly and in general terms, but favorably, Herder's *Fragments* only a few months after their appearance. The other journals which early kept him before the French public are the *Gazette des Deux Ponts*, the *Esprit des Journaux*, and *les Nouvelles de la République des Lettres et des Arts*. Herder's essay on the "Origin of Language" was the first to make "some noise," becoming the subject of a heated literary controversy, in which the lawyer, Le Brigant, proved an obstinate but ineffective adversary of Herder's theory of the natural growth of language. From 1780 until 1815 the critical interest in his writings constantly increased. Mr. Tronchon gives a full survey with quotations from the principal French journals.

The next bearers of Herder's ideas were first, the returned "Émigrés," but above all Mme de Staël and her "group," whose leader was Benjamin Constant. The chapter on the latter is very interesting and informing. Mr. Tronchon thinks Herder's influence on Constant has to be limited to the realization of the fundamental difference between religious sentiment and the established forms of religion in their bearings on the history of religion. He declines to believe that Herder had any essential part in the idea of perfectibility as it appears in Constant's view of history or in the theory of the genetic relations between religious sentiment and dogma, on the one hand, and the environment, on the other. He accounts for the former by the current French ethical tradition and for the latter by Montesquieu.

It is at this point that the reader becomes uneasily sensible of a gap in the argument. A result, so negative as that stated by Mr. Tronchon, would seem to be too much out of proportion with the volume of discussion of Herder's ideas and the numerous confessions of profound indebtedness on the part of many distinguished French writers, to be conclusive. It is an axiom of induction that every substantive discrepancy between evidence and inference indicates omission of essential factors. Even if the idea of perfectibility and the theory of the milieu were part of the French intellectual tradition of the eighteenth century, yet the change from the conceptions of Montesquieu to those of Constant regarding the genetic processes of history and the elements and relations of environment was too great not to point to the intervention of new formative principles.



The enormous difficulty of weighing the influence of a man like Herder lies in the fact that his original store of formal principles, of analytic terms of classification, is the smallest part of his historical contribution. His greatest service to the expansion of the modern mind is of a different character, difficult to analyze and state, and yet clearly discernible. Herder had the creative gift of exceptional flexibility, resource, and discernment in applying general formal conceptions, analytic generalizations like perfectibility and environment, to every new concrete condition which came under the notice of his indefatigable mind. He had more than any one of his contemporaries, the double gift of distinguishing in every field of reality both the specific and the general, the individual and the universal parts. It is this gift of clothing the few dominant generalizations of an age in the immeasurable richness of concrete individual experience, rather than the rationalistic opposite of stripping the latter to the monotonous poverty of the former, which is the living essence of modern humanism since Herder.

This gift was the source of Herder's genius. He saw the inexhaustible applicability of a few generalizations in the specific forms of individual life. And he taught this outlook to his contemporaries. Even at this day one cannot read his works without being enriched on every page by fresh illuminations, by new concrete revelations of general ideas. Herder reorganized the theories of art, literature, philosophy, religion and history within the double focus of individuality and environment. The reason why a generation after his death few were aware of his particular formulations, was perhaps that by that time the philosophy of history had been transformed largely in Herder's image, and needed no longer the external apparatus of his procedure.

The reviewer ventures the suggestion that Mr. Tronchon might have succeeded in housing a larger harvest from his gathering if he had supplemented his discriminating and thorough analysis of formulated ideas with an attempt to weigh and reduce to terms as precise and just as he did the latter, the synthetic nature of Herder's mind, in which reason was deliberately integrated with feeling and will; to define the *specific factors* in Herder's "*vues d'ensemble*," which would fill much of the gap between the conception of history, characteristic of Montesquieu, and that of Constant and his age. The real problem of Herder's influence is not so much one of *formulated principles* as it is one of *type of synthetic outlook*.

In the remainder of the volume all the other important French writers influenced by Herder pass in review: Barthez, Michel Berr, Degérando, Ballanche, Guizot; De Maister, Bonald, Stendhal; August Comte, Saint-Simon; Quinet and Eckstein. All are interpreted with the same competence, fine intellectual integrity, and discernment.

The promised second volume, which is to bring "*les résultats*," is awaited with much interest.

MARTIN SCHÜTZE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*Neidhart-Studien.* Von S. SINGER. Tübingen: Mohr, 1920. Pp. 74. 8.

Diese Studien dürfen wir als einen im ganzen sehr gelungenen Versuch bezeichnen, den Voraussetzungen für Neidharts Dichtkunst nachzugehen. Um mit Singer zu reden, "ist es endlich an der Zeit, dass Neidhart aus der *splendid isolation*, in der er sich in unsrer literarhistorischen Betrachtung befindet, erlöst werde: seine Ahnherren sind die Spielleute, die sowohl vor den Bauern als vor der aristokratischen Gesellschaft aufspielten und Lieder sangen, sich vor den Bauern über die Ritter, vor den Ritters über die Bauern lustig machten." Eigentlich möchte der Verfasser diese Beiträge, die das von Brill versäumte Werk nachzuholen bestrebt sind, als Vorarbeit zu einer Neuausgabe der unechten Neidharte betrachtet wissen. Im Gegensatz zu der herkömmlichen Neigung, hinter Neidharts Gedichten wirkliche Erlebnisse zu erblicken, haben wir vielmehr deren Vorlagen im Fastnachtspiel, resp. dessen Vertreter im zwölften Jahrhundert, aber auch im Passionspiel zu suchen. An der Hand des ältesten Neidhartschwanks, des *Neidhart im Fass*, sucht Singer den Gang dieser Entwicklung zu verfolgen. Das alles natürlich unter der Voraussetzung, dass wir für das zwölfte Jahrhundert eine viel reichere Entwicklung des Dramas anzunehmen haben als man bisher geneigt war. Aber wenn man den ganz eigentümlichen allegorisierenden Charakter von Neidharts Dichtung bedenkt, so kommt man auch über das grösste Hindernis hinweg, nämlich, dass ein Dichter namens Neidhart sich mit der Teufelsfigur des geistlichen Dramas identifiziert. Denn es sind gerade die Magdalenenszenen des Passionsspieles, die eine markante Ähnlichkeit besitzen mit der in Neidharts Poesie geschilderten Situation der starrköpfigen Dirne und der der Martha entsprechenden warnenden Mutter. Es wird auch daran erinnert, dass Neidhart als Name des Teufels vom 11. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert belegt ist. Dann bleibt aber auch das ganze Problem des Namens "Reuenthal," der nirgends auf der Karte steht, und dessen allegorische Deutung doch sehr für diese ganze Annahme spricht. Vgl. 21, 30 *wil du mit im gein Riwenthal, da bringet er dich hin*, das ebensoviel heisst wie "du läufst in dein Verderben."

Einiges wird gegen Haupt als echt erklärt, aber im ganzen hat Singer keinen Anlass dem sicheren Urteil des Altmeisters zu widersprechen. Vielmehr handelt es sich darum, den Entstehungsort der verschiedenen Gedichte näher zu bestimmen, denn sie werden mit Recht als die Werke verschiedener Verfasser betrachtet. Auch an mehreren Stellen wird die handschriftliche Lesart wiederhergestellt, wie z.B. 6, 18, wo Haupt gegen das Zeugnis beider Handschriften, *den sunnenheizen tac* gesetzt hat anstatt des überlieferten *heizen sunnentac*.

Von einleuchtenden Besserungen hebe ich hervor XXXIV, 1 *mein*, das Haupt gleich den zweimal beim Tannhäuser vorkommenden *meinel*, "mons Veneris," aufgefasst hat. Aus dem Zusammenhang ergibt diese Deutung

keinen Sinn, und es wird vielmehr *zweien*: *meien* zu lesen sein, letzteres in der Bedeutung "Blumenstrauss," wie bei Stamheim *MSH*, II, 78. Das Wort *brüu* XXXVI, 12 macht Schwierigkeiten, aber es ist sicher nicht aus dem französischen *bru*, "Schwiegertochter," abzuleiten, wie Lexer es tut. Auch der zweite Beleg bei Lexer, Litanei 481, ist zu streichen, denn die Grazer Hs. überliefert hier richtig *wintsprut*, wie man jetzt bequem bei von Kraus, *Mhd. Übungsbuch*, nachsehen kann. Es handelt sich gewiss um ein Scheltwort für eine alte Frau, und das in *c* überlieferte *praw* ist wohl eine Entstellung eines solchen Ausdrucks.

Eine Erklärung der seltsamen Redensart, XLVII, 4 gibt vielleicht das *DWb*, IV, 2, 23 *s.v.* *Haarballe* angeführte Zitat. Oder darf man an die Sitte erinnern, wonach die Frauen, im Gegensatz zu den unverheirateten jungen Mädchen, das Haar aufgebunden trugen? Bei dieser Auffassung bleibt natürlich die Bedeutung der Stelle dieselbe.

Nur an einer Stelle, nämlich in der auf XII, 22 in *c* folgenden Strophe, wird mit Sicherheit Kenntnis von Walthers Dichtung angenommen (9, 8), weshalb Singer diese Strophe als echt ansprechen möchte. Man vergleiche aber den falschen Neidhart, *MSH*, 189a, Nr. 7 mit *Walther*, 74, 20. Während neben Morungen, Reinmar und Friedrich von Hausen den Neidhart beeinflusst haben, so darf das auch von Wolfram gesagt werden, der ja den Dichter kennt. Vgl. z.B. 46, 5 mit *Parz.* 2, 1, und für das unechte Lied, LIII, 16 kann Titirel 81 als die Quelle gelten. Dass aber *Parz.* 644, 1 die Anregung zu XXVII, 9 gewesen sei, das gar nichts Neidhartisches zeigt, bleibt zweifelhaft.

JOHN L. CAMPION

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

*Zwei altdeutsche Schwänke.* "Die böse Frau." "Der Weinschwelg."

Neu herausgegeben von E. SCHRÖDER. Zweite Auflage. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1919. Pp. 52. 8.

Die beiden kleinen tirolischen Dichtungen aus der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts, wahrscheinlich von demselben unbekannten Verfasser, hatte Schröder bereits 1913 in einem Bändchen vereinigt und sich dadurch den Dank der Fachgenossen erworben. Inzwischen hat man auch reichlich Zeit gehabt sich an die neue Bezeichnung von Haupts "Von dem übeln Weibe" zu gewöhnen, und "Die böse Frau" wird künftig in der Literaturgeschichte den ihr gebührenden Platz behaupten.

Die vorliegende zweite Auflage unterscheidet sich nicht wesentlich von ihrer Vorgängerin, denn obgleich die Texte noch manche zweifelhaften Stellen aufzuweisen haben, ist Schröder bei seiner Herstellung sehr konservativ verfahren, sogar an einigen Stellen wieder auf Haupt oder die Handschrift zurückgegangen.

Zur "Bösen Frau," der längeren und bedeutenderen der beiden Dichtungen, hebe ich folgende Änderungen gegenüber dem Texte der ersten Auflage hervor. Vers 42 setzt Schröder jetzt *kriegen* ein; 323 *veige* nach Helm, (die Hs. bietet *vorig*), statt *vorhin*; 403–4 *enzwein*: *drumzein* nach dem Vorschlag von Schatz; 631 nimmt der Herausgeber als Notbehelf von Zwierzina auf *wan der stuol nert mich vor ir*; 801 *genihten* gegenüber *gerihten* der früheren Auflage. Es sind dies Änderungen, die mir durchaus berechtigt erscheinen, ebenso wie die neue Interpunktion von 497–98 nach Wilmanns, eine Besserung, die ich in meinem Handexemplar auch schon gemacht hatte.

Als mögliche Besserungen schlage ich noch etwa vor: 282 *nu* statt *iu*, wozu 330 zu vergleichen; ausserdem wird *einem sprechen* kaum in der hier erforderlichen Bedeutung gebraucht; 285 wird besser als Parenthese genommen; 589 Punkt, 590 keine Interpunktion, 591 *nie* statt *ie*, worauf natürlich Punkt statt des Fragezeichens; 623 würde ich einen Punkt nach *entle* setzen, in der folgenden Zeile *sluoc si* umstellen (vgl. 535 f.); 642 Komma nach *stuol*, wie in der ersten Auflage. Von unbedeutenden Druckfehlern mögen folgende erwähnt werden: der Anführungsstrich fehlt 355, 398, 619, nach 94 sollte ein Komma, nach 132 ein Punkt zu stehen kommen.

Die beiden Texte sind sehr dazu geeignet als Übungsstücke bei einer ersten Einführung in die mittelhochdeutsche Editionstechnik zu dienen, nicht nur wegen der vielfach gebotenen Gelegenheit die Emendationsfähigkeit zu schärfen, sondern auch von dem Standpunkt der literarhistorischen Bedeutung betrachtet.

JOHN L. CAMPION

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA



JAMES DOUGLAS BRUCE

1862-1923

At the height of his scholarship, at the moment when his largest and most important book is being put into type, Professor Bruce has gone from us. By great good fortune this book, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, is finished, and will appear in two volumes amounting to about one thousand pages.

Professor Bruce has been known throughout the learned world as an Arthurian scholar since the appearance of his edition of *De Ortu Waluuanii* in 1898; and especially since his *Vita Meriadoci*, 1900, and *Le Morte Arthur*, 1903. He has held the chair of English in the University of Tennessee since 1900, and he was president of the Modern Language Association of America in 1916. He has been a contributor to many learned journals, including, since 1913, *Modern Philology*.

In all these varied activities Bruce sought not his own glory, but the discovery of truth, and the honor of the human spirit. We wish to remember him not only as an unwearied and vigorous investigator of medieval romances, but as a man with something of the broad traditional background of a Virginia gentleman, always as ready to talk of Virgil and Horace as of *Lancelot* or *Le Morte Arthur*, and one the limits of whose reading in modern writers were hard to discover. No better wish for the future of Arthurian scholarship can be suggested than that many younger scholars shall arise to emulate Bruce's example.

A. C. L. B.

# Modern Philology

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## DESIDERATA IN THE INVESTIGATION OF THE OLD FRENCH PROSE ROMANCES OF THE ARTHURIAN CYCLE

### I

In the study of the Arthurian prose romances as in the study of all other literary works, the first task of the scholar, of course, is to settle what is the true text of the writing concerned. In the case of productions of the Middle Ages, such as those with which we are now dealing, this involves, as we all know, a searching examination of the extant manuscript materials with the purpose of tracing the development of the manuscript tradition of the particular work and establishing, as far as is possible, the correct genealogy of the surviving copies, so that we may be able to form some judgment as to which of these manuscripts or groups of manuscripts best preserves the author's text in its original form.

Now, in the case of the Vulgate cycle, which is not only the bulkiest, but, in every respect, the most important body of Arthurian romance that has come down to us in prose form, we have hitherto had no systematic investigation of this nature. There are many valuable hints on the subject, of course, even in Paulin Paris' *Manuscripts françois de la Bibliothèque du Roi*—now upward of seventy years old—as well as in the partial or complete editions of the cycle that have appeared since his day. In certain Introductions to the edition of the prose *Lancelot* which Professor Wechssler's pupils

have inaugurated, we even have, indeed, what purports to be a complete classification of the extant MSS of that romance, but the editors have not set before us the evidence on which they base their classification, so that we are compelled to accept their conclusions on faith. Fortunately, however, this particular need of a study of the MSS of the Vulgate cycle—a fundamental one, of course, in the investigation of the prose romances—is likely soon to be satisfied by the scholar who is unquestionably best qualified to undertake the task. I refer, of course, to M. Ferdinand Lot, who, in his treatise on the prose *Lancelot*, published in 1918, announced that he was engaged in the preparation of a study of the MSS of the whole Vulgate cycle. Combining, as M. Lot does, long palaeographical experience with a thorough knowledge of the romances concerned, the results of his researches will, no doubt, be of great value.

## II

Next to manuscript study, in logical order, comes the editing of texts, and in this category of *desiderata* I would like to point out especially the following needs:

1. At the beginning of Volume IV of Sommer's *Vulgate Version*—that is to say, the second volume of his edition of the prose *Lancelot*—we have a stretch of narrative which begins with Lancelot's journey to Sorelois in the company of his friend, Galehot, and ends with the combat between Lancelot and Meleagant in the kingdom of the latter's father. This stretch, which contains about as many words as the average modern novel, covers many important episodes of the romance, such as Arthur's affair with the False Guinevere, Gawain's imprisonment in the Dolorous Tower by Carados the Giant, Galehot's death, and Lancelot's visit to the land of Gorre—this last episode being imitated from Chrétien's *Conte de la Charrette*. Now, as Sommer tells us in the prefatory note to the volume just cited, this whole stretch of narrative—the first 204 pages of his Volume IV—exists in “two distinctly different redactions,” of which he has only published one. He gives us no means of judging why he selected this particular version, and, as far as our present knowledge goes, the version which he rejects has an equal claim to be regarded as the



original form of this part of the romance. It is not likely that even M. Lot's manuscript researches will definitely solve the problem, and, accordingly, an edition of the suppressed version is manifestly desirable.

2. The extant portions of the *Merlin*-continuation of the so-called Robert de Boron cycle of the prose romances have been edited, in part, by Paris and Ulrich from the Huth MS and, in part, by Sommer from MS 112 (fonds français) of the Bibliothèque Nationale. We have also already in print in the Spanish *Demanda* a condensed Spanish version of this continuation as well as of the *Queste* of the same cycle, and in the partially printed Portuguese *Demanda* a Portuguese version of this *Queste*. On the other hand, only a few pages from the fragments of the original French text of the pseudo-Robert *Queste* which survive in MSS 112, 340, and 343 of the Bibliothèque Nationale have been edited. An edition of these fragments in one volume would be a very important contribution to our resources for the study of the development of the prose romances.

3. Closely connected with the pseudo-Robert *Merlin*-continuation was the so-called *Conte del Brait* (*Tale of Merlin's Cry*), which was largely based on that continuation. There are a number of references to this work in MSS of the cyclic *Tristan* and other late prose romances, but the romance itself has been preserved only in a Spanish version, the so-called *El Baladro del Sabio Merlin*—a title which Bonilla has wrongly appropriated for a division of the Spanish *Demanda*, but which properly belongs to the Spanish version of the *Conte del Brait*. Only one copy of this *El Baladro* is known to exist—namely, the 1498 print in the possession of the Marquis de Pidal from which Gaston Paris in his *Huth-Merlin* reproduced the chapter headings of the romance and a few specimens of the text. This work still remains unedited.

I have singled out for mention this particular romance mainly because of the confusing part which it has played in discussions of the problem of the evolution of the Old French prose cycles. Not only the *Baladro*, however, but most of the Arthurian romance material in Spanish and Portuguese still remains unedited, although editions of portions of it have been long promised, as in the case of the Spanish

*Joseph and Merlin* by Professors Pietsch and Nitze. But the editing of a romance like the *Baladro* which exists in a unique copy—and that an early print—would seem to constitute an especially easy task.

4. More important than the editorial *desiderata* which I have mentioned thus far is the editing of the prose *Tristan*. As far as the mere narrative of that romance is concerned, we are, of course, already able to follow this in Löseth's masterly analysis with an exactness that leaves nothing to be desired. Indeed, the bewildering maze of variants in the manuscript tradition which that analysis reveals might well fill the heart of the most courageous editor with fear. But, after all, no analysis can take the place of the text itself, and, when we consider the exalted place which the *Tristan* held in the highest circles of European culture and fashion from the thirteenth century to the sixteenth, it appears really incumbent on Arthurian scholars to render this famous book generally accessible. An edition based on all the MSS is manifestly out of the question, and, in fact, is not necessary. Students of stories who want recorded every episode in the MS tradition can always turn to Löseth, but a text reproduced from a good MS—the best, indeed, as far as that is ascertainable—would not only be far better than no text at all, but it would enable us to form a correct judgment, in all essentials, of the literary quality of the romance, and that is the really important thing, although professional scholars are too apt to forget it. If, in the case of any widely diffused work of earlier ages—such as the Latin Bible, or Dante, or Chaucer—the world had been unwilling to accept any edition save one that was based on all the extant MSS, it would still find itself waiting. We all know what a stimulus was given to the study of the Arthurian prose romances by Sommer's publication of the Vulgate cycle—for the most part, from a single MS—and a similar result would be sure to follow from the publication of the prose *Tristan*.

What I have just observed of the *Tristan* applies, of course, also to the other prose romances—for example, to *Guiron le Courtois*, which J. C. Dunlop (a good judge) pronounced to be the most readable of all the Old French romances in prose. But it would be falling into the fantastic vein of the heroes of the romances them-

selves, to imagine that in any measurable future we are likely to see the new editions of these long-forgotten works.

### III

The individual romances require detailed annotation with reference to sources, etc., like all other works of the past. I have, myself, tried to supply a commentary of this sort to the *Mort Artu*, and it is to be hoped that M. Pauphilet in his forthcoming edition of the *Queste* will do the same thing for that branch. In the case of the *Estoire* and *Queste*, especially, a study of these romances from the point of view of contemporary theology and ritual usage is very desirable. Miss Fisher made a good beginning in this direction, but she did not go far enough. I do not believe, either, that the subject of the debt of the two romances just mentioned to the literature of Christian legend has yet been exhausted. Perhaps, what I have here remarked concerning the *Estoire* and *Queste* may apply to the *Perlesvaus*, likewise. The authors of all these works were certainly ecclesiastics and their principal reading, consequently, must have been of the sort that was habitual with men of their class.

It seems to me that studies of the kind that I have just indicated would be suitable for doctoral theses. For instance, as regards the commentaries, I would cite the example of the English department of Yale University, where, for many years past, candidates for the Doctor's degree under Professor Cook have from time to time been set to preparing editions of Ben Jonson's plays, instead of theses of the usual type, and the result, on the whole, has been highly valuable. The annotations in these editions, to be sure, relate more to verbal and grammatical matters than would be the case with commentaries on the Old French prose romances.

### IV

In his *Lancelot*, M. Lot has asserted that there is no difference of style or vocabulary between the various members of the Vulgate cycle and he takes this supposed fact as an additional proof that they were all—except the *Merlin*—from the pen of the same author. Undeniably, the branches of the cycle do not appear to exhibit at

have inaugurated, we even have, indeed, what purports to be a complete classification of the extant MSS of that romance, but the editors have not set before us the evidence on which they base their classification, so that we are compelled to accept their conclusions on faith. Fortunately, however, this particular need of a study of the MSS of the Vulgate cycle—a fundamental one, of course, in the investigation of the prose romances—is likely soon to be satisfied by the scholar who is unquestionably best qualified to undertake the task. I refer, of course, to M. Ferdinand Lot, who, in his treatise on the prose *Lancelot*, published in 1918, announced that he was engaged in the preparation of a study of the MSS of the whole Vulgate cycle. Combining, as M. Lot does, long palaeographical experience with a thorough knowledge of the romances concerned, the results of his researches will, no doubt, be of great value.

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I have singled out for mention this particular romance mainly because of the confusing part which it has played in discussions of the problem of the evolution of the Old French prose cycles. Not only the *Baladro*, however, but most of the Arthurian romance material in Spanish and Portuguese still remains unedited, although editions of portions of it have been long promised, as in the case of the Spanish

first sight any such differences of vocabulary or grammatical structure as one would expect in the writings of different authors in ancient or modern times. On the other hand, to my mind, there are such striking general differences of style between the different branches, or, in the case of the *Lancelot*, even between the different parts of the same branch, that I cannot accept so sweeping a dictum until a closer examination of the subject has been made. Accordingly, among the *desiderata* in this field I would place a searching investigation of the respective branches from the point of view of vocabulary, grammar, and rhetoric.

## V

No systematic study of the nomenclature of the prose romances has been made. An onomasticon for the whole body of Arthurian romance, such as Miss Alma Blount began several years ago, is, indeed, a great desideratum, but she has abandoned the task, I understand, and it is not likely that any volunteers will soon present themselves for the completion of the enterprise. In such a work, a conspectus of all the occurrences of any particular name, arranged in chronological order, would often be full of suggestion in regard to the mutual relations of the romances concerned. As regards the prose romances, more especially, a systematic study, such as I have indicated, would probably lead to the discovery of additional sources for these works among the Arthurian metrical romances and possibly even among the *chansons de geste*, for the *chansons de geste* certainly supplied the prose romances with a larger number of names than scholars have hitherto recognized, and hence the authors of these later works, in some instances, must have been acquainted with specimens of the national epic. Not negligible, either, as a source of the nomenclature of these romances is the current nomenclature of the time—that is to say, names of actual persons and places of the Middle Ages which the authors knew either through their reading or through the ordinary intercourse of daily life. This element, too, is larger, I feel sure, than has been hitherto recognized.

## VI

No aspect of the study of the prose romances is of greater interest at present, it seems to me, than the determination of the influence

of these works on the life and literature of the Renaissance. As all students of the subject are aware, recent researches have revealed a far larger element of medievalism in the culture of the period which we call the Renaissance than was recognized by the generation of Burckhardt and Symonds. As far as the prose romances are concerned, all Arthurian scholars know of the existence of the numerous fifteenth- and sixteenth-century prints of these works, but we almost invariably dismiss them from consideration, with more or less contempt, as offering merely late and inferior texts of the romances in question. These prints, however, possess a first-rate importance in this respect, at least, namely, that it was through them that the tradition of medieval romance was kept alive during the Renaissance and exercised its great influence on the authors and society of the period, for it was in such prints and not in the purer texts of the early MSS, naturally, that the people of this later age read the romances.

I do not mean to imply, of course, that the subject with which I am dealing in this last division of my paper is an absolutely virgin field. As far as the Italian aspect of the matter is concerned, we have, as everybody knows, Pio Rajna's admirable treatise on the sources of the *Orlando Furioso*. We have, still further, valuable studies of Bojardo's sources in medieval romance from Bertoni, of Alamanni's from Hauvette, and so on. So, too, in the case of Spanish literature, we have the well-known introduction of Menéndez y Pelayo to his *Orígenes de la Novela*, to say nothing of numerous monographs, such as Miss Williams' on the *Amadis*, or Vaeth's on *Tirant the White*. Nevertheless, I believe that special students of these literatures will bear me out in saying that there is still an urgent need both for more special studies concerning the relations of the Spanish and Portuguese romances of chivalry to the Old French prose romances and for a general treatise on the former group which would give full recognition to their dependence upon the latter. Certainly, the latest book on the subject, H. Thomas' *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry* (Cambridge, 1920), though valuable from a bibliographical point of view, exhibits a virtually complete ignorance of the Old French romances and of their connection with those of the Iberian peninsula.

If, in conclusion, one may be allowed to indulge for a moment in visions of perfection, I would say that nothing would bring out more clearly the debt of the Renaissance to the Old French romances in prose than an "Allusion Book"—as complete as possible—compiled from references to these romances in the writings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Models of such a work lie ready to hand in the similar compilation which already exist for Shakespeare and Chaucer and which have involved, I believe, an even greater labor than would be the case with the task that I here propose.

†J. D. BRUCE

UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE

† Deceased.



## A YOUTH TO FORTUNE AND TO FAME UNKNOWN

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I feel sure that Gray's *Elegy*, pieced and patched together so laboriously by a man of almost as little genius as abundant taste, will outlive all these hasty abortions of Browning, Swinburne, & Co. And yet there are plenty of faults in that *Elegy* too, resulting from the very elaboration which yet makes it live.—Edward Fitzgerald, *Letters*, II, 209.

Certain fundamental questions involving the structure and the very nature of Gray's *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard* have never been squarely faced. What is the relation of the second part to the first? Is the young poet described in Part II, which begins with the twenty-fourth stanza, intended as a concrete example of that unacknowledged merit with which Part I deals in its major subdivision? These problems cannot be intelligently considered until we have answered the crucial question, to which scarcely any attention has been given: Who was the Youth to Fortune and to Fame Unknown?

Son of Warton's Enthusiast, grandson of Il Penseroso, lineal descendant of Democritus Junior and of Shakespeare's Jacques, this Youth is not an uninteresting person. What with his "view-hunting," his sentimental humanitarianism, his solitude, and his nameless woe, he bears the chief stigmata of the lesser romantic poet of later years, and is something between a bucolic Byron and Henry Kirke White. Even if his identity were not the key to the poem, he would still have the claim upon our interest that he has been thought to represent the poet Gray himself. And yet, as though literally obeying the injunction not to "draw his frailties from their dread abode," editors and critics have preserved an almost total silence concerning him. In consequence, the Youth is still "to fame unknown," and the *Elegy*, which has been called the "typical piece of English verse, our poem of poems,"<sup>1</sup> and which is unquestionably the most familiar poem in the language, still awaits interpretation.

Remembering that familiarity is often an impediment to full understanding, we may well concentrate attention upon this Youth

<sup>1</sup> Edmund Gosse, *Life of Gray*, *E. M. L. S.*, chap. v.

and ask who he may be. Inquiry among careful readers will show that he is actually taken in each of three ways: (a) as a purely imaginary personification of the type *poeta*; (b) as an actual poet entirely unknown to fame, an *Ignotus*, whom Gray, however, had known at Stoke Poges or elsewhere; (c) as Thomas Gray himself.

a) In behalf of *Poeta* one might say that that reading of the *Elegy* is to be preferred, *caeteris paribus*, which involves the least break in thought at the end of the 23d stanza. Part I deals with abstractions in the fashion dear to most eighteenth-century poets, and to none more than to Gray. No one of the "rude forefathers," who are to be regarded as mere typical villagers, is brought before us. Of the "village Hampden," the "mute inglorious Milton," and the "guiltless Cromwell," no more is implied than that they may have existed. A transition from this grandeur of generality to the consideration of an actual individual would be difficult to make and almost necessarily injurious to unity of total effect. Many persons read through the 24th stanza with no feeling that they are being introduced to a human being any more actual than the "mute inglorious Milton." In so doing they give Gray credit for having made his poem, as he should have done, one seamless robe. They are believers in *Poeta*.

Against this view it may be urged that several details in the description of the Youth and of his death are too minute for a conventionalized portrait. Gray could scarcely have expected that this highly romantic individual would be accepted by the public of 1750 as a typical poet. The difficulty of transition from the general to the particular is just what is all too evident in stanza 24. The flaw in unity likely to result from such a transition is just what the careful reader feels as he passes from the first to the second part. Finally, this interpretation provides no sense for the 24th stanza, in which it is made clear that the person brought before us is the author of certain verses referred to as "these lines." The pronoun "these" forces us to think of the lines concerned as actual. It is true that actual verses are often attributed in fiction to imaginary poets, but the difficulty here is to find any actual verses which may possibly be attributed to *Poeta*. We must conclude, therefore, that Gray had in mind some actual person, and pass to a consideration of *Ignotus*.

b) An ardent advocate of this interpretation might possibly argue thus: "The case for *Poeta* fails because one can find no actual lines of which he might be the author. The person presented in stanza 24 must be the author of 'these lines,' in which the 'artless tale' of the villagers is related. Clearly, these lines cannot be the lines of the *Elegy* itself, because no tale whatever is related therein. What lines can we find, then, in which a tale is related? Only the lines or inscriptions upon the tombstones. The mysterious Youth, I contend, is the unknown village poet who composed these inscriptions. Traits of peculiarity which could not be harmonized with the *Poeta* argument give no trouble here because *Ignotus* was a real person. Moreover, he provides almost as smooth a transition as that which alone commends *Poeta* to our attention. Observe that in the stanzas just preceding the 24th Gray has been writing about epitaphs. What more natural than a turn in thought to the young poet, buried in this very churchyard, who has composed several of the epitaphs therein?"

So far the uncompromising advocate for *Ignotus*, who would seem to have been more ingenious than convincing. The case against his client is seen to be damning as soon as it is stated. That a young man of sufficient promise to win the admiration of Gray appeared at Stoke Poges without attracting some notice elsewhere is improbable. There is no letter to such a person and no mention of him in Gray's voluminous correspondence. Finally, in order to lend him even the most shadowy pro tempore existence, his advocate has done almost criminal violence to the phrase "these lines." Let us "no further seek his merits to disclose," but pass on to

c) Thomas Gray.

The chief support of the opinion that the Youth stands for Gray is found in the only easy and natural reading of the 24th stanza. Common sense insists, despite the pedantic objection of the *Ignotus* advocate, that "these lines" must be the lines of the *Elegy* itself, finding no greater difficulty in Gray's misuse of the word "tale" than in his later misapplication of "lay" in referring to the Epitaph. The person presented in the 24th stanza is held before us, apparently, to the last line of the poem. Thomas Gray is the person presented in

the 24th stanza. It would seem, therefore, an inevitable conclusion that the *Youth to Fortune and to Fame Unknown* is Thomas Gray.

When one recalls the microscopic study given to the few pen strokes by which Chaucer sketched himself, he is at a loss to understand the neglect of this which appears to be the self-portrait of a far more enigmatic poet. His wonder does not diminish as he examines the portrait more carefully. He observes that this interpretation makes Gray say of himself that he was learned, generous, sincere, tender hearted, unappreciated. It makes him foretell his own early death, apparently of a broken heart, and it makes him write his own epitaph. In fact, it is scarcely too much to say that the tone of the entire second part, considered as Gray's description of himself, is that of the sentimental and lachrymose self-pity which most boys put behind them in the earlier stages of adolescence.

"Why are these things hid?" Why did Dr. Johnson, who let slip no other opportunity to fall foul of Gray, allow the poet to depict his idle and self-centered reveries as worthy if not of admiration at least of sympathy, to describe himself in his own epitaph as generous and sincere, and by implication to liken himself to a gem and to a flower unvalued because unknown? In that unreserved praise of the *Elegy* which is, as it were, wrenched out of him at the end of his *Life of Gray*, Johnson says not a word of all this. No one of the numerous editors of the poem, apparently, has thought the matter worthy of comment. A few of them have said, indeed, that the *Youth* stands for Gray, and others who have said nothing whatever about the *Youth*<sup>1</sup> may have held the same view. None of these, however, has drawn out the implications of this opinion. Can they have thought the matter unimportant, or too obvious for mention? No other obvious matter connected with the *Elegy* has been left without its sheaf of notes. A poet's description of himself is always important, at least to his editor; and the one before us, if indeed it is such, is unusually so.

The conclusions which it would almost seem that Gray's editors have deliberately sought to avoid are courageously deduced in the only extended statement I have found of the view that Gray is writing

<sup>1</sup> Wakefield, Mason, Mitford, Tovey, Gosse, Phelps, etc.

about himself. In an article entitled "The Secret of Gray,"<sup>1</sup> Mr. A. C. Benson objects, as others have, to Matthew Arnold's "fantasia upon the single phrase 'he never spoke out,'" and says that Gray owes much of his appeal to a passionate sort of self-revelation. . . . In his poems, Gray is forever recurring to himself and his fears . . . the most striking instance being the original draft of the *Elegy*. It was to have ended with the stanza "no more with reason and thyself at strife." But Gray could not end on this philosophical and impersonal note.<sup>2</sup> What did he do? He threw the structure aside. . . . And then the whole concludes with what is a passionate piece of autobiography—the Epitaph. He cannot stand aside. . . . The inner portrait of himself is there—his sadness, his generosity, his sincerity, his longing for sympathy, and the trembling hope with which he faced the silence.

Of the two fantasias, Arnold's and Benson's, there can be no doubt which is nearer the truth. The assertion concerning one of the most reticent of English poets, that he owes much of his appeal to passionate self-revelation and that he is forever recurring to himself, will not stand against even cursory examination of Gray's verse. For a man to memorialize his own sincerity and generosity would be less a mark of what Mr. Benson calls passion than of execrably bad taste. Now, as a matter of fact, Thomas Gray, the friend of Horace Walpole and the man whom Bonstetten called the most perfect gentleman he had ever seen, was a very fair example of "*l'honnête homme qui ne se pique de rien*."

Here, then lies our problem—strong evidence in the text of the *Elegy* that Gray has done a thing which it seems highly improbable that such a man could have done. One feels like defending Gray against himself. But our mere reluctance to accept the evidence has no cogency. Unless it can be made the motive of an investigation which will somehow weaken the evidence, then the clear implications of the text must stand. The utmost that such an investigation could do would be to show that Gray has said a thing which he did not fully intend. The supposition that an author does not say what he means, the effort to tell him what he really intends to say, is always

<sup>1</sup> The *Poetry Review* (London), December, 1916.

<sup>2</sup> If Gray had ended here he would not by any means have ended on an impersonal note, for the rejected stanzas refer unmistakably to himself, as Mr. Benson has correctly said in the sentences immediately preceding.

extremely hazardous. Nevertheless, the only chance of solving the problem before us seems to lie in just that hazardous supposition and effort.

The most likely method of establishing this supposition would be to show that those parts of the *Elegy* which concern the problem were composed at different times and therefore, possibly, with different intentions. The three existing manuscripts of the poem indicate that it probably went through several stages before it was sent to Walpole in 1750. Thus there was just such a chance as we are seeking for those flaws of structure which occur when a poet lays a manuscript aside for so long that he forgets his original mood or intention, or when he tries to weld into one piece separate scraps of work originally composed with no single whole in mind.

Two seams are visible in the *Elegy* which may indicate possible flaws of structure: one between the 23d and 24th stanzas and one between the *Elegy* proper and the Epitaph. The Epitaph, certainly, is easily separable from the poem.<sup>1</sup> Since it is our present object to drive, if possible, a wedge between it and the 24th stanza, we may adopt as a hypothesis the supposition that the Epitaph was originally composed to commemorate some person as yet unknown to us, and that it was joined to the *Elegy* for reasons which we may leave for later consideration.

The Epitaph, however, does not come away cleanly. Stanzas 28 and 29, dealing with the death and funeral of the Youth, adhere to it. The 27th stanza clearly belongs with the two that follow, suggesting as it does the causes of the Youth's death. Our hypothesis obliges us, therefore, to say that these three stanzas refer to some person unknown, the subject of the Epitaph.

Here we may pause to inquire whether it seems likely that in stanzas 27-29 Gray is writing about himself, as, according to stanza 24, he should be doing. If not, then our experimental separation of the Epitaph has thus far justified itself.

The manifestations of the Youth's mysterious woe presented in stanza 27 do not accord with what we know of Gray's quiet self-control. The strength of this assertion is seen when one observes

<sup>1</sup> "Gray's *Elegy* will be read as long as any work of Shakespeare, despite the tin-kettle of an epitaph tied to its tail."—W. S. Lander, *Works*, I (1874), 426.

that the Youth is actually killed, apparently, by mental distress. There is no external evidence that Gray ever conceived such a possibility for himself. We must, of course, remember that every heart knoweth its own bitterness and that Gray may be dramatizing and exaggerating his own undeniable melancholy in a way made familiar to him by Shakespeare, Burton, and Milton. We should also remember that in the last of the rejected stanzas, where he is unquestionably speaking of himself, he says that he has given "anxious cares and endless wishes room." In that same stanza, however, he expresses a hope that the churchyard may assist him by its quieting influence to pursue the tenor of his doom through the cool sequestered vale of life. A radical change indeed would be involved in an abandonment of this almost cheerful aspiration for a prophecy of his own death as brought on by sorrow and care.

When one considers these stanzas for what they are rather than for what they may not be, he sees that they build up naturally toward the Epitaph, suggesting the cause and manner of the Youth's death and enlisting sympathy for him. What is said of him in the Epitaph shows that there need be no exaggeration in stanza 27. Since by hypothesis we do not know this person as we do know Gray, we have no external test for the credibility of what is said of him. The character presented in stanzas 27-32 is self-consistent. These six stanzas, therefore, belong together; they concern one person; and by our present hypothesis that person is not Thomas Gray.

If Gray is to be recognized at all in the description of the Youth, then, it must be in stanzas 25 and 26. The evidence that he is portraying himself even here is tenuous as gossamer, but it must be examined.

The connection of the *Elegy* with that numerous group of eighteenth-century poems which echo Milton's *Il Penseroso* is well known.<sup>1</sup> Except for the too violent melancholy of the 27th stanza, Gray's Youth is, indeed, a later *Penseroso*. In a letter to Walpole written at Stoke Poges in September, 1737, Gray shows that he had thought of himself as resembling Milton's figure.<sup>2</sup> The likeness, one

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. A. Beers, *A History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century*, chapter on "The Miltonic Group."

<sup>2</sup> "I have at the distance of half-a-mile a forest all my own. . . . Both vale and hill are covered with most venerable beeches. . . . At the foot of one of these squats me I [*sic*] (*il penseroso*) and there grow to a trunk the whole morning."

may admit, was not imaginary. Gray had Il Penseroso's love of landscape, his studious and semi-nocturnal habits, his desire to look at life from a safe distance, and his passion for solitude.<sup>1</sup>

The bookish Gray had probably seen or imagined a likeness between himself and another literary figure, although the evidence for this is less satisfactory. It is not likely that the 26th stanza of the *Elegy* was written in complete independence of the lines which describe the attitude of Shakespeare's melancholy Jacques:

He lay along  
Under an oak whose antique root peeps out  
Upon the brook that brawls along our wood.<sup>2</sup>

William Mason says, in a note to his *Elegy Written in a Church-Yard in South Wales*, that the "character of Mr. Gray was in its best parts not dissimilar to that of Jacques." (One cannot help wondering what parallel Mason would have suggested for the worst parts of Mr. Gray's character.) It is probable that this idea originated in some remark made by Gray himself rather than in Mason's not very fertile brain.

Nothing in these two stanzas prevents the supposition that they refer to Gray. On the other hand, they harmonize well enough with what is later said of the Youth. Stanza 24 apart, the evidence that Gray is here writing of himself would not withstand a strong counterclaim for the person with whom, according to hypothesis, the rest of the poem is concerned. It will be well, therefore, to postpone decision upon these stanzas and to wait for further evidence.

We arrive, finally, at the 24th stanza, in which it is certain that Gray speaks of himself. Unless the authority of this crucial stanza can be shaken our entire hypothesis fails. If we should find that this stanza was originally composed for purposes other than those which it now serves, its authority would be weakened. We shall do well, therefore, to examine closely the nature and history of these four cardinal lines.

<sup>1</sup> If Gray had not thrown out the stanza which describes his hero's evening occupation, we should have been given, as in Milton's poem, an outline of the Youth's typical day. This stanza reads as follows:

Him have we seen the Greenwood side along,  
While o'er the heath we hied, our Labours done,  
Oft as the Woodlark piped her farewell Song,  
With Whistful eyes pursue the Setting Sun.

<sup>2</sup> As *You Like It*, II, i, 30-32.



This stanza is confused in expression, obscure in meaning, ugly in total effect. One's feeling that it is by far the worst stanza in the poem is not due to the labored involution of its phraseology alone, or to the unidiomatic use of "for thee," to the inaccurate use of "tale," or to the pseudo-Shakespearean "if chance." One is inclined to ask how the "kindred spirit" has become sufficiently interested in the person concerned to "inquire his fate" unless by reading this very poem in which that fate is made known and his inquiry recorded.

This stanza exists in three versions. The first of these, a good stanza presenting only the poet himself, is that which is now known as the second of the rejected stanzas.<sup>1</sup> The second version, which must have been written after Gray had decided not to use the rejected stanzas, is found, like the first, in the Fraser manuscript. It comprises two stanzas, the first of which is identical, except for the first two words, with the first version, and the second of which reads as follows:

If chance that e'er some pensive Spirit more,  
By sympathetic Musings here delayed,  
With Vain, tho' kind, Enquiry shall explore  
Thy once-loved Haunt, this long-deserted Shade.

Evidently Gray did not think that the pensive spirit was entitled to so much space, for in the third version these four lines are telescoped with the second of the rejected stanzas to make the 24th stanza of the standard text.

We find, then, that this crucial stanza is a bad piece of patchwork made out of two bits of already existing material. Obviously it cost the poet much trouble. If, in making his second and third versions, Gray had been able to ignore the lines already written he

<sup>1</sup> For convenience of reference, I quote the rejected stanzas in full, exactly as they stand in the Fraser manuscript.

The thoughtless World to Majesty may bow  
Exalt the brave, & idolize Success  
But more to Innocence their Safety owe  
Than Power and Genius e'er conspired to bless  
And thou, who mindful of the unhonour'd Dead  
Dost in these Notes ~~thy~~ their artless Tale relate  
By Night & lonely Contemplation led  
To linger in the gloomy Walks of Fate  
Hark how the sacred Calm, that broods around  
Bids ev'ry fierce tumultuous Passion cease  
In still small Accents whisp'ring from the Ground  
A grateful Earnest of eternal Peace  
No more with Reason & thyself at Strife  
Give anxious Cares & endless Wishes room  
But thro the cool sequester'd Vale of Life  
Pursue the silent Tenour of thy Doom.

would probably have secured a better result. But that was not his way. Evidence and testimony are abundant that he never gained real facility in writing English verse.<sup>1</sup> Apparently it was easier for him to adapt than to create, and therefore he did not abandon without compelling reason any form of words which he had once set down. His tendency to let memory do the work of creative imagination was perhaps accentuated by his life-long practice of Latin versification, in which he was somewhat more adept and prolific than he was in English.<sup>2</sup> Less completely than most poets subjected in boyhood to the *Gradus* and the *Florilegium* did he overcome the habit of regarding verse-making as an adaptation of pre-existing phrases to a pre-existing metrical mold. Always he was the inveterate note-taker, the incorrigible snapper-up of unconsidered verbal trifles. He plundered the poetic sarcophagi of all the past, unwrapping mummy cases, gathering jewels five words long which he hoped might shine in some as yet unconceived literary gem work.

A man who "looks upon fine phrases like a lover" will be often tempted to change his original intention in order to adorn his page with this or that *purpurea panna*, and his temptation will be greater in proportion as his taste and learning exceed his creative power.<sup>3</sup> In writing the *Elegy*, that greatest poetical mosaic in the language, Gray confronted all the dangers incident to the tessellating technique.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "The reason he [Gray] wrote so little poetry was from the great exertion it cost him—which he made no reserve in confessing—in the labour of composition." Quoted as from Mathias in Mitford's *Gray*, Appendix E.

<sup>2</sup> Not all of Gray's Latin verse is given in the standard editions, but the total amount of it is certainly greater than that of his verse in English. Johnson points out in his *Life of Gray* that his first ambition "was to have excelled in Latin poetry."

<sup>3</sup> "As a writer he had this peculiarity that he did not write his pieces first rudely, and then correct them, but laboured every line as it arose in the train of composition."—Johnson's *Life of Gray*.

<sup>4</sup> Mitford gives about 135 parallels and analogues in his notes on the *Elegy*, and these have been reproduced with some few additions in the editions by Tovey and Phelps. It is not to be supposed, however, that Gray had anything like that number of sources in mind, since many of the passages cited by Mitford are themselves imitations of earlier originals. Thus, to take the clearest example, Mitford cites no less than ten possible sources for the "full many a gem" stanza, and later writers have added as many more. The defect of each and all of these analogues is, however, that they present the flower or the gem alone. A far more probable source of Gray's stanza is to be found in the eleventh Canzone of Celio Magno (1536–1602), which brings the flower and the gem metaphors together with just the purpose Gray has in mind:

Ma (qual in parte ignota  
Ben ricca gemma altrui cela il suo pregio,  
O fior, ch'alta virtù ha in se riposta)  
Visse in sen di castità nascosta  
In sua virtù e'n Dio contento visse  
Lunge dal visco mondan, che l'anima intrica.

(See *Edinburgh Review* for October, 1804, p. 51.)

As Fitzgerald aptly says, the poem was "laboriously pieced and patched together"; and in such a process, extended over several years, strange things may happen under the pen of a poet more concerned with phrases than with thoughts. Writing slowly and at long intervals, he may never see his entire poem in a single flash of thought, and consequently he may never fully realize what flaws may lurk in its structure, what warpings past the aim. These considerations should be kept in mind in our attempt to untie that knot intricate, the 24th stanza.

The fact that Gray plundered from lines of his own in the composition of this stanza does not make it any less clear an example of his mental habit. It will be observed that in the second of the rejected stanzas the phrase "by lonely contemplation led" refers unquestionably to Gray himself. In the final version of the stanza, however, this phrase is made to apply to the kindred spirit. Whether due to indolence or to what may possibly be called verbal parsimony, this bodily transference of a descriptive phrase from one person to another shows that when he set it down Gray was working at a very low poetic temperature. Here is a clear case of the phrase leading the thought. It tempts one to ask whether we need seek any reason for Gray's awkward presence in the 24th stanza other than the fact that he had been naturally and gracefully present in the lines out of which that stanza was quarried.

Holding this question in mind, we may next consider Mason's assertion that the *Elegy* once ended with those very lines in which the poet himself gracefully and naturally appears.<sup>1</sup> Tovey, who disbelieves Mason's statement, mentions as in its favor the fact that "all the MS [Fraser] to the end of the four rejected stanzas is in a much more faded character; and Mason must be so far right that the poem from 'Far from the Madding Crowd etc.' was resumed after a considerable interval." Tovey does not say *how* considerable an interval would be necessary to justify Mason's statement. Taking it for granted that Mason speaks of the Fraser manuscript, once his property, and finding that that manuscript in its present form does

<sup>1</sup> "In the first manuscript of this exquisite poem, I find the conclusion different from that which he afterwards composed; and though his afterthought was unquestionably the best, yet there is a pathetic melancholy in the four rejected stanzas which highly claims preservation." Mason then quotes the four stanzas and says that here—that is with the word "Doom"—"the poem was originally intended to conclude."—*Memoirs, Notes*.

not end with the rejected stanzas, Tovey can only infer, without suggesting any motive for the prevarication, that Mason is lying. In a question involving only the poet's intention, the testimony of Gray's friend and literary executor has greater weight than the conjecture of a nineteenth-century editor.

Concerning the Fraser manuscript we can be sure only that it was a working copy.<sup>1</sup> A careful reading goes far toward convincing one, however, that it is the manuscript to which Mason refers and that it once stood in the form which he describes. In this version the poem has two conclusions, one at the word "Doom" and one after the Epitaph. Anyone who will take the trouble to reconstruct what Mason says was the original draft, reading the first eighteen stanzas of the *Elegy* and then through the rejected stanzas, is certain to feel when he reaches the word "Doom" that he has come to the end of a poem better rounded off than the *Elegy* of the standard text. In reading the Fraser manuscript as it stands today, moreover, one's thought is turned from the villagers to the poet in the rejected stanzas, back to the villagers in "Far from the Madding Crowd's ignoble Strife," and finally to the poet again. The result is mere bewilderment. The last of the rejected stanzas is followed in this manuscript by what is the 19th stanza of the standard text, thus giving the following reading:

No more with Reason & thyself at Strife  
Give anxious Cares & endless Wishes room  
But thro the cool sequester'd Vale of Life  
Pursue the silent Tenour of thy Doom.

Far from the Madding Crowd's ignoble Strife;<sup>2</sup>  
Their sober Wishes never knew to stray;  
Along the cool sequester'd Vale of Life  
They Kept the silent (noiseless) Tenour of their Way.

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Fraser published 100 copies of this manuscript in 1884.

<sup>2</sup> Tovey thinks this punctuation shows that "it was the poet's first intention to make the line part of the apostrophe to himself." It is true that by ignoring the full stop after "Doom"—as clearly marked in the manuscript as is the semicolon—we can read on smoothly to the end of the following line. But if we are to place such reliance upon Gray's punctuation as we are asked to do in the case of the semicolon, it is hard to see why we should utterly distrust it in the case of the full stop, which is dead against Tovey's theory. As a matter of fact, in spite of the remark made by Professor Phelps with special reference to this very line—"No wonder he was particular about his punctuation"—the pointing of the Fraser manuscript, at least, is slovenly, inaccurate, chaotic, as the exact reproduction of the rejected stanzas given above will show. Quite apart from matters of punctuation, however, and even from the difference in ink which Tovey himself

Obviously, the second of these stanzas is a mere rifacimento of the first,<sup>1</sup> and Gray could never have intended that they should appear together in the same poem. It seems clear, therefore, that at one time the poem must have come to a full stop with the word "Doom," and that it was resumed, later, on a totally new plan by a return to the villagers. Instead of making a fresh manuscript, Gray simply added his new stanzas to the old one, indicating the passage to be rejected by a marginal line drawn beside it in the Fraser manuscript.

No one seems to have asked concerning these four stanzas why Gray threw three of them out of his final version and changed a fourth almost beyond recognition. They are as good as any that he kept. That he was not so prolific a poet as to make such sacrifices without excellent reason his extraordinary frugality in saving the most pitiful scraps of metrical phraseology will show. Now, a compelling reason for the rejection of these four stanzas would have been a decision to make another end for a poem to which they had formed the original conclusion. In the very fact that they were rejected, we may find corroboration for Mason's statement.<sup>2</sup>

Let us say, then, that Mason was right. This carries for our argument two important corollaries. I have said that the most likely method of defending Gray against himself would be to show that the epitaph and the 24th stanza were written at different times. We have seen that the 24th stanza was made out of the passage which Gray rejected, and we have seen good reason to accept Mason's statement that the *Elegy* once ended with that rejected passage.

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mentions as beginning with "Far from, etc.," it is certain that a sharp turn away from the poet and to the villagers is made in either the first or the second line of the stanza before us. Surely Gray would have wished to mark this turn by the stanza break. To have made it in the second line of the stanza would have been intolerably abrupt. Tovey's argument becomes even more manifestly absurd as he proceeds. (See his edition of Gray.) He seems to ask us to believe that when Gray discovered the duplication of rhymes in the two stanzas quoted above he wrote twelve stanzas rather than change those rhymes! One prefers to entertain the supposition that Mason for once told the truth.

<sup>1</sup> This stanza, it will be observed, shows the same indolence in composition or "verbal parsimony" which we have suspected in stanza 24. In the last two lines phrases originally written to characterize the poet himself are transferred to the description of the villagers.

<sup>2</sup> In the letter of June, 1750, in which he sent the *Elegy* to Walpole, Gray says: "You will, I hope, look upon it as a thing with an end to it: a merit most of my writings have wanted, and are like to want." This need not mean that the poem had not had an end before, but only that it now has a new end with which Gray is better satisfied. When he reminds Walpole that he has "seen the beginning long ago" he does not necessarily imply that what Walpole had previously seen was then regarded as a fragment.

In its original form, then, the 24th stanza was composed before the epitaph was attached to the poem. With regard to the awkward and major question, how Gray got himself into the 24th stanza, we have been able only to remind ourselves of the tyranny exerted over his mind by any form of words once set down, whether by another's pen or by his own, and to hazard what must still seem the mere conjecture that he may appear in that stanza simply because he had appeared in its source. We have succeeded, at any rate, in our attempt to drive a wedge between those two parts of the poem out of which our problem arose. Furthermore, the establishment of Mason's remark concerning the rejected stanzas, taken with our original hypothesis, indicates that at some time prior to June, 1750, Gray had among his papers two independent poems in the *Elegy* stanza:<sup>1</sup> the epitaph, addressed to some person as yet unknown to us, and a poem in twenty-two stanzas about a country churchyard which ended with a clear reference to the poet himself.

In going over his papers, as we know that he did at Walpole's suggestion in 1747, Gray would see that although these two poems were concerned with two different persons they dealt with fairly similar subjects and were in the same stanza and mood. Now, the evidence of patching which we have seen in the 24th stanza and the established fact that an earlier conclusion of the *Elegy* at the word "Doom" was abandoned to make way for another totally different conclusion make it seem a plausible suggestion that Gray set to work to join these two poems, that all of the present *Elegy* from the 19th stanza to the Epitaph is really a sort of bridge thrown between these two pre-existing piers. In this suggestion we have a considerable extension of our original hypothesis. It involves the supposition that Gray fused together not only two poems but two personalities. Such a supposition obviates more than one difficulty. If the Youth is at once Thomas Gray and some other person, the apparent self-praise in the Epitaph is less objectionable and the introduction

<sup>1</sup> The fact that these two poems would have to be in the same stanza makes no difficulty, since they would both be in the mood of elegy. The stanza of *Nosce Teipsum*, *Gondibert*, and *Annus Mirabilis* had been made the conventional form for elegiac verse before 1750 by the poems of Shenstone, Hammond, and Lyttleton. Gray's epitaph on Sir William Williams is written in this stanza. Mr. Gosse thinks that Gray took the form from Hammond's *Love Elegies*. He also thinks that the *Elegy* was begun in 1742. But Hammond's *Love Elegies* were published in 1745.

of the poet himself in the 24th stanza is far less awkward. After the argument that has gone before we are justified in saying that a sufficient verification of the hypothesis in its present form would be the discovery of an actual person for whom the Epitaph may have been written, who fits exactly into the description of the Youth, and who is known to have been so dear to Gray, so like him in tastes and habits and character, that a fusion of his personality with the poet's own would have seemed both natural and desirable. I believe that these requirements are met by Richard West.

Here we step at once into the light of verifiable fact in which alone any hypothesis can be rightly tested. Much is known about West.<sup>1</sup> His letters and poems have long been familiar to students of Gray and of Walpole.<sup>2</sup> He was the closest friend Gray ever had, a youth of much promise and some literary accomplishment who died unknown to fame at the age of 25 in June, 1742, the year in which, according to Mason, the *Elegy* was begun. The friendship between Gray and West began at Eton College, where the two had belonged to what they called the Quadruple Alliance, Walpole and Ashton being the other two members. As Dr. Johnson correctly said, Gray was likely to love much where he loved at all.<sup>3</sup> He knew West far more intimately than Shelley did Keats, or than Milton knew King. It was not to be expected, therefore, that a man such as Gray, with echoes in his ears of Bion and Moschus and Milton, would let his beloved fellow-poet pass without the meed of some melodious tear.

It is well known, of course, that he did not do so. In the summer of 1742 he twice enshrined the name of his friend: in the *Sonnet on the Death of Mr. Richard West* and in the *De Principiis Cogitandi*, which he had begun with a dedication to his friend and which he

<sup>1</sup> See the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>2</sup> Nearly all of West's writings in prose and verse are to be found in Mason's *Memoirs of Thomas Gray*, Cunningham's edition of Walpole's correspondence, Tovey's *Gray and His Friends*, and Paget Toynbee's *Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West, and Ashton*.

<sup>3</sup> "Whenever I mentioned Mr. West, he [Gray] looked serious, and seemed to feel the affliction of a recent loss."—Norton Nicholls, *Reminiscences of Gray*. Since Nicholls, born in the year of West's death, did not meet Gray until 1760, these words bear powerful testimony to the depth and endurance of the poet's love for his friend.

abandoned in the month of West's death before it was completed.<sup>1</sup> There is further evidence of his grief in the work of this comparatively fruitful summer. In the Eton College Ode there is a melancholy which, considering the subject, must seem strange to a reader ignorant of the mood in which it was composed. We are to think of the poet as looking from his "'customed hill" at Stoke toward the towers of the school in which he and his three friends had been happy together so few years before. Estranged from two of these, he thinks all the more tenderly of the third, always dearest to him and now dead. The thought of West, of his sad history and early death, sets the key of the entire poem and serves as nucleus for broad and melancholy generalizations not unlike those of the *Elegy*. Much the same thing may be said concerning the *Hymn to Adversity*. The difference in mood between these poems, written later in the summer, and the comparatively light-hearted *Ode to Spring* is explained by a note appended to that poem in the Pembroke manuscript: "The beginning of June, 1742, sent to Fav: not knowing he was then dead."<sup>2</sup>

These considerations suggest a probability that the *Elegy* also, if it was begun during the summer of 1742, is to be associated in some way with West's death. The belief that it was begun at that time has rested hitherto upon the unsupported testimony of Mason, who says, in his *Memoirs of Gray*, after suggesting a connection between the Eton Ode and the *Adversity* and West's death: "I am inclined to believe that the *Elegy in a Country Churchyard* [sic] was begun if not concluded at this time also: though I am aware that as it stands at present the conclusion was of a later date."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Liber Secundus*, begun, according to the Pembroke MS, at Stoke, June, 1742, gets little farther than the statement that with the death of West, who had been "*causa laboris*," the heart had gone out of the work.

<sup>2</sup> "Fav" is for Favonius, Gray's learned nickname for West.

<sup>3</sup> Mason's statement has been accepted by most editors (Wakefield, Miltord, Gosse, Bradshaw, Rolfe, Ward, and many others) and is questioned by Phelps only because he can find no sufficient warrant for it. Speaking as positively as an eyewitness, Mr. Gosse says: "As the question is often asked, and vaguely answered, where was the *Elegy* written, it may at once be said that it was begun at Stoke in October or November, 1742, continued at Stoke immediately after the death of Gray's aunt, Miss Mary Antrobus, in November, 1749, and finished at Cambridge in June, 1750. [Thirty pages farther on—p. 96—Mr. Gosse contradicts this last statement, saying, correctly, that it was finished at Stoke Poges.] And it may be here remarked as a very singular fact that the death of a valued friend seems to have been the stimulus of greatest efficacy in rousing Gray to the



It is regrettable that Gray's somewhat pompous Boswell has not a better reputation for veracity. He loved to pose as Gray's literary adviser. In the statement before us, however, he dates the beginning of the *Elegy* five years before the time when he first met the poet. Neither in this remark nor in what he elsewhere says of the manuscript was there any chance of his personal vanity being involved. Under such circumstances he was apparently as accurate and honest as most men.

Mason's statement obtains its chief support from an objection made to it by the one man who might have known as much about it as he himself did. Speaking of the *Memoirs*, the manuscript of which Mason had sent him for criticism, Walpole writes on December 1, 1773: "The 'Churchyard' was, I am persuaded, posterior to West's death at least three or four years, as you will see by my note. At least I am sure that I had the twelve or more first lines from him above three years after that period, and it was long before he finished it."<sup>1</sup> On the 14th of the same month, having received a reply from Mason, he writes again: "Your account of the *Elegy* puts an end to my other criticism." What were the arguments by which Mason

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composition of poetry, and did in fact incite him to the completion of most of his important poems."—*Life of Gray* in "English Men of Letters Series," p. 66.

When it comes to giving reasons for this sturdy faith Mr. Gosse finds that he is not so sure after all, for he weakens what he has so emphatically said about the date and wrecks our hopes of what he seemed on the verge of saying about the cause of the *Elegy* by the rather lame conclusion: "It is, therefore, perhaps more than a strong impression that makes me conjecture the beginning of the *Elegy* wrote in a Country Churchyard to date from the funeral of Gray's uncle, Jonathan Rogers, who died at Stoke Poges on the 31st of October, 1742."

It is on record that Gray's Uncle Rogers despised him because he did not ride and hunt, and that Gray cared much more for his Uncle Antrobus, who taught him botany. (See art. "Thomas Gray". in *D.N.B.*) The only influence of Rogers' death upon the poet suggested by Mr. Gosse is that it "completely altered Gray's prospects. . . . His dreams of a life of lettered ease were at an end." As Gray certainly had a life of lettered ease, this does not seem serious. Even if it did seem so at the time to Gray, its seriousness was not of a sort to inspire the *Elegy*. One note of mournful brooding sounds through all the work of that summer of 1742. Shall we be asked to believe that the death of Uncle Rogers caused the melancholy of the Eton Ode and the *Hymn to Adversity*? Mr. Gosse records that Rogers died on October 31, and Gray's notes show that these poems were written in August. There is not a scrap of evidence to show in what part of the summer the *Elegy* was begun. Mr. Gosse dates it so positively "October or November" simply because he wants the date to conform to his theory. Even so, he has not done himself justice; for it seems highly improbable that Gray would have begun in October a poem of mourning for a man who died, as Mr. Gosse points out, on October 31.

<sup>1</sup> Gray would not in any case have sent Walpole any part of the *Elegy* for "three or four years" after the death of West, because he and Walpole were not reconciled until November, 1745. Walpole's recollection, therefore, proves nothing to the purpose.

silenced Walpole's doubts we can only surmise. It is probable, however, that they were in line with the reason which he implies in the *Memoirs* for dating the poem 1742, connecting the poem with West's death still more closely than he cared to do in his book.

That this suggestion is at least plausible is shown by a consideration of that profound melancholy upon which Gray gently rallied his friend until he knew its secret and wholly adequate causes.<sup>1</sup> Gray did not learn those causes until his return to England in September, 1741, when West had only nine months to live, and probably they were then communicated to him orally, for no mention of the matter is to be found in the letters of the two friends.<sup>2</sup> During the winter of 1741-42 which the two spent together in London there was abundant opportunity for Gray to make West's woe his own. Upon this matter Gosse writes, completely ignoring its significance for the *Elegy*:

In extreme agitation, West confided to his friend a terrible secret which he had discovered and which Gray preserved in silence until the close of his life, when he told it to Norton Nicholls.<sup>3</sup>

I suggest that he may have given some hints to Mason also, and that it was upon these that Mason chiefly relied in dating the poem as he did. Mason's own words, which seem to have been written with studied reticence, deserve close attention:

His other friend, Mr. West, he found on his return [from the European tour] oppressed by sickness and a load of family misfortunes. These the sympathetic heart of Mr. Gray made his own. He did all in his power, for he was now with him in London, to soothe the sorrows of his friend . . . but his cares were vain. The distresses of Mr. West's mind had already too far affected a body from the first weak and delicate.<sup>4</sup>

Mason shows in these words clear knowledge that West's chief malady was a mental distress which had reference to his family.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. letters to West of December, 1736, August 22, 1737, and LI, LII in Tovey's *Letters of Gray*.

<sup>2</sup> On June 5, 1740, West writes to Gray a letter showing, as Mason says, "much agitation of mind which he endeavours to conceal by unusual carelessness of manner": "Dear Gray, Consider me in the condition of one that has lived these two years without any person that he can speak freely to. . . . Have we known one another enough, that I should expect or demand sincerity from you? Yes, Gray, I hope I have." And there he turns suddenly away to another subject, as though he had been on the verge of a confession but had thought better of it. There is nothing in the antecedent correspondence to explain this letter.

<sup>3</sup> *Life of Gray*, "English Men of Letters Series," p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> *Mason's Memoirs of Gray*, Section III.

This knowledge he could have got only from Gray, who, in telling him so much, would probably have told the cause of that distress. It may well be that he was told or that he saw the intimate connection of all this with the *Elegy*, and that in his cogent letter he told what he knew. In so doing, he would point out that the secret was not for the public eye. Considering that Walpole was in 1773 already looking forward to the publication of his own letters, these probabilities may explain the curiously non-committal nature of the reply: "Your account of the *Elegy* puts an end to my other criticism."

Fortunately, these rather tenuous arguments need not stand alone. Turning to the secret of West's life and death, we see that the mystery in which Gray, Mason, and Walpole enshrouded it was entirely justified, that West was marked by Melancholy for her own in an altogether unimaginary sense, and that his talent was really blighted in the bud in just such a way as to make his story a fit nucleus not only for the Eton Ode but for the larger musings of the *Elegy*. Concerning this secret, then, we read:

It is said that the cause of his [West's] disorder . . . was the fatal discovery of the treachery of a supposed friend, and the viciousness of a mother whom he tenderly loved. This man, under the mask of friendship to him and his family, intrigued with his mother, and robbed him of his peace of mind, his health, and his life.<sup>1</sup>

That West may have been tortured by even darker suspicions is made evident in Mr. Gosse's edition of Gray's works:

In a note hitherto unpublished, Dyce says that Mitford told him "that West's death was hastened by mental anguish, there having been good reason to suspect that *his mother poisoned his father*."

Tovey's remarks upon West's secret and its effect on Gray are so much to the point that one wonders why he did not make the application to the *Elegy*.

Always careless of his health [says he, speaking of West], it is probable that the knowledge of his mother's guilt, which came to him at some time in the last three years of his life, made him more so: that it increased his restlessness; that what he knew of bad made him suspect worse. . . . We should never guess from the slightly ruffled surface of the correspondence, what deep sighs those are

Che fanno pullular quest' acqua al sommo,

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Tovey's *Gray and His Friends*, p. 15, as from Mitford's *Life of Gray*. My edition of Mitford does not contain the passage, which is really taken verbatim from Norton Nicholls, who records the words as Gray's own.

but the reader should know that, beneath, a little Hamlet-like tragedy is going on: perhaps not without its good Horatio. . . . West's last words to Gray, "Vale, et vive paullisper cum vivis," were written in a cheerful spirit; but as his friend thought upon them in after days, they may have seemed like an echo of the pathetic commission

. . . . Absent thee from felicity awhile  
And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain  
To tell my story.<sup>1</sup>

One can imagine no more forceful way of expressing the probable effect of West's sorrow and death upon Gray than these words of an editor who seems to have thought that it had no literary effect whatever aside from the rather nugatory sonnet and the breaking off of the *De Principiis Cogitandi*. Tovey's allusion to Hamlet is very apt. For Gray to have told West's story, however, would have been the reverse of a friendly service to West's memory. The impulse to expression is countered by an equally powerful reason for silence, and in the conflict of these currents of feeling the naturally dilatory Gray comes to resemble the Lord Hamlet himself more closely than he does Horatio. He could not tell West's story, and for that very reason he was the less able to forget it. In the jargon of our day, the secret may well have become for him a "complex," shaping and coloring the whole fabric of his thought.

In a letter written to Walpole in 1747,<sup>2</sup> Gray hints more of his feeling regarding West than anywhere else. He says:

I should not care how unwise the ordinary run of readers might think my affection for him, provided those few that ever loved anybody, or judged of anything rightly, might, from such little remains, be moved to consider what he would have been; and to wish that heaven had granted him a longer life and a mind more at ease.

These words express the exact mood out of which the brooding in the *Elegy* upon unacknowledged merit would most naturally have sprung. They bring out with regard to West precisely the three major differentia of the Youth: his unusual promise, his uneasy mind, his early death.

The letter just referred to was written in answer to Walpole's suggestion that Gray prepare a volume to contain West's verse and

<sup>1</sup> Tovey, *Gray and His Friends*, p. 17.

Given in Mason's *Memoirs*, Section IV, letter 4.

his own. Although this plan was never carried out, it set Gray to thinking more than usually about West, it caused him to make an inventory of his own verse, and it provided precisely the right incentive to the building of such a bridge as I have suggested between the two waiting piers of what is now the *Elegy*.

Why and how Gray built this bridge we can only conjecture. In the case of such a poet as he the mere *cacoethes emendi* provides, perhaps, a sufficient motive. He may have seen, however, in a combination of his churchyard poem with the Epitaph a chance to hint enough of West's story to give his own mind relief. Possibly the two fragments were originally composed with the intention that they should form parts of the same poem, and in that case they were joined together in pursuance of a long-postponed plan. Again, Gray may have thought there would be something appropriate to the projected volume in a set of verses made by joining two poems which dealt with the two authors of that volume respectively. Such a combination may have seemed to him like a fusion of West's personality with his own.<sup>1</sup> Finally, he may have been actuated by an artistic motive—a desire to provide a concrete example of the abstract truths laid down in the churchyard poem.

Concerning the method it is well to speak as cautiously as we have about the motive. Gray would see that he could not simply attach the Epitaph to the longer poem. Certain transitional stanzas would be needed in which the change from general musings upon obscure death and unacknowledged merit to a particular instance of both would be graduated and in which the reader would be prepared for what is unusual in the Epitaph by being shown something of the person therein commemorated. Let us say that he first rejects, as unsuited to his larger design, the last stanzas of his longer poem and

<sup>1</sup> Tennyson's *In Memoriam* deals with a situation similar to that which I suggest as the cause of the *Elegy*. Allowing for the passage of exactly a century between the publications of the two poems and for the far greater range of thought and feeling in the later poet, a comparison of the two is illuminating. Tennyson for the most part sets Hallam far above himself, and yet there are examples in his poem of the identification of the dead with the living friend. A rarefied and spiritualized phase of this feeling contributes greatly to the triumphant conclusion. In the 85th canticle there is a clear statement of the idea at just the stage at which we are supposing that Gray may have used it:

Whatever way my days incline,  
I felt and feel, though left alone,  
His being working in mine own,  
The footsteps of his life in mine.

then begins his bridge with "Far from the madding crowd." After this, although the four following stanzas are still general in application, he builds straight toward the Epitaph. In the 24th stanza he makes the change from general to particular, at the same time bringing himself into the picture and giving the reader reason to suppose that all the rest of the poem deals with him. Just how this happened it is impossible to say. Perhaps it was caused by careless and indolent treatment of the scraps out of which the stanza was made. It may be that Gray took pleasure in thus associating himself as closely as possible with West in what might be regarded as a composite portrait. In either case, he left the stanza in a bad state, failing to overcome the difficulties it presented. Perhaps he did not clearly realize what it made him say of himself in the Epitaph.<sup>1</sup> Or he may have seen its defects and yet have decided to let it stand, not expecting that the *Elegy* would ever be published and feeling that the stanza would pass muster with the few friends who would read it.<sup>2</sup>

It has passed muster with the world. On or about June 12, 1750, Gray completed the poem which had been on his desk for eight years and sent it to Walpole immediately, as though fearing that he might change his mind.<sup>3</sup> The poem's later history is well known. On February 1, 1751, Gray asked Walpole to arrange with Dodsley for an immediate printing, without the author's name, in order to forestall publication in the *Magazine of Magazines*. In a very curious letter of Ash Wednesday, 1751, he thanks Walpole for the "great decency" with which he has managed this "little misfortune," and particularly for the advertisement in which Walpole had said—at Gray's request—that the poem had come into his hands by accident. "This advertisement," says Gray, "saves my honour, and in a manner *bien flatteuse pour moi*." This fear of printer's ink seems

<sup>1</sup> "A writer who, like Gray, secretes his poetry line by line and spreads the process over years, seems to fall into the same faults which are more generally due to haste. He pores over his conceptions so long that he becomes blind to defects obvious to a fresh observer, and rather misses his point, as he introduces minute alterations, without noticing their effect on the context."—Leslie Stephen, *Hours in a Library*, speaking of "The Bard."

<sup>2</sup> "The stanzas [of the *Elegy*] which I now enclose to you have had the misfortune, by Mr. Walpole's fault, to be made still more public, for which they certainly never were meant; but it is too late to complain . . . I should have been glad that you and two or three more people had liked them, which would have satisfied my ambition on this head amply."—Gray to Dr. Wharton, December 17, 1750.

<sup>3</sup> "Having finished a thing [the *Elegy*] of which you have seen the beginning long ago, I immediately send it to you."—Gray to Walpole, June 12, 1750.

something more than a late example of gentlemanly reluctance to professed authorship. At any rate, the *Elegy* was taken out of Gray's hands and beyond his power forever. The poem apparently intended only for the indulgent eyes of a few friends was spread before the world. In two months it went through four editions. In 1753 Gray was so much encouraged by its steadily increasing popularity that he allowed it to appear with his own name. It became a classic in the poet's lifetime. No atrabilious pedant focused attention upon its flaws, for classics are not supposed to have flaws. No ill-conditioned Zoilus pointed out the awkward fact that in the Epitaph Gray seemed to speak of himself with unreserved praise; for Gray was known to be a gentleman, and gentlemen do not do such things. In 1781 Dr. Johnson gave the poem the official stamp of his approval, since when almost every critic and editor has felt it his duty solely to admire.<sup>1</sup> There appeared, to be sure, in 1783, the anonymous *Criticism of the Elegy*, purporting to be by Dr. Johnson and attributed to Professor John Young. The author of this clever brochure attempts to carry into his slightly hypercritical but searching analysis the same spirit which he found everywhere in Dr. Johnson's *Life of Gray* except in the comment upon the *Elegy*. Subtle and brilliant as it is, however, this attack upon a reigning favorite had the fate of such attacks, and is now forgotten.<sup>2</sup> John Scott and Vicesimus Knox ventured some timidly derogatory remarks with similar results. No one even of these Pococurantes made objection to the poet's apparent self-praise or made any inquiry about the Youth. Dr. Johnson had not done so. Since Ursa Major oped his lips no dog has dared to bark.

It will be recalled that we have found it difficult to fit the 27th stanza into any merely conventional or imaginary portrait. Considered as a description of West tormented by his secret woe, the stanza is appropriate enough. Observing that the Youth is actually

<sup>1</sup> E.g. "What has kept Gray's contribution to the Churchyard school alive and popular through all changes in taste, is its absolute perfection of language."—W. L. Phelps, *Selections from the Poetry and Prose of Thomas Gray*, p. xxv. A reading of Mitford's Appendix D, which points out ineptitudes and solecisms in almost every stanza, should dispel this illusion.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Gosse, in his edition of Gray, calls this a "satirical" book. It is that only in the sense that it tells some home truths about the poem. Hamlet uses the word in the same way: "The satirical slave says here that old men have grey beards . . . ; all of which, sir, though I most powerfully and potently believe, yet I hold it not honesty to have it thus set down."

killed by mental distress, we have thought it unlikely that Gray ever conceived such a possibility for himself. Applied to Richard West, what is said of the Youth's death becomes not a vague and improbable prophecy but a record of fact. The two stanzas just preceding the Epitaph have little value when read as referring to *Ignotus, Poeta*, or Gray, implying only that the Youth dwelt apart, like Wordsworth's Lucy, so that few could know when he ceased to be. Read as referring to West, they remind us that his death was entirely unexpected by Gray, who learned of it through some verses in a newspaper sixteen days after the event.

It is well known that Gray used as a model for one of the best stanzas of the *Elegy*, the 9th, certain lines from West's most considerable English poem, his *Monody on the Death of Queen Caroline*. I have found no reference to the fact that at the end of this same poem West refers to himself as "A Muse as yet unheeded and unknown."<sup>1</sup> When he echoed this line in the Epitaph Gray may have consciously accepted West's estimate of himself.<sup>2</sup>

In discussing stanzas 25, 26 we found the evidence that Gray is there writing about himself insufficient to withstand a strong counterclaim for the person with whom the rest of the poem seemed to be concerned, and we postponed decision upon these stanzas to wait for further knowledge. A strong counterclaim for West may be entered on the basis of a certain *Elegia* which he sent to Gray on September 17, 1738. Lines 5-10 of this lucubration read:

Et mihi rura placent, et quoque saepe volentem  
 Duxerunt Dryades per sua prata Deae;  
 Sicubi lympa fugit liquido pede, sive virentem  
 Magna, decus nemoris, quercus opacat humum:  
 Illuc mane novo vagor, illuc vespere sero,  
 Et, noto ut jacui gramine, nota cano.

<sup>1</sup> Gray may have had this line in mind when he wrote to West from Florence, September 25, 1740: "For whether you be at the top of Fame or entirely unknown to Mankind. . . ." Cf. also his *Agrippina*, ll. 39-40: "He lived unknown to fame or fortune."

<sup>2</sup> The concluding lines of West's verse epistle *Ad Amicos*, July 4, 1737, may have lingered in Gray's mind:

Unknown and silent will depart my breath,  
 Nor Nature e'er take notice of my death.  
 Yet some there are (ere sunk in endless night)  
 Within whose breasts my monument I'd write:  
 Loved in my life, lamented in my end,  
 Their praise would crown me, as their precepts mend.

The fact that this epistle was quarried out of Tibullus (Book III, Elegy V) and a letter from Pope to Steele would not lessen its influence upon Gray.



Here is one who wanders abroad at the peep of dawn and in the late sunset. Here is the "brook that babbles by," and here the "favorite tree." The elements of stanzas 25, 26, and also of the stanza describing his hero's evening walk which Gray rejected, are present in West's description of the way he spent his time in the country. Those elements were to be found elsewhere, of course, for nothing in either West's or Gray's lines is original, but perhaps not in so compact a form. Since the first part of the *Elegy*, already written, dealt with the villagers, one aspect of the poet's problem in building his bridge was to bring West into relation with the village life. There is no record that he ever had been with West in the country. His accurate memory of all the little that his friend had written, however, would suggest to him that in the *Elegia* West had given just the information he wanted. Pitifully inadequate as the passage was, the product of an erudite echolalia, Gray must have brooded upon it more than once in his effort to picture his friend's last days. It was all that he had.

Clearly, the character and history of Richard West fit closely into the description and epitaph of the Youth to Fortune and to Fame Unknown. He was Gray's dearest friend. He was solitary, "crazed with care," and a poet. His real promise was cut short by an early death. Fair Science certainly did not frown upon him, for he was said by Bryant, a school fellow of both, to have been more learned than Gray. Although his birth was not humble—he was a grandson of Bishop Burnet and son of a vice-chancellor of Ireland—neither was it noble. The phrase "humble birth," indeed, gives no more trouble in interpreting the Epitaph with reference to West than it does when considering the Epitaph as written by Gray for himself.<sup>1</sup> The person commemorated in the Epitaph is characterized by a line very similar to one in which West had characterized himself. We have seen the difficulties into which the view that the Youth stands for Gray necessarily leads. There is nothing in the description and

<sup>1</sup> As late as 1750 it was still the custom in England to inter the bodies of persons of gentle birth within the church. Richard West himself was buried inside the church at Hatfield, Hertfordshire, where there is a tablet inscribed to his memory. But Gray could not give the Youth "a storied urn or animated bust." The epitaph may have been slightly changed so as to conform with the necessity that the Youth should lie in the churchyard. Matthew Arnold, with greater probability, explains "humble birth" as pue to "straining after point."

Epitaph which does not harmonize with the theory that the Youth stands for Richard West.

A hypothesis has met its supreme test when it solves not only the problem which it was designed to cover but also the cognate problems that arise during further investigation. The view that the Youth is a surrogate for Richard West does more than absolve Gray from the charge of self-laudation. The circumstances of West's life and death are such as to illumine several stanzas of the *Elegy* with light not to be had elsewhere, brightening their significance, enhancing their poignancy and charm. This view is in harmony with the testimony in favor of 1742 as the year in which the *Elegy* was begun, which testimony was given by a man who seems to have had better grounds for his assertion than any which he finally saw fit to publish. Following this clue, we have been able to conjecture with some plausibility the stages through which the poem passed.<sup>1</sup> Finally, this theory enables us to place Gray's poem definitely among the elegies, such as *Lycidas* and *Thyrsis*, which mingle general reflection with the grief of personal bereavement.<sup>2</sup> We may safely say, then, that the hypothesis with which we began has justified itself, and that it has led to this sound conclusion: *aut West, aut Diabolus*.

"It is no less remarkable than true," says Coleridge, "with how little examination works of polite literature are commonly perused, not only by the mass of readers but by men of first rate ability, till some accident or chance discussion have aroused their attention."<sup>3</sup> These words are somewhat to the present purpose, but the footnote which he adds by way of illustration is still more so:

I felt almost as if I had been newly couched when, by Mr. Wordsworth's conversation, I had been induced to re-examine with impartial strictness Gray's celebrated *Elegy*. I had long before detected the defects of the Bard; but the *Elegy* I had considered proof against all fair attacks. At all events,

<sup>1</sup> "It is, unfortunately, impossible to say what form it [the *Elegy*] originally took, or what lines or thoughts now existing in it are part of the original scheme."—Gosse, *Life of Gray*, chap. lii.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Gosse says that the *Elegy* "belongs to a class apart, as it is not addressed to the memory of any particular person." (Art. "Elegy," *Encycl. Brit.*, 11th ed.) This statement ignores the fact that many elegies of the generalized type—e.g., those of Shenstone and Hammond—appeared in Gray's own time, not to mention those of the Latin elegists, with which Gray was well acquainted.

<sup>3</sup> *Biographia Literaria*, chap. ii.

whatever pleasure I may have lost by the clearer perception of the faults in certain passages, has been more than repaid me by the additional delight with which I read the remainder.

If any loss of pleasure has resulted from the present effort to re-examine a great and celebrated poem with impartial strictness, it should be repaid by what Coleridge calls "additional delight." While revealing a flaw in continuity, our analysis has discovered a vital principle of unity in the poem which has long gone unsuspected. Without destroying that grandeur of generality for which Dr. Johnson justly praises the *Elegy*, our study has found in it a particular personal application which greatly deepens its human interest. To think of Gray's *Elegy* as his lament for a friend who died of a broken heart caused by his discovery of a tragic secret is to make it pulse and throb with thrilling pathos. Far from degrading this poem which has passed into the common heritage of man, the conclusions at which we have arrived lift it to a higher plane of beauty and power than any hitherto claimed for it.

ODELL SHEPARD

TRINITY COLLEGE  
HARTFORD, CONN.



## A NOTE ON SCALIGER'S *POETICES*

The *Onomasticon* of Julius Pollux, a Greek grammarian of the second century A.D., is generally recognized by modern classical scholars as furnishing important information concerning the ancient Greek theater, but the fact has apparently been overlooked that it furnished the scholars of the Renaissance with the information they also were seeking concerning the methods used to present the ancient drama. What seems to be a particularly clear instance of the indebtedness of the Renaissance scholars to this source has lately come to my notice in Book I, chapter xxi, of the *Poetices* of Scaliger,<sup>1</sup> the chapter entitled "Theatrum." The portion of this chapter which deals with the stage entrances and with the "machines" of the Greek stage follows unmistakably the passage of the *Onomasticon*, Book IV, sections 124-32, which treats of these matters.<sup>2</sup> I quote here from the Latin translation of the latter work which is included with the Greek text in the Hemsterhuys edition published at Amsterdam in 1706. The passage from Scaliger under consideration I have quoted without omissions; the passage from Pollux is quoted with no change in the order of the text but with certain passages omitted, omissions being indicated wherever they occur.

### POLLUX

Trium vero circa scenam januarum, media quidem, aut regia, caverna, aut domus inclyta, vel primum actum absolvens dicitur. Dextra vero, secundi actus diverticulum est.

Sed sinistra, aut vilissimam personam, aut templum desolatum habet, aut deserta est. Caeterum in

### SCALIGER

Scenae partes aliis aliae. In Comodia tres. Media, potentiorum aedes insigniores. In Satyra medius locus erat speluncae. In media scena habebat *πρωταγωνιστής*. In dextro diuersorio *ὁ δευτεραγωνιστής*. Sinistra humillimam quanque personā capiebat: aut fanum desertum: aut omnino vacua. In Tragoedia

<sup>1</sup> Edition of 1561, Ben Jonson's copy of which is in the library of the University of Chicago.

<sup>2</sup> The last words of this chapter of Scaliger are, "verum eas petes ab optimo cluē nostro Saraina, & Vitruuī codicibus," which would seem to be an inadequate statement of indebtedness. Presumably "Saraina" is the translator Lello Carani.

## POLLUX

Tragoedia dextra quidem janua hospitium est; carcer vero sinistra. Sed tentorium in Comoedia domui adjacet tapetiis repraesentatum, & iumentorum stabulum est, ejusque januae majores, videntur *κλισιάδες* dictae, ad curruum ingressum. & apparatus. Caeterum in Antiphanis Acestriis, etiam officina erat id, quod tentorium dicitur. Quod antea bobus agrestibus, & asinis stabulum fuerat, fecerat officinam. Apud utramque vero duarum januarum quae in media scena sunt, etiam aliae duae sunt. Utrunque una, ad quas versatiles machinae compactae sunt.

dextra quidem ea, quae extra urbem sunt repraesentans.

sinistra vero ea, quae ex urbe ducit, maxime quae ex portu, & Deos inducit marinos, & alia omnia, quae graviora existentia, machina ferre nequit. Si vero machinae hae versatiles convertantur, dextra quidem locum mutat, utraeque vero locum subalternant. Ingressum porro, dexter quidem, ex agro, e portu, aut ex urbe ducit. qui vero aliunde pedites veniunt, juxta alterum ingrediuntur. Ingressi autem juxta orchestram, ad scenam per scalas ascendunt. Scalae autem gressus, gradus vocantur.

Sed pegma [*ἐκκύλημα*] supra ligna quaedam alta scala est, cui thronus insidet. exhibet vero secreta, quae sub scena in domiciliis fiunt. & hujus officii verbum est, in orbem

## SCALIGER

dextra porta peregrinum aut hospitem emittebat: in sinistra Carcer: media Regia. Factū verò aliquādo fuit, vt in Comoedia Graeci tentorium quoque ponerunt, *κλισίον* appellabant. Ibi nonnulli Poetae iumentorum stationem designarunt. iccirco aditus ostio latiore: quae ostia propterea dicta *κλισιάδες*. per ea transmittēbāt carros & iumenta. alii eiusmodi partem ad officinae vsum trāstulēre: sicut Antipho in Acestriis. Media vtrinque habebat alias interdum portas, quarum postibus essent affixae machinae. Eae quia pro re ac tempore circumagebantur, *περίακτοι* sunt appellatae. nam personarum aspectus quum esset tectus à spectatoriis, repentē ex occasione cōparebant nuntii, & peregrini, aut ciues peregrē, exulēsve postliminio reuertentes. Itaque dextra machina afferebantur ea quae extra urbem acta factāve essent, aut agenda intus forent ex praescripto propter iura suburbiorum, oppidorum, ciuitatum, municipiorum, coloniarum, sociatarum, peregrinarum, pacatarum, hosticarum. À laeua machina, reddebātur quae in vrbe iussu permissūve populi aut Principum: eōve, isve inuitis, gesta, acta, transacta fuissent, aut ex consilio futura viderentur. Id quod factum est ab Euripide in Oresta. Atque inter haec eodem iure censebantur, siqua è portu afferentur. cuiusmodi est in Palutina Amphitryone, in Mercatore, in Hecyra. Prisci Tragici etiam deos aquaticos per eam introduxēre, Acheloum, Thetin, Proteum, Arethusam. Si

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circumvolvi. Machina autem, super quam pegma inducitur, *εἰσκύκλημα* nominatur. & hoc juxta singulas januas observandum est, & fere juxta singulas domos. Machina vero, Deos exhibet, Heroës illos aërios, Bellerophontes scilicet, & Perseos. & dicitur juxta sinistrum introitum, super scenam esse altitudine.

Quod vero in Tragoedia, machina, hoc in Comoedia, crade dicitur. Unde patet quod ficus imitatio est. Ficum etenim, Attici *κράδην* vocant. Exostram porro idem, quod pegma esse volunt. Sed specula, speculatoribus, aut aliis, quicumque speculantur, extructa est. Caeterum murus, turrisque, ut veluti de alto videre liceat. Specula porro directrix ipso nomine officium suum refert. Distegia vero, nonnunquam in regia domo duplex coenaculum, veluti a quo Antigone in Phoenissis exercitum speculatur. nonnunquam vero dolium est, a quo tegulis dejiciunt. Caeterum in Comoedia, a distegia lenones quidam prospiciunt, & vetula Mulier despicit. Machina autem fulminea, & tonitru. illa quidem, est alta versatilis machina. hoc vero in posteriore parte sub scena, urnae sunt lapillis plenae, qui impulsī, per aenea vasa delabuntur.

Gradus porro Charonii, juxta sedilium descensus positi, Manes a se emittunt. Sed anapeismata, hoc quidem in scena est, veluti fluminis transgressionem repraesentans, aut aliud hujusmodi: illud vero circa

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quae personae machinis non circumagebantur, sed pedibus accedebant, per alteram introducebantur.

Duo haec machinarum genera. Tertium *εγκύκλημα* nominabant: alii *ἐξώστραν*. Erat haec sedes sublicis elata, strata longuriis, super quibus sella. Destinabatur locus is ad ea recitanda, quae secretò patrata essent in aedibus. qualia in (Œdipode Sophoclis, Plauti Amphitryone, & Casina & aliis.

Quartum genus quod in summa trepidatione remedia arcessebat humanis maiora. Demissa nanque deos ostendebat ex improviso. id quod etiā ad proverbum rerū desperatarū traxere, *θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς*. Plurima exēpla Tragicis omnibus, & in Plauti Amphitryone. Alterum eiusdē machinae officium, quum veheret per aerem Heroas: veluti Tlepolemmum, Medeam, Perseum, Bellerophontem. Idem officium in Comoedia: nomen diuersum, *κράδη* enim dicebatur: qualis Cantharus siue Scarabaeus Aristophanis. Est praeterea machinae genus quintum quo rapiebantur personae, *γέρανος* dictum. Hoc in fabulis Aurora Memnonem rapuit: Boreas Orithyam. Restes quibus per aerem ferebantur, *ἰώραι*. Proxima huic alia versatilis, unde nomen *στροφείον*: cuius opera Heroes in deos transformabantur. Eius vsus in Hercule oetaeo, & in ea quam feceramus, Indigete. Fuit & alia circumductilis, quam *κεραυνοσκοπεῖον* vocabant Graeci.

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scalas est, per quas ascendunt,  
Furiae.

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Ea valde celsa post scenam, in qua vtres calculorum pleni cum aeneis vasis, vnde fulgura exhibant, tonitrus exaudiebantur, fulmina mittebantur, vt in Aiace Oileo. quare etiam *βρονταίων* dicta. Machinae similis, quae nō esset machina, Charoniae scalae: vnde simulachra emittebētur. quemadmodum in Hecuba Euripidae. Priuatim, quibus ē locis. exiliebant Erinnyes *ἀναβαθμοί*, gradus imi. quales in Œdipo & Oreste, & Athamante, & Amata nostra. In scena speculae quoq; de turri aut de muro affingebantur: nec absimili specie locus, quem *φρυκτώριον* nominabāt: ex quo facibus dabatur signum praesidiis, vt aduentantibus hostibus expedirent arma: vnde & nomen quum alibi, tum in Rheso.

LILY B. CAMPBELL

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,  
SOUTHERN BRANCH



## THE *PERLESVAUS* AND THE STORY OF THE COWARD KNIGHT

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In a previous study<sup>1</sup> we examined the possible relations between the *Perlesvaus* and the *Vengeance Raguidel*, an inquiry which led us to a discussion of the parallels existing between the prose romance, and the *Wauchier* continuation of Chrétien's *Perceval*. We will now turn our attention to the *Manessier* section of the last-named romance, and examine the nature of the connection between the story of the Coward Knight as there related, and the more elaborate version of the same adventure as given in the *Perlesvaus*. The prose romance is much the fuller, falling into two distinct and separate parts, while the *Manessier* parallel affects only a portion of the later section. Thus the *Perlesvaus* claims priority of treatment.

At an early point in the romance<sup>2</sup> we read how Gawain, after his tragic adventure at the castle of Marin le Jaloux, is riding in melancholy mood through the forest, when he meets a knight whose appearance and demeanor excite his astonishment. He is riding backward, his face to the tail of his steed—*il chevauchoit à recullons an mout sauvage manière, son devant derrière*—the reins passed over his head, across his chest, his shield upside down, and the rest of his armor slung around his neck. Hearing Gawain's approach, he calls out, begging him to do him no harm, he is the Coward Knight. Gawain, highly amused, assures him that he need fear nothing at his hands, and asks who he may be. The youth answers that he is knight to the Damsel of the Car, from whom Gawain has but recently parted. Assured of Gawain's friendship with his lady, and recognizing his shield, the Coward announces he has now no further fear for himself, he will alight, and arm himself properly. Gawain assists him, and while they are thus engaged another knight rides up, and challenges Gawain on behalf of Marin le Jaloux. The Coward Knight warns Gawain to place no trust in his aid, whereon that hero pertinently remarks that he has fought many battles unaided, and may well

<sup>1</sup> *Romania*, XLVII, 349-59.

<sup>2</sup> Branch IV, title 5.

fight this also. As result of the combat the knight is vanquished, and, having sworn fealty to Gawain, rides off. After his departure the Coward Knight assures Gawain that, in his place, he would have yielded without striking a blow. Gawain says evidently he desires naught but peace, whereon the Coward Knight makes answer that naught but evil can come of war, he has never been wounded hitherto, save by some fortuitous blow from the branch of a tree, or such like. He sees Gawain's face all scarred and seamed. He makes small account of such valor, and prays God every day to save him from such harm. He will now follow his lady, the Damsel of the Car, and the two part.

Later on<sup>1</sup> Gawain meets him again, this time properly armed, but fleeing from a knight whose appearance has struck him with terror, apparently Perceval, as Gawain meets him immediately afterward. There is no further encounter between Gawain and the Coward Knight; when we meet him again it is in connection with Perceval.

In Branch XVII, 4, that hero, after his meeting with the two priests, one of whom adores the Cross, while the other smites It, rides into the forest. Presently he meets a knight, who cries to him from afar not to touch him, he is the Coward Knight and man to the Damsel of the Car. Perceval, looking at him, sees that he is a tall and comely youth, well armed, and asks him, if he be such a coward, why does he ride in armor? The knight replies that otherwise someone might attack, and slay him. Perceval asks incredulously, Is he really such a coward as he makes out? "Yea," replies the other, "and much more so!" This is too much for Perceval, who, thoroughly in accordance with his character in the romances, lacks Gawain's sense of humor, and is scandalized, and not amused; he promptly tells the youth he is going to change all that, he must come with him, and he will make him hardy, the name of Coward ill becomes so fair a youth. The Coward Knight protests he has no desire to change either his nature or his name, whereon Perceval curtly tells him he can take his choice of dying there and then, or of coming with him, and the youth, protesting, yields to *force majeure*. Driving his unwilling companion before him, Perceval rides on, and presently hears cries for help. A tall knight appears, leading two dishevelled maidens, whom he is

<sup>1</sup> Br. XIII, 1.

beating unmercifully. Perceval asks the reason for such treatment, and the knight explains that these ladies have dispossessed him of his heritage. The maidens protest; he is a robber, the last survivor of a band which Gawain and Lancelot had dispersed, bestowing their hold on the ladies, and their brother, a poor knight, who had kindly entreated these heroes. This is the vengeance of the robber. (This story has been previously recounted by the author.) Perceval says that is quite true, he was present at the gift, and he commands the knight to release the maidens. The latter refuses, and challenges Perceval. The Coward Knight counsels flight, but Perceval, putting him forward, says this is his champion, and the robber knight promptly attacks. At first the Coward Knight supports his blows without any attempt at self-defense, and Perceval begins to wonder whether he be not in truth a hopeless and incurable craven, but when the youth really feels himself wounded, and sees his own blood, the scene changes with surprising swiftness. Realizing that his adversary is determined to kill him, the lad draws his sword, and spurring his horse, rides on his foe so fiercely that he overthrows him. Then, dismounting, he tears off his helmet, smites off his head, and presents it to Perceval as fruits of his first joust. Perceval applauds him, and bids him see that he never relapse into his previous cowardice, which was a disgrace to any knight. The youth admits naively that, had he known it was so easy, he had been valiant before this. Perceval commits the maidens to his care, bestowing on him the title of the Knight Hardy, and the two separate.

Toward the close of the romance,<sup>1</sup> we assist at the death of the reformed Coward. He is mortally wounded in a combat with Aristot, who has carried off Perceval's sister, whom he proposes to marry and, in accordance with his pleasing custom, slay, after a year of wedded life. Perceval, who is on his way to Aristot's castle, comes up in the middle of the combat, and announcing his arrival to assist at his sister's wedding, smites Aristot through the breast and cuts off his head. He then finds to his sorrow, that the Knight Hardy has been mortally wounded. He carries him to a Hermitage near at hand, assists at his confession and death, and makes all arrangements for his honorable burial.

<sup>1</sup> Br. XXXII, 2.

Now this is a very good and well-constructed story, all the parts of which hang together: the absurd appearance of the knight at his entrance on the scene; Gawain's good-natured amusement, and practical indifference—he is too much occupied with his own concerns to have any desire to interfere with another's—Perceval's drastic intervention, with its resultant effect of transformation from cowardice to courage; finally the death of the knight practically in the service of him to whom he owes his rehabilitation—Aristot has attacked him because he avowed himself a friend of Perceval. It is certainly a good tale. Did the author of the *Perlesvaus* invent it, or did he derive it from an earlier version? If this latter be the case, does he give the story in its original form, or has it undergone modification? We will see if Manessier throws any light on the subject.

The adventure in question occurs toward the conclusion of Manessier's continuation of the *Perceval*. That hero, riding through a forest, meets a young and handsome knight who is journeying in strange guise. His armor, instead of being properly adjusted, is hanging from his back:

Et son hauberc et son escu,  
Et son hiaume a son col pendu,  
Et li trainoient contreval  
Sour la croupe de son cheval [vss. 42137–40].

His lance is fastened lengthwise to his steed. Emphasis is laid upon the good looks of the knight:

Et fu li plus biaux chevaliers  
C'on trovast en .XXX. miliers.  
Onques si biaux de son avis  
Ne vit de cors ne de vis;  
La face avoit bele et vermeille  
Et li cors grant à grant merveille [vss. 42149–54].

But his courage is by no means equal to his beauty; on Perceval's inquiring why he rides in such strange fashion, he explains that it is for fear any should do him harm, or force him to fight:

Mieus vuel en pais parmi la terre  
Aler por mes affaires querre  
Que moi faire batre et ferir,  
Que biens ne m'en poroit venir? [vss. 42167–70].

What would he gain by being wounded to death, or forced to remain in bed till his hurts were healed? Perceval reads him a lecture on his unknighly conduct, and induces him to arm himself fittingly. They ride on together and presently hear cries for help. They find two maidens about to be thrown into a fire, while ten robber knights look on. The maidens appeal to them for aid, but the Coward Knight advises Perceval to leave them to their fate, the robbers are ten against two. Perceval laughs him to scorn, and plunges into the fray, the Coward Knight meanwhile looking on, and protesting his entire indifference to the whole affair, which does not prevent two of the robbers from attacking him. He maintains this attitude till he is wounded, when he suddenly becomes infuriated, and turning on his adversaries slays them both. He then goes to the aid of Perceval, and between them they account for the ten robbers, while the footmen, who held the maidens, take flight. The knights ride with the rescued ladies to their castle, but on the way one of the footmen, hidden in a thicket, wounds Perceval severely with an arrow. He is detained two months at the castle, till the wound is healed, during which time the Coward Knight refuses to leave him. After an interval, devoted to the adventures of other knights, Manessier takes up the tale again where he left it. The two continue their journey together, and come to a castle where a Tourney is about to be held between King Baudemagus and the King of a Hundred Knights. They take part with the latter, Perceval unhorsing Gaheriet, his companion Mordret, and finally driving Baudemagus' men back to the castle. The following morning the two go on their way, and come to a Cross where Perceval says they must part company. He asks his companion's name, and the Coward Knight says he is Li Biaux Mauvais,

Icestui nom me fu donés  
Le jour ke je fu adoubés,

on which Perceval replies, Not so, he should rather be called Li Biaux Hardiz, from the proofs of valor he has given. He tells him his own name, and bidding him be at Arthur's court for Pentecost, they part company, and we do not meet the knight again.

Now, that these two accounts represent the same story there can be no doubt. The question is, are they dependent the one on the

other, or are they independent versions of the same original? Dr. Nitze, in his study on the *Perlesvaus*,<sup>1</sup> decided for the latter solution, and at the same time expressed his opinion that the version given by Manessier was superior to that of the prose romance. After a careful study of the texts I have come to the conclusion that, while Dr. Nitze was right in postulating the existence of an earlier form of the story, he is wrong in considering the two versions to be independent, and Manessier to be the superior; on the contrary I hold that there is a direct affiliation between the two, and that the version of Manessier is based upon, and distinctly inferior to, that of the *Perlesvaus*. In the first place, the description of the first appearance of the knight corresponds in both texts: he is disarmed, and carrying his armor in most unseemly fashion. In *P.* the knight himself is riding backward, in *M.* this is modified into carrying his arms behind him. It seems to me much more probable that such a feature would undergo modification rather than exaggeration at the hands of a later writer, especially if, as we shall find reason to suppose, the tale originally belonged to a very early stage of Arthurian tradition. We cannot dismiss the meeting with Gawain as an amplification of Manessier's account, as it contains a remarkable and significant allusion to what must have been the primitive *motif* of the tale, a point to which we will return later on, and one of which the poetical version has no trace. Obviously, from his description of the knight *M.* knew the "Gawain" episode, but his main interest being with Perceval, he has combined the two sections of the *P.* version in one. The critical adventure and turning point of the Coward Knight's career was, in any case, connected with Perceval, and it is with this that he is mainly concerned. The adventure of the rescue of the two maidens is the same in both texts, but in the *P.* it is more adequately motivated. The maidens are in the hands of one knight, who has a reasonable ground of complaint against them, a ground, moreover, which falls into line with the previous *données* of the romance; in *M.* they are the victims, why, we do not know, of ten knights, with a band of footmen. We may note that *M.* represents all the knights as robbers, in *P.* we have the solitary survivor of a robber-band; here, *M.* seems to me to be exag-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Old French Romance of Perlesvaus*, pp. 75-87.

gerating. Again, we are bound to ask, Why does the Coward Knight remain upon the scene? His natural and obvious course was to ride on, and leave his companion to get out of the fray as best he could, the odds against them being certainly heavy. In *P.* on the contrary, he has no choice; Perceval, bent on curing him of his cowardice, drives him before him, and forces him into the position of combatant; he cannot possibly evade the blows directed against him. In both cases it is the sight of his own blood which rouses him, and in *P.* he gives the reason very clearly: he is now convinced that the assailant desires his death. The slaying of one knight on this, the first occasion he has used his arms, is quite possible and natural; to kill four or five, as in *M.*, is an obvious exaggeration.

Again, the Tournament episode is very *banal*, and the fact that the change of name is given here, and not after what is really the turning point in the youth's career, is not a happy alteration. But what settles the point as to the secondary character of this version is the name given by *M.* to the hero of the tale, Li Biaux *Mauvais*. It should be Li Biaux *Coarz*; Li Biaux *Mauvais* is quite a different person.

Both in the *Wauchier* continuation of Chrétien, and in the Didot *Perceval*, we find the account of that hero's meeting with a knight, accompanied by a lady of such appalling ugliness that Perceval cannot restrain his amusement, to the great indignation of the knight, who promptly challenges him, and is, of course, overthrown and sent as prisoner to Arthur's court, where the appearance of his companion excites a considerable sensation. The knight gives his name to Perceval as Li Biaux *Mauvais*, but that hero, impressed by his devotion to the lady, and his valor, replies, "*En vostre nom a voir et si a mençoigne, car Biaux Mauvais n'estes vous mie mais Biens et Biaux.*"<sup>1</sup>

Manessier appears here to have confused two stories. It is true that Dr. Brugger holds the two names to be the same, and identifies them with *Beau Cûrs*, a name given in the *Parzival* to a brother of Gawain, whose identity is not specified, and *Beaumains*, a name given in Malory to Gareth, or Gaheriet, but here I am unable to agree with him. Apart from the fact that no son of King Lot is ever represented as lacking in courage, the title *Mauvais* is not necessarily equivalent

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Wauchier*, II, 25332 f.; *Modena Perceval*, pp. 44-49.

to that of *Coarz*; it may equally well mean quarrelsome or malicious. Nor does the knight to whom it is applied show any signs of cowardice; on the contrary, he is alert to challenge any, and every, comer who fails to recognize the charms of his lady. Certainly no youth desirous of avoiding occasion for strife would have chosen to journey in such compromising company. At the same time, while the title of Chevalier Hardiz, bestowed by Perceval upon the knight after his reformation, is parallel to the name of Chevalier Coarz, the insistence on the beauty of the knight and the form of the name given by *M.* would seem to indicate that the hero of the tale was originally the Biaux Coarz, in which case we might expect to find his name changed to that of Li Biaux Hardiz; but nowhere, so far as I am aware, do we meet with this particular title. What we do find, and that in close conjunction with Li Biaux Coarz, is the name of Li Laiz Hardiz. Are these two one and the same, and was the change of a handsome coward into an ugly hero the original theme of our story? Dr. Nitze in the study previously referred to suggests that it was so, and I entirely agree with him.

Let us examine the question more closely. The knight known by the name of Li Lez Hardiz appears more than once in Arthurian tradition, and seems to have held a somewhat conspicuous position. In the list of the Knights of the Round Table, given by Chrétien in *Erec*, we find that the fifth and sixth in rank are Li Biaux Coarz and Li Lez Hardiz, a juxtaposition which, while it would indicate that Chrétien held the two to be independent, is, in view of our tale, curiously significant.<sup>1</sup> The rank assigned to the knight, or knights, immediately after Gawain, Erec, Lancelot, and, curiously, Gorne-manz of Gohort, who, in the only poem in which he plays a definite rôle, the *Perceval*, is not a Knight of the Round Table at all, would imply an already recognized popularity. Another instance in which Li Laiz Hardiz plays a leading rôle is in the introductory episode of the *Chastel Orguellous* compilation. It will be remembered that Arthur, having launched a general accusation of treason against the knights of the Round Table, retires to his "loge" and fastens the door. The knights follow, indignantly demanding an explanation, and Gawain forces his way in. The Knights crowd after him, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Erec*, vss. 1696-97.



Li Laiz Hardiz makes himself spokesman for them all. He is introduced on the scene in a remarkable passage:

A la table reonde avoit  
 Coustume que nul n'i seoit  
 Se il n'avoit plaie en la chiere;  
 S'en avoient en grant maniere  
 Les chieres mult plus esfraées,  
 Plus cremues et redoutées.  
 Li Laiz Hardis s'est mis avant,  
 Sachiez que ja parlast atant.<sup>1</sup>

Now let us turn back to the commencement of the Coward Knight adventure, as given in *P.* Here, as noted above, we find a curious and significant passage. After Gawain's encounter with the emissary of Marin le Jaloux, the Coward Knight, explaining that he would not have accepted the challenge, goes on to say "*Il ne vient de gerre se mal non, ne je n'oi onques plaies ne bleceure, se aucuns rains ne la me fist, et je voi vostre viaire tot deplaié et navré en plusors leus. Si m'ait Diex, de tel hardiece n'ai je cure, et chascun jor prie Dieu que m'en desfende.*"<sup>2</sup> It seems to me that this passage, taken in connection with that quoted above, supplies the key to our story. The knight whose good looks are insisted upon (in *P.* Perceval remarks cowardice does not become so fair a knight, while *M.* emphasizes his beauty) shrinks from qualifying for an honor that would entail a loss of that beauty. It is disfigurement, rather than death, that he fears. There can be little doubt that we have here the working over of an old story, one belonging to an early period of Arthurian tradition, when the characteristics of that tradition were more primitive, and less civilized, than those of the cyclic version. Heroes whose claim to honor consists in their facial disfigurement recall the primitive savagery of Layamon's account of the founding of the Round Table, with its free use of knives, cutting off of noses, etc. The heroes of that period must have more resembled modern German students than the courtly knights of romance! That it was an old story is evidenced by the fact that neither *P.* nor *M.* gives the knight his proper name; he was undoubtedly li *Biaus*, not li *Chevaliers*, Coars. I very much doubt whether the conclusion as given in *P.* formed any part of the original

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Legend of Sir Perceval*, II, 202.

<sup>2</sup> *Perlesvaus*, Br. IV, title 6.

story; it was the sacrifice of his beauty, not of his life, which was demanded, but it throws a light upon the methods of the author of the romance, and his free and independent handling of his material. The knight was probably, in the first instance, connected with Gawain rather than with Perceval, and I am inclined to attribute the latter connection to the author of *P.*; he has made admirable use of his material, the whole scheme is well knit, the adventure which forms the turning point of the hero's life is ingeniously motivated, the rescued maidens are friends of Gawain and owe their danger directly to his action, thus connecting the two parts of the story, and, as remarked above, the circumstances of his death are in complete harmony with, and form a dramatic conclusion to, the previous adventures.

An interesting indication of the antiquity of the material dealt with is afforded by a passage of the prose *Lancelot*, where Ywain, passing the night in a Hermitage, is asked by his host whether the custom still maintains that no knight can sit at the Round Table unless he be wounded: it was so in the days of Uther Pendragon, and the Hermit proceeds to relate the tragic tale of a young knight who sacrificed his life in a mad attempt to qualify for the honor which had been refused him. Ywain replies that since Lancelot, Galehaut, and Hector were admitted as Knights of the Round Table without having thus qualified, the custom has been changed; now each newly made knight must vanquish at least one knight in the eight days following his election, or forfeit his seat.<sup>1</sup>

Here it seems to me we have most interesting evidence of the gradual evolution, and softening, of a primitive, and savage, theme. First, we have the condition of facial disfigurement as essential for admission to the highest honors of Arthur's court. This is modified to a more general qualification of wounds, the character of which is not specified. Finally, in the cyclic version, as represented by the prose *Lancelot* the last trace of the fierce primitive tradition has been swept away, and the would-be knight of the Round Table is only required to perform a feat of valor within a certain specified period of time. The evolutionary process is clearly to be traced.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Legend of Sir Lancelot*, p. 232. Some of the texts give the eight days preceding, not following, the election; in this case there would be no question of forfeiture.

What then is the result of our investigation? I would submit that the results are twofold, and in each case they confirm those obtained by a comparison with the *Vengeance Raguidel*. First, the author of the *Perlesvaus* was possessed of very considerable constructive ability, and made free and independent use of his material. Secondly, for that material he went back behind the romances we know, to that earlier stage of Arthurian tradition of which fragments have been preserved in the *Wauchier* continuation, and the English *Gawain* poems. Whatever may be the relative date of composition of the *Perlesvaus* and that of prose *Lancelot*, the themes dealt with by the author of the former romance belong demonstrably to a stage of Arthurian tradition anterior to the construction of the latter.

JESSIE L. WESTON

LONDON, ENGLAND



## ACERCA DE LA FECHA Y FUENTES DE *EN LA VIDA TODO ES VERDAD Y TODO MENTIRA*

A reserva de dar a luz lo más pronto posible una edición que he preparado de *En la vida todo es verdad y todo mentira* de Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca basada en el autógrafo existente en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, ofrezco en esta nota datos que ampliaré más tarde.

FECHA. Al comenzar la jornada segunda dice Calderón: "El duque Federico que es papel nuevo desta jornada a de hacer Franca. Veçon, y si tubiere otra cosa que estudiar, Ysavel de Galvez."

Es claro que *En la vida* ha de haberse representado en una fecha en que ambas actrices se hallaban a la mano según se colige de las palabras de Calderón arriba citadas, pero los informes que hemos allegado<sup>1</sup> indican que la Gálvez estuvo en Madrid en 1658 y la Bezón en 1659, sin afirmar que aquélla viviese allí en 1659 ni ésta en 1658. Viene, sin embargo, a sacarnos de dudas el documento núm. 157 de la ya citada obra de Pérez Pastor:

Madrid, 17 Febrero, 1659.

En la villa de Madrid el dicho día diez y siete de Febrero año de mil seiscientos y cincuenta y nueve yo el dicho escribano requeri a Diego Osorio declare por que causa no ha echado ni representado comedia hoy lunes dicho día en el corral del Principe como tiene obligacion el qual dijo que por causa de estar estudiando y ensayando una comedia de Don Pedro Calderon que se intitula *En la vida todo es verdad y todo mentira*, y otra de Don Francisco Antonio Monteser intitulada *La perla de Ipomenes y Atalanta* y otra de Don Francisco Zapata intitulada *Todo es menos por servir* y nueve Sainetes y tres Loas, todo lo qual es menester para poder cumplir y ensayar y estudiar dichas fiestas que se han de hacer a Su Magestad domingo, lunes y martes de Carnes-tolendas, por lo qual no ha podido representar este dicho día aunque tiene comedias que representar. Y asimismo ayer domingo, que se contaron

<sup>1</sup> Apórtanlos D. Casiano Pellicer, *Tratado histórico sobre el origen y progresos de la comedia y del histrionismo en España*, Madrid, 1804, parte II, p. 57; H. A. Rennert, *The Spanish Stage*, New York, 1909, pp. 434 y 435; Pérez Pastor, *Bulletin Hispanique*, XV (1903), pp. 433, 440, y 443; Pérez Pastor, *Documentos para la bibliografía de Calderón*, Madrid, 1905, pp. 261, 328.

quince del mes, sin embargo de que puso carteles para representar en el corral del Principe la comedia intitulada *Afectos de odio y amor*, de Don Pedro Calderon, no lo pudo conseguir por dichas ocupaciones.

Siguieron los ensayos de dichas tres comedias, de las cuales se hizo una el día 23, la del día 24 no se pudo representar por estar con jaqueca la Reina, y el día 25 se hicieron las dos restantes, una por la compañía de Diego Osorio y otra por la de Pedro de la Rosa.

Resulta, pues, en claro que *En la vida* se representó el día 23 o 25 de febrero o sea el domingo o martes de Carnestolendas del año 1659.

El documento núm. 168b nos da la lista de los cómicos que figuraban en la compañía de Diego Osorio:

“Obligacion de Diego Osorio, autor de comedias, de hacer uno de los dos Autos del Corpus de este año en precio de 950 ducados con esta compañía que presenta:

MUJERES	HOMBRES
Maria de Quiñones	Alonso de Olmedo
Jeronima de Olmedo	Juan Gonzales
Francisca de Bezon	Miguel de Orozco
Mariana de Borja	Blas Polope
Micaela de Andrade	Vicente de Olmedo
	Mateo de Godoy
	Jusepe Quevedo
	Gaspar Fernandez
	Marcos Garces, Capsicol
	Diego Osorio.

Madrid, 28 Marzo 1659.

Vicente de Olmedo, marido de la Bezón, y Jusepe Quevedo, cuyos nombres aparecen en la lista, son acaso los cómicos a quienes alude Calderón en la jornada tercera: *Salen dos soldados Josepe y Vicente*. Uno y otro fueron actores de poco renombre. De Olmedo nos cuenta Pellicer que “era más señalado en danzar, en hacer penachos y en jugar la negra, y viejo tan arriscado que siempre llevaba la espada y la daga en la cinta.”

Omito en esta nota los ingeniosos argumentos aducidos por Hartzenbusch<sup>1</sup> que en parte coinciden con los de Menéndez y Pelayo<sup>2</sup> en pro de la anterioridad de *En la vida* al *Heraclius* de P. Corneille.

<sup>1</sup> B. A. E., XIV, pp. 662 y sigs.

<sup>2</sup> *Calderón y su teatro*, Madrid, 1910, pp. 250 y sigs.

FUENTES. De la fecha del autógrafo se desprende claramente que Corneille<sup>1</sup> no imitó ni copió de *En la vida*, comedia compuesta poco antes de ser representada en 1659, siendo su *Heraclius* de 1647, o acaso antes; y del cotejo esmerado de *La rueda de la fortuna* de Mira de Mescua con la tragedia francesa resultan varios puntos de contacto, a saber: la filiación falsa de Eraclio, la prolongación anti-histórica de la vida de la Emperatriz y de la de una de sus hijas, y el nombre de Leoncio.

Comparando en seguida las dos comedias españolas pueden columbrarse una que otra coincidencia verbal y varias ideas comunes, a saber: la mencionada filiación de Eraclio, la muerte de Focas a manos de éste, y sobre todo el pasaje de la primera jornada en que relata Focas su origen:

CALDERÓN

Leche de lobas infante  
me alimento allí en mi tierna  
hedad, y en mi hedad adulta  
el veneno de sus yerbas.

MIRA DE MESCUA

Un pescador me saco;  
Y como a mi me crio  
Con palmas y verdes ovas  
Y leche de mansas lobas ...

Concedamos, pues, que Calderón pudo haber tenido presente la comedia famosa de Mira de Mescua, como pudo igualmente haber conocido *El hijo de los leones*, comedia de Lope en la que el personaje selvático Leonido guarda cierta semejanza ora con Focas, ora con Eraclio; y aun no estaría fuera de razón el suponer que tejiera *En la vida* con reminiscencias conscientes de piezas ajenas, pues sabido es que el genio de nuestro autor brillaba menos por su capacidad inventiva que por su don de arreglar y planear escenas, vaciando por, decirlo así, las ideas de otro en el molde calderoniano e imprimiéndoles el sesgo de su personalidad literaria.

Por otra parte, la obra de Mira de Mescua no era desconocida por el más distinguido contemporáneo de Corneille, Jean Rotrou, quien imitó su *Don Bernard de Cabrère* (1647) de *La adversa fortuna de don Bernardo de Cabrera*, y su *Belisario* (1642-44) de *El ejemplo mayor de la desdicha y gran Capitán Belisario*, y así cabe el presumir que conociera Corneille *La rueda de la fortuna*.

Mas, en cambio, ¿cómo explicar la peregrina semejanza entre los pasajes siguientes de Calderón y Corneille, sino por medio de

<sup>1</sup> Para la bibliografía de esta controversia que se remonta a 1724 consúltese H. Breymann, *Die Calderon Literatur*, München und Berlin, 1905, pp. 120-21.

una imitación directa, ya que estos no se hallan en Mira de Mescua? :

FOCAS

Alça del suelo y tu voz  
me diga si es de Mauricio  
el hijo que rreserbo  
de mis yras tu lealtad,  
uno destes.

ASTOLFO

Si, señor;  
el uno de los dos es  
hijo de mi emperador,  
a quien, porque nunca diese  
en manos de tu furor  
crie en estos montes, sin que  
sepa quien es ni quien soy;  
porque el tenerle así tube  
a ynconveniente menor  
que el mirarle en tu poder  
ni de una jente que dio  
ovediencias a un tirano.

FOCAS

Pues mira cuan superior  
el hado a la diliencia  
manda; qual es de los dos?

ASTOLFO

Que es uno de ellos dire,  
pero qual es de ellos no.

FOCAS

Que ynporta que ya lo calles  
si es ynutil pretension  
para que no muera, pues,  
matando a entrambos estoy  
cierto de que muera en uno  
el que aborrezco, y que no  
turbara nunca el ynperio.

ERACLIO

A menos costa el temor  
podras asegurar.

FOCAS

Como?

PHOCAS, à Léontine

Approche, malheureuse.

HÉRACLIUS, à Léontine

Avouez tout, Madame.

J'ai tout dit.

LÉONTINE, à Héraclius

Quoi, Seigneur?

PHOCAS

Tu l'ignores, infâme!

Qui des deux est mon fils?

LÉONTINE

Qui vous en fait douter?

HÉRACLIUS, à Léontine

Le nom d'Héraclius que son fils veut porter:  
Il en croit ce billet et votre témoignage;  
Mais ne le laissez pas dans l'erreur davantage.

PHOCAS

N'attends pas les tourments, ne me déguise rien.  
M'as-tu livré ton fils? as-tu changé le mien?

LÉONTINE

Je t'ai livré mon fils, et j'en aime la gloire.  
Si je parle du reste, oseras-tu m'en croire?  
Et qui t'assurera que pour Héraclius,  
Moi qui t'ai tant trompé, je ne te trompe plus?

PHOCAS

N'importe, fais-nous voir quelle haute prudence  
En des temps si divers leur en fait confidence:  
A l'un depuis quatre ans, à l'autre d'aujourd'hui.

LÉONTINE

Le secret n'en est su ni de lui, ni de lui;  
Tu n'en sauras non plus les véritables causes:  
Devine, si tu peux, et choisis, si tu l'oses.  
L'un des deux est ton fils, l'autre est ton empereur.  
Tremble dans ton amour, tremble dans ta fureur.  
Je te veux toujours voir, quoi que ta rage fasse,  
Craindre ton ennemi dedans ta propre race,  
Toujours aimer ton fils dedans ton ennemi,  
Sans être ni tyran, ni père qu'à demi.  
Tandis qu'autour des deux tu perdras ton étude,



LEONIDO

Vengando en mi ese rencor;  
pues yo a precio de ser hijo  
de un supremo emperador  
dare contento la vida.

ERACLIO

Si en el dicta la ambicion  
en mi la verdad.

FOCAS

Por que?

ERACLIO

Porque yo se lo que soy.

FOCAS

Tu lo saves?

ERACLIO

Si.

ASTOLFO

Pues quien  
te lo a dicho?

ERACLIO

Mi valor.

FOCAS

Entrambos para morir  
competis por el blason  
de hijos de Mauricio?

LOS DOS

Si.

FOCAS

Di tu qual es de ellos.

ASTOLFO

Que es uno mi voz a dicho;  
qual es no dira mi amor.

FOCAS

Eso es querer, por salbar  
uno, que perezcan dos.  
Y pues entranbos conformes  
estan en morir, no soy  
tirano, pues que la muerte  
que ellos me piden les doy.  
Soldados, mueran entranbos.

Mon âme jouira de ton inquiétude;  
Je rirai de ta peine; ou si tu m'en punis,  
Tu perdras avec moi le secret de ton fils.

PHOCAS

Et si je le punis tous deux sans les connoltre,  
L'un comme Héraclius, l'autre pour vouloir l'être?

LÉONTINE

Je m'en consolerais quand je verrai Phocas  
Croire affermir son sceptre en se coupant le bras,  
Et de la même main son ordre tyrannique  
Venger Héraclius dessus son fils unique.

PHOCAS

Quelle reconnoissance, ingrate, tu me rends  
Des bienfaits répandus sur toi, sur tes parents,  
De t'avoir confié ce fils que tu me caches,  
D'avoir mis en tes mains ce coeur que tu m'arraches,  
D'avoir mis à tes pieds ma cour qui t'adoroit!  
Rends-moi mon fils, ingrate.

LÉONTINE

Il m'en désavoueroit;  
Et ce fils, quel qu'il soit, que tu ne peux con-  
noltre,  
A le coeur assez bon pour ne vouloir pas l'être.  
Admire sa vertu qui trouble ton repos.  
C'est du fils d'un tyran que j'ai fait ce héros;  
Tant ce qu'il a reçu d'heureuse nourriture  
Dompte ce mauvais sang qu'il eut de la nature!  
C'est assez dignement répondre à tes bienfaits  
Que d'avoir dégagé ton fils de tes forfaits.  
Séduit par ton exemple et par sa complaisance,  
Il t'auroit ressemblé, s'il eût su sa naissance:  
Il seroit lâche, impie, inhumain comme toi,  
Et tu me dois ainsi plus que je ne te doi.

ASTOLFO

Tu lo pensarás mejor.

FOCAS

Por que?

ASTOLFO

Porque no querras,  
ya que el uno te ofendió  
en vivir, te ofenda el otro  
en morir.

FOCAS

Pues por que no?

ASTOLFO

Porque es el otro tu hijo,  
de cuya verdad te doy  
para testimonio esta  
lamina que a mi me dio  
con el y con la noticia  
de ser tuyo la afliccion  
de aquella villana, en quien  
fue tan parlero el dolor,  
que por no rreserbar nada,  
al hijo aun no rreserbo.  
Agora con el rresguardo  
que el uno en el otro hallo,  
sabiendo que es tu hijo el uno  
Podrás matar a los dos.

FOCAS

Que escucho y que miro!

CINTIA

Estraño

suceso!

FOCAS

Quien, cielos, vio  
que quando de mi enemigo  
y mia buscando voy  
la sucesion que aflijia  
mi vaga ymajinacion  
tan equibocas enquentre  
un y otra sucesion  
que ynpida el golpe del odio  
el escudo del amor?  
Mas tu diras uno y otro  
quien es?

ASTOLFO

Eso no hare yo;  
tu hijo a de guardar al hijo  
de mi rrey y mi señor.

FOCAS

No te valdra tu silencio  
que la natural pasion  
con experiencias dira  
qual es mi hijo y qual no;  
y entonces podre dar muerte  
al que no halle en mi favor.

ASTOLFO

No te creas de experiencias  
de hijo a quien otro crio;  
que apartadas crianças tienen  
muy sin cariño el calor  
de los padres; y quiza,  
llebado de algun error,  
daras la muerte a tu hijo.

FOCAS

Con eso en obligacion  
de dartela a ti me pones  
si no declaras quien son.

ASTOLFO

Asi quedara el secreto  
en seguridad mayor;  
que los secretos un muerto  
es quien los guarda mejor.

FOCAS

Pues no te dare la muerte,  
caduco, loco, traydor,  
sino guardare tu vida  
en tan misera prision  
que lo prolijo en morir  
te saque del corazon  
a pedazos el secreto.

ERACLIO

No le ultraje tu furor.

LEONIDO

No tu saña le maltrate.

FOCAS

Pues que, amparaile los dos?

LOS DOS

Si el nuestra vida a guardado,  
no es primera obligacion  
de todas guardar su vida ?

FOCAS

Luego a ninguno mudo  
la vanidad de que pueda  
ser hijo mio ?

ERACLIO

A mi no;  
por que mas quiero otra vez  
digo, morir al onor  
de ser legitimo hijo  
de un supremo enperador,  
que vivir de una villana  
hijo natural.

LEONIDO

Y yo  
que, aunque ser tu hijo tuviera  
a soberano blason,  
no me a de esceder a mi  
Eraclio en la presuncion  
de ser lo mas.

FOCAS

Y es lo mas  
Mauricio ?

LOS DOS

Si.

FOCAS

Y Focas ?

LOS DOS

No.

FOCAS

O venturoso Mauricio!  
O ynfeliz Focas! Quien vio  
que para rreynar no quiera  
ser hijo de mi valor  
uno, y que quieran del tuyo  
serlo para morir dos!  
Y pues de tanto secreto  
que ya pasa a ser baldon,  
solo eres dueño, bolviendo  
a mi primera yntencion,

PHOCAS

Hélas! je ne puis voir qui des deux est mon fils;  
Et je vois que tous deux ils sont mes ennemis.  
En ce piteux état quel conseil dois-je suivre ?  
J'ai craint un ennemi, mon bonheur me le livre;  
Je sais que de mes mains il ne se peut sauver,  
Je sais que je le vois, et ne puis le trouver.  
La nature tremblante, incertaine, étonnée,  
D'un nuage confus couvre sa destinée:  
L'assassin sous cette ombre échappe à ma rigueur,  
Et présent à mes yeux, il se cache en mon coeur.  
Martian! A ce nom aucun ne veut répondre,  
Et l'amour paternel ne sert qu'à me confondre.  
Trop d'un Héraclius en mes mains est remis;  
Je tiens mon ennemi, mais je n'ai plus de fils.  
Que veux-tu donc, nature, et que prétends-tu  
faire ?  
Si je n'ai plus de fils, puis-je encore être père ?  
De quoi parle à mon coeur ton murmure impar-  
fait ?  
Ne me dis rien du tout, ou parle tout à fait.  
Qui que ce soit des deux que mon sang ait fait  
naître,  
Ou laisse-moi le perdre, ou fais-le moi connoître.  
O toi, qui que tu sois, enfant dénaturé,  
Et trop digne du sort que tu t'es procuré,  
Mon trône est-il pour toi plus honteux qu'un  
supplice ?  
O malheureux Phocas! ô trop heureux Maurice!  
Tu recouvres deux fils pour mourir après toi,  
Et je n'en puis trouver pour régner après moi!  
Qu'aux honneurs de ta mort je dois porter envie,  
Puisque mon propre fils les préfère à sa vie!

FOCAS

te haran hablar ambre y sed,  
desnudez, pena y dolor.  
Liebalde preso.

LOS DOS

Primero

restados en su favor  
nos veras.

FOCAS

Eso es querer  
que, abandonando el amor  
con que el uno busque, en  
ambos  
se venga mi indignacion.  
A todos tres los prended.

ERACLIO

Primero pedaços yo  
me dejare hacer.

LEONIDO

Primero

morireis todos.

FOCAS

Su error

los castigue. Que esperais?  
Si no se dan a prision,  
mueran.

Esta escena representa lo mejor de *En la vida*, y es sin duda superior a la correspondiente del *Héraclius*, la cual es a su vez la más bien construída de la enredada tragedia francesa. No sacó Calderón todo el partido posible de la concreta situación de incertidumbre en que deja al tirano en la primera jornada, sino que arrastrado por la fuerza de ese simbolismo, esa innata tendencia a la abstracción y a la universalidad tan de su genio, transforma gradualmente los que en un principio se destacan como caracteres, en figuras simbólicas o encarnaciones corpóreas de un pensamiento dominante. A este pensamiento, bien indicado por el título de la obra, débese el que Calderón haya desbarrado por completo en las dos últimas jornadas hasta el punto de hacer harto penosa la lectura, y trabajoso el desentrañar en ciertos momentos los personajes reales de los fingidos, las escenas actuadas en el mundo tangible del espectador, de las

vistas a través de la mágica de Lisipo; en una palabra: *la mentira de la verdad* en la vida. Mientras que en Corneille nos fatiga la complicación de la intriga, y es fácil extraviarnos en el dédalo por donde conduce a sus personajes, en Calderón nos envuelve la nebulosidad producida por el vaho de su simbolismo apurado hasta el colmo del absurdo. El pensamiento filosófico-religioso de la caducidad de las glorias mundanales, del *sueño de la vida*, parece afirmarse más y más en el espíritu del fervoroso sacerdote que sólo al llamamiento de su rey ponía en las tablas esta comedia acaso la víspera del miércoles de ceniza, ensimismado ya en el grave *memento, homo, quia pulvis es, et in pulverem reverteris* con que da principio la Iglesia a la penitencia cuaresmal. Este pensamiento que se propuso el poeta sacar adelante, enerva el resorte dramático tan felizmente preparado en la primera jornada; y la forma operática que se vislumbra en las jornadas segunda y tercera hace degenerar la pieza en un espectáculo que preludia las comedias que más tarde fueron cantadas en su totalidad, la primera de las cuales fué *La púrpura de la rosa* también de Calderón, representada ante la corte en 1660 por Diego Osorio cuya compañía, según se apuntó arriba, hubo de representar *En la vida* el año anterior.<sup>1</sup>

Las fuentes de *En la vida* deben, pues, encontrarse, primero en la Historia a sabiendas torcida por el autor, quien no la ignoraba como malignamente han apuntado algunos, pues ya había tratado con arreglo a ella una parte del mismo asunto en *La exaltación de la cruz*; segundo, en Corneille para la escena que hemos señalado; tercero, en Mira de Mescua para un pasaje también ya indicado, y tal cual reminiscencia vaga en el diálogo; y cuarto, en Góngora para el cantar cuyos dos versos últimos ya había reproducido en *La vida es sueño*:

Ay como gime!  
Mas ay como suena  
el remo a que nos condena  
el niño amor!  
Clarín que rompe el albor  
no suena mejor.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> El documento núm. 163 de la obra citada de Pérez Pastor se titula: "Certificaciones de Matías de Santo sobre la asistencia de D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca a los ensayos de una comedia toda cantada." Ésta es sin duda, como lo ha dicho Rennert, *La púrpura de la rosa*; y Diego Osorio es el autor claramente mencionado en el documento.

<sup>2</sup> Véase P. Henríquez Ureña, *La versificación irregular en la poesía castellana*, Madrid, 1920, p. 239.

Ya en 1658 se había dejado sentir la corriente francesa en Juan Bautista Diamante quien "devolvió a España" el Cid de P. Corneille con el título de *El honrador de su padre*. Por otra parte las relaciones políticas entre los dos países se estrecharon cordialmente después de las últimas campañas (1657-59). Ambas naciones anhelaban la paz: Mazarino, acaso cediendo a la presión de Doña Ana, hermana de Felipe IV, a la vez que buscando la futura incorporación de España a la corona francesa; Felipe IV escuchando la voz de la prudencia al verse completamente abandonado por sus aliados. Así pues, iniciáronse negociaciones para el casamiento de María Teresa con Luis XIV que habían de cimentar el tratado de paz de los Pirineos cuyas bases fueron firmadas el 4 de junio de 1659.

Calderón, favorito de Felipe IV, pudo oportunamente contribuir a esta cordialidad obsequiando a la corte con una obra—una fiesta—en que imitara un acto del gran Corneille, y en lo cual nada desmerece como ya hemos visto, y sí hubo de acrecentar su nombre ante la corte.

No está por demás el recordar que el entremés de *El labrador gentilhomme*, trasunto bastante fiel del *Bourgeois gentilhomme* de Molière, se representó con otra fiesta de Calderón, *Hado y divisa de Leonido y Marfisa*, en 1680, su última obra. Se ha objetado que dicho entremés no puede ser de Calderón; y como única prueba de su ignorancia se aduce que en el entremés de *La franchota* habla una jerigonza que más se parece al italiano que al francés.

Como quiera que esto sea, *El labrador gentilhomme*, cuya fecha exacta nos es desconocida, presenta otro caso interesante de imitación.

CARLOS CASTILLO

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO





## SOME MEDIEVAL ADVERTISEMENTS OF ROME

### I. THE "LIBRI INDULGENTIARUM"

Of the documents which informed medieval folk of the things to be seen at Rome, two classes have been critically studied and reprinted. These are the *Itineraries* of the fifth to the eighth centuries, which served as guides to the early pilgrims visiting shrines and tombs, and which have a value for the study of the topography of medieval Rome<sup>1</sup> and the *Mirabilia Romae*, which dealt chiefly with the remains of classical antiquity found in Rome.<sup>2</sup> A third class, sometimes called *libri indulgentiarum*, though it is frequently mentioned by writers on Roman topography, has not been studied or reprinted, as far as I have been able to learn, since the sixteenth century. The reasons for the neglect of these books are obviously that they have no topographical value and that they do not interest the student of classical antiquity. Yet they have importance for those interested in the medieval mind. They present a kind of information which, it is clear from the number of copies extant and from the continuous production of similar books to the present day, has been very popular since the early fourteenth century. De Rossi says that copies of these *libri indulgentiarum* abound in the libraries of all Europe,<sup>3</sup> a statement which is probably true but is hard to confirm definitely because their brevity makes them easy to omit from catalogues. In the British Museum, at any rate, I have been able to find nine manuscript versions, in Latin or a vernacular. Surely a kind of writing, even though it be in the nature of an advertisement, which appealed so extensively to the people of Western Europe is worth some attention.

The English poem, *The Stacyons of Rome*, whose preservation in six copies<sup>4</sup> attests its popularity, is in reality merely a versified *liber*

<sup>1</sup> On these documents, see Ethel R. Barker, *Rome of the Pilgrims and Martyrs* (London, 1913), pp. 93-126, and Bibliography pp. 327-29.

<sup>2</sup> See F. M. Nichols, *The Marvels of Rome*, London, 1889.

<sup>3</sup> *Roma sotterranea* (Rome, 1864), I, 162. The statement is repeated by Armellini in *Le chiese di Roma* (2d ed., 1891), p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Besides the prose form in the Porkington manuscript. See Carleton Brown's *Register of Middle English Religious Verse*, Vol. II. The title of the English poem is misleading, for it deals not with the stations of Rome, but with the relics and indulgences of the chief Roman churches. See Rossetti's "Notes" in *Political, Religious and Love Poems*, EETS, p. xx.

*indulgentiarum*. When he printed this document in *Political, Religious and Love Poems*, Furnivall wrote: "*The Stacyons of Rome* is simply (to me) a puff of the merits of the Papal City as a place for getting pardons and indulgences, in comparison with Santiago and Jerusalem."<sup>1</sup> He was quite right, of course, but he did not know that the *Stacyons* was one of a class of documents which evidently formed part of an organized propaganda to attract pilgrims to Rome. There are to be sure occasional similar tracts about the indulgences to be gained at Compostella, Jerusalem, or even Syon Monastery in England; but the rarity of these, in comparison with the multitude of manuscripts advertising Rome, indicates a systematic plan in the propagation of the latter. Nor did this production of "puffs" for Rome stop with the manuscript period: among the earliest printed books, we find *libri indulgentiarum*, with evidence that they ran quickly through many editions; we find at least two block books (an evidence of popularity, since, according to Mr. Pollard, block books were made only when a work was printed in large quantities);<sup>2</sup> and, in course of time, we find more and more elaborated forms until insensibly they become guidebooks of modern type.

To make a complete study of the indulgence books, one would need to visit all the important libraries of Europe and copy the countless versions to be found there. Such a study would undoubtedly enable one to classify the documents into groups and perhaps to determine their relative chronology; it might even enable one to determine the actual facts as to the years of indulgence granted at various shrines. My study—a mere sketch in comparison with what might be done—is based only on the manuscripts and printed books found in the British Museum. With such restricted material, it will be possible for me merely to give one text, describe several others, and use some of the details in illustration of the English *Stacyons of Rome*.

De Rossi says that the manuscripts of the *libri indulgentiarum* date chiefly from the fifteenth and late fourteenth centuries.<sup>3</sup> This statement is true of the manuscripts in the British Museum. In attempting to determine whether a particular text belongs to an earlier

<sup>1</sup> *Forewords*, p. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> See his *Fine Books* (London, 1912), pp. 21-22.

<sup>3</sup> *Roma sotterranea*, I, 162.

or a later type, one could use certain kinds of internal evidence. For example, Onuphrius Panvinius says that there were in earlier times only five principal churches in Rome, as opposed to the seven churches of the later Middle Age.<sup>1</sup> Hence, those which mention five principal churches are presumably from earlier forms than those mentioning seven. Similarly, the original arrangement of these books seems to have involved a start with St. John's Lateran because of the pre-eminence of that church. Later St. Peter's, because it was the cathedral, usurped the initial position. Finally, perhaps, a detailed study of the contents, the lists of relics, and years of indulgence would give criteria for establishing relative chronology.

The earlier printed editions afford a more simple and careful text than any manuscript which I have found, a text, moreover, which in large part agrees verbatim with the manuscript versions.<sup>2</sup> The text which I give has the advantage of being at once very brief and yet complete.

Indulgentie ecclesiarum princi-  
palium alme Urbis Rome,

[S]anctus Silvester scribit in cronica sua *quod* Rome fuerunt mille quingenti et quinque ecclesie quarum maior pars est destructa. Et inter illas tantum sunt septem principales privilegiate maiori privilegio, gratia, dignitate et sanctitate *quam* alie. Prima est sacrosancta Lateranensis ecclesia que est caput totius orbis et urbis, deinde ecclesia Sancti Petri, ecclesia Sancti Pauli, ecclesia Sancte Marie Maioris, ecclesia Sancti Laurentii extra muros, ecclesia Sanctorum Martirum Fabiani et Sebastiani, ecclesia Sancte Crucis in Hierusalem. Prima ecclesia Lateranensis dedicata est a beato Silvestro papa in honorem Sancti Salvatoris et Sancti Iohannis baptiste et evangeliste, et sunt in eadem ecclesia omni die xlviii anni indulgentiarum et totidem quadragene et remissio tertie partis omnium peccatorum. Item papa Silvester et Gregorius qui eam consecraverunt dederunt indulgentias tantas *quod* eas solus deus possit numerare testante beato Bonifacio qui dixit: "si homines scirent indulgentias ecclesie Lateranensis, non opus esset *quod* homines irent per mare ad sanctum sepulchrum domini seu ad Sanctum Iacobum in Galicia."

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by X. Barbier de Montault, *Œuvres complètes*, VI, p. 8. By the middle of the fourteenth century, seven was the recognized number, cf. Adam of Usk's *Chronicle* (ed. by E. M. Thompson: London, 1876), p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Cotton Julius D VIII, f. 15b ff. agrees largely with this text. Of the printed books, the earliest according to the British Museum catalogue is the one numbered I A 17593, five leaves without title-page, pagination, or signatures, published at Rome, 1473 (?). Two other early editions are I A. 17621, Rome, 1475 (?), and C 9 a 22. I print the last named diplomatically, except that I expand abbreviations, punctuate, and capitalize in modern fashion.

Item dicit papa Bonifacius: "si quis ad sedem nostram Lateranensem causa devotionis, orationis aut peregrinationis pervenerit, ille absolvetur ab omnibus suis peccatis."<sup>1</sup> Item dicit beatus Bonifacius: "si quis ad dictam ecclesiam venerit in die Sancti Salvatoris ille absolvetur ab omnibus suis peccatis." Item in sacristia eiusdem ecclesie est altare Sancti Iohannis quod habuit in deserto; item ibi est archa federis veteris testamenti; item virga Moisie et Aaron. Et hec omnia portaverunt Titus et Vespasianus de Hierusalem cum quatuor columnis ereis que stant circa summum altare. Item supra summum altare sunt capita Sanctorum Petri et Pauli et quodcumque monstrantur tunc ibidem sunt tot indulgentie quot sunt ad Sanctum Petrum quando monstratur sudarium seu Veronica, que indulgentie ostensionis Veronice habentur in sequentibus foliis videlicet in secunda ecclesia principali. Item quando ista sacratissima ecclesia ab hereticis fuit accensa et combusta, de capite Pancracii emanavit sanguis tribus diebus et tribus noctibus, quod caput etiam ostenditur una cum ceteris reliquiis in die pasche peracto prandio. Quam ecclesiam postea renovavit et de fundamento reedificari fecit dei genitricis servus papa Nicolaus III filius beati Francisci, ut clare apparet in opere mosaico supra summum altare; et ut supra dictum est sunt tot indulgentie sicut quando monstratur Veronica ad Sanctum Petrum. Item supra altare sancti Marie Magdalene sunt hec reliquie: primo caput sancti Zacharie, caput sancti Pancracii, item una scapula<sup>2</sup> de Sancto Laurentio; item pannus in quem fuit involutus Christus in cruce; item pannus cum quo Christus tersit pedes discipulis suis; item circumcisio domini nostri Iesu Christi; item tunica cum qua Sanctus Iohannes suscitavit mortuos; item ciphus ex quo Sanctus Iohannes bibit venenum a Cesare Damitiano; item una pars de vero ligno crucis; et multe alie reliquie que ostenduntur in die pasche prandio peracto. Item in capella que vocatur sancta sanctorum in quam mulieres non intrant sub pena excommunicationis est vera et plena remissio omnium peccatorum, et in eadem capella est imago Christi in etate xii annorum. Et circa eandem capellam stant gradus super quibus dominus noster Iesus Christus cecidit usque ad effusionem sanguinis et bene signum videtur, qui enim gradus steterunt ante domum Pilati in Hierusalem. Et quicumque hos gradus ascenderit habet de quolibet gradu novem annos indulgentiarum et totidem quadragenas et remissionem tertie partis omnium peccatorum.

Secunda ecclesia principalis est ad sanctum Petrum in qua sunt omni die xlviii anni indulgentiarum et totidem quadragene et remissio tertie partis omnium peccatorum. Item in eadem ecclesia fuerunt centum et novem altaria que nunc pro maiori parte sunt destructa et pro quolibet conceduntur xviii anni indulgentiarum. Et inter ipsa sunt excepta septem altaria principalia que maiori gratia sunt privilegiata aliis altaribus, et omnia ista septem altaria sunt circumdata ferreis cancellis penes<sup>3</sup> quas considerantur. Item quodcumque est festum Sancti Petri vel festum sanctorum predictorum

<sup>1</sup> P. 2.<sup>2</sup> P. 3.<sup>3</sup> P. 4.

altarium vel festum nativitatis domini vel festum pasche *et* festum omnium sanctorum vel aliis festis duplicibus duplicantur omnes indulgentie. Item in festo annunciationis beate Marie virginis sunt ibi mille anni indulgentiarum. Item a predicto festo usque ad kalendas Augusti sunt ibi xii anni indulgentiarum et totidem quadragene et remissio tertie partis omnium peccatorum. Item quicumque ascendit gradus sancti Petri devote huic conceduntur pro quolibet gradu septem anni indulgentiarum date a papa Alexandro. Item medietas corporum Petri et Pauli requiescit ad sanctum Petrum, reliqua vero medietas ad sanctum Paulum. Item in dicta Basilica requiescunt corpora Sanctorum Simonis et Iude. Item corpus beate Petronelle virginis. Item caput Sancti Andree apostoli, caput Sebastiani martiris, caput Sancti Luce evangeliste. Item Veronica monstratur in dicta ecclesia in ultima septimana quadragesime et in festo ascensionis domini et in dominica proxima post festum Sancti Anthonii, et tunc Romani advenientes habent trium milium annorum indulgentias. Sed isti advenientes de prope Romam habent sex milium annorum. Sed venientes per montanea de longinquo habent duodecim milium annorum indulgentias et totidem quadragenas, et similiter remissionem tertie partis omnium suorum peccatorum.<sup>1</sup>

Tertia ecclesia principalis est ad Sanctum Paulum in qua sunt omni die quadraginta et octo anni indulgentiarum et totidem quadragene *et* remissio tertie partis omnium peccatorum. Item in conversione Sancti Pauli sunt ibi centum anni indulgentiarum et totidem quadragene. Item in festo sanctorum innocentium quorum multa corpora ibidem requiescunt sunt quadraginta *et* octo anni indulgentiarum et totidem quadragene. Item in dedicatione ecclesie que est in octava Sancti Martini sunt mille anni indulgentiarum et totidem quadragene et remissio tertie partis omnium peccatorum. Item si quis ad dictam ecclesiam omnibus diebus dominicis ierit habebit tot indulgentias ac si iret ad sepulchrum domini in Hierusalem aut ad Santum Iacobum in Galicia. Item in eadem ecclesia est brachium Sancte Anne matris Marie, item una cathena cum qua sanctus Paulus cathenatus fuit.

Quarta ecclesia principalis est ad Sanctam Mariam Maiorem in qua sunt omni die quadraginta et octo anni indulgentiarum et totidem quadragene et similiter remissio tertie partis omnium peccatorum. Item hec sunt reliquie ecclesie predictae: Primo corpus beati Mathie apostoli, item corpus beati Hieronymi, item brachium beati Thome Cantuariensis archiepiscopi. Item nona die Maii est ibi remissio omnium peccatorum data a domino Pio Papa Secundo. Item in omnibus festivitatibus beate Marie virginis sunt ibi mille anni indulgentiarum.<sup>2</sup> Item a festo assumptionis beate Marie virginis usque ad eius nativitatem sunt ibi duodecim milia anni indulgentiarum.

<sup>1</sup> P. 5.<sup>2</sup> P. 6.

Quinta ecclesia principalis est ad Sanctum Laurentium extra muros in qua sunt omni die xlviii anni *indulgentiarum* et totidem *quadrage*ne et remissio tertie partis omnium peccatorum. Item ibidem est lapis super quo beatus Laurentius positus fuit post *quam* assatus est et mortuus erat. Item in festis Sanctorum Stephani et Laurentii, quorum corpora in eadem requiescunt ecclesia, sunt centum anni *indulgentiarum* et totidem *quadrage*ne et remissio tertie partis omnium peccatorum. Item si quis intraverit dictam ecclesiam per annum omni quarta feria liberat unam animam a purgatorio.

Sexta ecclesia principalis est ad Sanctum Sebastianum in qua sunt omni die xlviii anni *indulgentiarum* et totidem *quadrage*ne et remissio tertie partis omnium peccatorum. Item in eadem ecclesia sunt omni die mille anni *indulgentiarum* dati a domino Papa Pelagio. Item in dicta ecclesia sunt tante indulgentie quante sunt in ecclesiis sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli quia corpora eorum iacuerunt longo tempore abscondita in eadem ecclesia in fonte. Item Papa Silvester, Gregorius, Honorius, Pelagius, Nicolaus et Iohannes quilibet ipsorum concessit si(n)gillatim mille annos *indulgentiarum* tempore anni visitantibus dictam ecclesiam, absque peccatis mortalibus causa devotionis aut peregrinationis.

Item in dicta ecclesia requiescunt xviii summi<sup>1</sup> pontifices martires dans unus quisque suam indulgentiam; et multe alie indulgentie sunt in dicta ecclesia que numerari non possunt propter innumerabilia corpora sanctorum atque martirum ibidem requiescentium. Item in cimiterio beati Calisti est vera et plenaria remissio omnium peccatorum. Item in eadem ecclesia quolibet die dominico mensis Maii est remissio omnium peccatorum.

Septima ecclesia principalis est ad Sanctam Crucem in qua sunt omni die xlviii anni *indulgentiarum* et totidem *quadrage*ne et remissio tertie partis omnium peccatorum. Item in summo altari requiescunt Anastasius et Cesarius. Item eandem ecclesiam edificavit beata Constantia filia Constantini magni imperatoris in honorem sancte crucis ad preces Sancte Helene. Et Papa Silvester consecravat eam, et ibi omni die dominico fuit ccc anni *indulgentiarum* et totidem *quadrage*ne et remissio tertie partis omnium peccatorum. Item hec sunt reliquie ecclesie predictae: Primo duo cippi, unus plenus sanguine Hiesu Christi, alter vero plenus lacte beate Marie virginis.

Item spongia qua Iudei porrexerunt Christo fel et acetum in cruce, item lignum sancte crucis, item novem spine de corona Christi, item unus clavus cum quo fuit Christus affixus in cruce.

Item de ligno crucis latronis pendentis ad dextram qui conversus fuit ad Christum. Item in capella que vocatur Hierusalem ubi mulieres non intrant est plenaria remissio omnium peccatorum.<sup>2</sup>

Sequuntur alie principales ecclesie: prima est ecclesia Marie in Ara Celi, in qua sunt omni die mille anni *indulgentiarum* et totidem *quadrage*ne et remissio tertie partis omnium peccatorum. Item in assumptione beate

<sup>1</sup> P. 7.<sup>2</sup> P. 8.

*Marie virginis sunt ibi vi milia annorum indulgentiarum. Item in die annuntiationis beate Marie virginis est plenaria remissio omnium peccatorum. Item ibi est imago beate Marie virginis depicta ab Luca evangelista. Item ibi sunt vestigia pedum sancti angeli. Item in ecclesia Sancti Silvestri est caput beati Iohannis baptiste, et quando illud monstratur sunt ibi ecce anni indulgentiarum et totidem quadragene et remissio tertie partis omnium peccatorum. Item in ecclesia Sancte Braxedis est tertia pars columne in quo Christus fuit flagellatus et in medio ecclesie sunt ccc corpora sanctorum martirum et sunt ccc anni indulgentiarum et totidem quadragene et remissio tertie partis omnium peccatorum. Item in capella beate Marie libera nos a penis inferni sunt omni die xii milia annorum indulgentiarum et totidem quadragene et remissio tertie partis omnium peccatorum.*

Sciendum tamen est quod Rome requiescunt octo corpora sanctorum apostolorum: Sanctorum Petri, Pauli, Simonis et Iude, Philippi, Iacobi, Bartholomei, et Mathie. Item in ecclesia Sancti Iohannis ante portam latinam ubi sanctus Iohannes est coctus in oleo et ibidem potest liberari una anima de purgatorio.

Item in ecclesia Sancte Marie Nove sunt omni die cc anni indulgentiarum et remissio tertie partis omnium peccatorum. Item ibi est etiam imago beate Marie virginis per Sanctum Lucam depicta.

Item in ecclesia beati Iacobi in porticu est lapis supra quem circumcisis est Ihesus Christus in templo Salomonis.

[Finis indulgentiarum]

The texts which are closely related to the foregoing often agree in phrasing for a sentence or more at a time, but usually expand the material by the addition of many details. As examples of the textual similarity of different versions, compare this beginning of the tract in Cotton D VIII (f. 15b) with the preceding:

Sanctus Silvester dicit in cronica sua quod in Roma olim fuerunt mille quingente quinque ecclesie. Inter quas maior pars est destructa. Tamen inter prefatas ecclesias sunt septem privilegiate gratia et sanctitate que dicuntur esse regales que a summis pontificibus et imperatoribus sunt constructe. Inter quas prima et principalior est ecclesia Sancti Iohannis latranensis totius orbis et urbis. Et notum quod in dicta quotidie sunt xlviij mille anni indulgentie et tot quadragene et tercie partis omnium peccatorum remissio. Item papa Gregorius et papa Silvester qui eandem ecclesiam consecraverunt concesserunt ibi tantas indulgentias quae numerari non possunt nisi a summo deo solo, testante papa Bonifacio qui dicit quod indulgentie sancti Iohannis latranensis numerari non possunt et ego confirmo. Item dicit quod si homines scirent indulgentias sancti Iohannis latranensis multa mala committerent. Et tanta indulgentia est ibi quod non oportet aliquem qui sine peccato mortali est peregrinationem facere ad sanctum sepulcrum ultra mare.

Again, in Harley 2321 (f. 104), following a short *mirabilia* and a list of the Stations of Rome, there is a text of the *liber indulgentiarum* which begins abruptly with the statement that the church of St. John was dedicated by St. Silvester—and then follows:

*Item papa silvester et papa gregorius qui eandem ecclesiam consecraverunt dederunt ei tot indulgencias quae nemo numerare potest nisi solus deus testante beato Bonifacio papa qui dicit: Si homines scirent indulgencias sancti Iohannis in laterano quod tot indulgencie essent ibi non transierent ad sanctum sepulcrum ultra mare in ierusalem.*

Even in texts which are planned on an entirely different scheme, there are agreements in phrasing, which go back to a simpler form of the tract or perhaps rest on actual grants. For example, in Titus A XIX, which is in arrangement quite different from the preceding, a sentence practically identical with the last quoted occurs.

*Item bonifacius dixit indulgencias dicte ecclesie non posse numerari. Item idem bonifacius dixit. Ego omnes indulgencias ipsas confirmo et si scirent homines indulgencias ecclesie lateranensis dicerent quod tanta est indulgencia quod non est necesse ire ad sepulcrum domini in terra sancta.*<sup>1</sup>

Such similarities of phrasing and idea could be illustrated indefinitely, and they will be exemplified indirectly in the texts discussed below.

Texts which are longer than the early printed one contain more details in their account of the principal churches and add a statement of the relics and indulgences of many minor churches. Thus when Cotton Julius D VIII states the indulgence at St. John's for Sanctus Salvator's day, it adds: "salvatoris qui visibiliter apparuit omni populo . . . et illa dies nominatur dies salvatoris et est ix dies novembri." . . . After treating of the seven main churches, this tract gives details as to the relics and indulgences of St. Mary Rotunda, St. Peter ad Vincula, St. Maria trans Tiberim, St. Maria Minerva, St. Maria de Populo, SS. Vitus and Modestus, St. Martin, SS. Cosmo and Damian, etc. (some fifty odd).

<sup>1</sup> So also Add. 32, 321 f. 22a and ff agrees with these texts in phrasing but is arranged differently.



In addition to the Latin texts, there are one in English, one in German, and one in French.<sup>1</sup> Of the English and German versions here are specimens:

In the cyte of Room ben iii<sup>c</sup> lxvi parysch churchis Off the which vii ben previlegid above all other *and* thaye be of more pardon *and* holynesse amonge which the pryncypalle church is of seinte peter the apostle that is bylded in the same place where he was crucified there to ben xxx steppis vppe and as ofte as anye person goyth vp the steppis devoutlye and is oute of dedlye synne is graunte by pope Alysaunder in relesying of penaunce inioyned that is not done vii yere of pardon and as moche in þe goyng downe of the said steppis and in the same church ben jcx auters and when the feest is there is xviii yere of pardon at the lefte auter and þer ben vii previlegid that have more pardon at eche of the auters that is to saye The auter of þe Sudary of Cryste the auter of our ladye the auter of seint Andres þe apostle the auter of seint gregory by his sepulchre the auter of seint leon pope where he hath grauntid to alle that visite the autere with devoute prayers vii yere of pardon and seint Sylvester hath grauntid to alle that praye devoutely at the auter of seint peter xxviii yeres and as many lentis of penauncis inioyned and relese of the thryd part of alle synnes and pope gregory hath grauntid to alle that devoutely cometh and praye mekely at the highe auter of seint peter pardon of alle synnes that be forgotyn pardon of brekyng of vowys and pardon of the leying on handis of fader and moder The pardon þer is of xlviij yere and as manye lentis and from the accencoun of oure lorde ihesu to the kalendis of august is every day xiiii mille yere of pardon and every holy thursdaye i mille yere of pardon etc. . . . and in the church of seint johan latran is every daye xlvii yere of pardon and as many lentis and þe thirde parte of alle synnes foryevyne *and* seynte gregory and seint Sylvester popis that halowid þat church graunted þer so moche indulgence that it may not be noumbrid of none man but all one of almyghty god as pope Boniface sayeth that the indulgence of the church of seint latran maye not be nombryd but only of almyghty god and he sayeth if men knewe the indulgence þat be grauntid þer thaye wolde do moche wylle (euyll?)<sup>2</sup>.

The German text is entitled *Vonn dem applas zu Rom*:

Der heylig babst zu Rom Sanndt Silvester sprucht Das zu Rom sint sieben haubt kirchen Die erst is sandt peters Kirch wer die vier und zwantzig trippen vor sandt peters Kirchen auff oder ab get myt andacht der selb mensch hat siebun iar aplas von dem heyligen babst allexandro yn der selben kirche seint hundert and drey altar da hat yglicher altar xxviii iar applas vonn den selben altarun seint sieben haupt altar auss gesunderet myt groser

<sup>1</sup> The last mentioned, Add. 25, 105 f. 74, is in such a bad shape that it would need a better French scholar than I am to disentangle it.

<sup>2</sup> Add. 35, 298 f. 65-66b.

gnaden und yglicher hat vii jar mer aplas den der annder eyner . . . . Die drit hauptkirch ist sandt<sup>1</sup> zu Johans da ist vergebung aller sund zu welcher zeyt der mensch darein kumpt so wirt ym die gnad die da gegeben ist von dem heyiligen bebsten Silvester vnd gregorio die die kirchen geweiht haben die haben so vil gnaden dar geben dass es nymant volun zelen mag wan got allein das bewert der heylig babst bonifacius vnd spricht Wusten die leut die gross gnad die zu sant iohannis ist sie bedorfften nicht farun genn Iherusalem vber mere.<sup>2</sup>

All of the texts thus far cited—and indeed nearly all of the versions I have found—agree in their method of organization: they state the five or seven principal churches, itemize the relics and indulgences of each in order, and then add a few notes about other churches. The English *Stacyons of Rome* is organized in an entirely different way: it says nothing about five or seven especially privileged churches, but instead, starting with St. Peter's, discusses the churches in an order determined largely by topography and by the old pilgrimage route. It is curious to see how exactly its arrangement agrees with a statement of Barbier de Montault, based on Onuphrius Panvinius:

Les personnes pieuses avoient coutume de visiter d'abord l'église de Saint-Pierre, puis celle de Saint-Paul. Mais devant aller de Saint-Paul à Saint-Jean, il leur parut qu'il ne fallait pas oublier l'église de Saint-Sébastien, le cimetière de Calixte et les Catacombes.<sup>3</sup>

He gives the present order of pilgrimage (and that of Panvinius) as: Peter's, Paul's, John's, Santa Croce's, Laurence's, Maria Maggiore.<sup>4</sup> This is precisely the order of the *Stacyons of Rome*. I have found but one Latin text which is arranged in this manner; it is in Titus A XIX, f. 11b, ff. This one agrees very exactly with the *Stacyons*; it is even of value in clearing up some uncertainties in the English poem. As it corresponds precisely with the *Stacyons* in its arrangement, if it agrees with one version of the latter in having a given item, probably the lack of that item in the other version is due to omission. Thus it agrees with the Cotton-Lambeth version in having an account of the church of St. John at the Latin Gate. Hence it is probable that an

<sup>1</sup> The word is marked for transposition presumably with *su*.

<sup>2</sup> Arundel 6 f., 50a ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Œuvres Complètes*, VI, 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 14 ff. See also A. de Waal, *Der Rompilger* (1911), pp. 81 ff. The latter gives the same order for the visit and says that the custom goes back to the seventh century.

account of that church has fallen out of the copy in the Vernon manuscript. Similarly it agrees with Vernon in having a statement about the church of St. Anthony immediately before Maria Maggiore, where Cotton-Lambeth has merely some remarks about St. Anthony. It shows conclusively that the last church in Cotton should be St. Vivian's, not St. Julian's. It confirms the supposition that the remarks about the day of St. Peter ad Vincula just before the account of the church of the Holy Apostles, ought to be part of an account of the church of St. Peter ad Vincula. Likewise it agrees with Vernon, after the account of St. Praxed's, in discussing the church of St. Martin (where Cotton-Lambeth mentions the saint but not the church). Close agreement among the three versions, however, exists only as far as the account of the church of the Holy Apostles. After that, the Latin version contains many more items than either of the English forms. The Latin version is not however the source of the *Stacyons*, for it does not agree in details of relics and indulgences. The main features of the principal churches, such as the steps at St. Peter's and many of the relics at St. John's Lateran, agree; but in smaller details the discrepancies are many. Probably in considerable part these discrepancies can be accounted for as the result of scribal error. Thus the varying statements as to the number of steps before St. Peter's (Vernon: xxviii; Cotton: xxiii; Lambeth: xvii; Titus: xvii) are probably results of misreading xxviii.

Yet the agreements between the Latin text of Titus A XIX and the *Stacyons* are very close, the first notable exception being that the Latin gives seven thousand years instead of fourteen thousand as the indulgence at St. Peter's on the anniversary of its consecration. There is, however, no mention of the chapel in which St. Peter first said mass (ll. 37-44 in Cotton, not in Vernon). In the Latin, distances between churches are never given. Statements of the indulgences at St. Paul's agree except that the Latin gives forty years instead of four thousand for Childermas Day. The statements about St. Anastasius' are quite different in the Latin and in the poem, except that ll. 105-8 (Vernon) are covered by statements in the Latin. Titus states that the stone on which St. Paul was decapitated stood before the church of Scala Celi. The accounts of the churches of Scala Celi and Mary Annunciata agree—as do those of St. Sebastian's

(though Fabian is not named in the Latin, forty-eight years of indulgence, instead of forty, are indicated, and the Latin has no parallel to lines 169–80 of Vernon). In the account of the catacombs, forty-six popes are given in the Latin instead of forty-four; otherwise the accounts agree. To the church of Domine Quo Vadis, the Latin text ascribes two thousand years of indulgence but says nothing about remission of sins. The Latin tells of the release of a soul from purgatory at St. John's at the Latin Gate but mentions no indulgence. Lines 220–24 of Vernon are paralleled in the Latin; but the latter assigns ten years and on feast-days three thousand one hundred years, instead of the fourteen thousand of Vernon. It is curious that following this come general statements about the value of participation in the stations of Rome, in the Latin as in the English. The accounts of St. John's Lateran in the Latin and English agree in general, but not in all details of the relics. The accounts of Santa Croce agree quite exactly, the Latin as usual giving more details than the English. Similarly, the statements in the *Stacyons* about St. Lawrence's could be derived from the Latin text. In the latter, however, the next item reads merely: "In ecclesia sanctorum Simplicij faustini et beatrix 5000 anni." Hence, the details of the English must have been derived from another source. Probably I have given enough information to show the relation of the English poem to the text of Titus A XIX: the former could not have been derived directly from the latter but was doubtless based on a version closely related to that in Titus A XIX and like the latter probably written in Latin.

Such tracts as the Latin text just discussed and the English *Stacyons of Rome* are not only advertisements of the indulgences to be gained at Rome but guidebooks of an elementary sort. They were in the last respect far in advance of their time, however, for the older type of *liber indulgentiarum* continued standard even after the idea of guidebooks with planned "days" was conceived.

Of the earliest printed books, I have already given an example. The British Museum contains copies of nine different editions before 1500,<sup>1</sup> and a facsimile of a tenth. Two of these are blockbooks in German.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The catalogue numbers are I.A. 17593, I.A. 17621, I.A. 18727, I.A. 18932, I.A. 18584, I.B. 37565, C. 9. a. 22, I.A. 18501, I.A. 28.

<sup>2</sup> I.A. 28. 10135. aaa. 32.

Of early sixteenth-century editions, I count thirteen.<sup>1</sup> In 1565, G. Franzini published his Italian guidebook: *Le cose maravigliose de l'alma città di Roma* (Venice). This was frequently reprinted (as late as the eighteenth century), and was published in Latin, French, and Spanish translations. After a brief account of the founding of Rome and its Christianizing, Franzini's book begins (on folio 4b of the first edition) with an account of the seven principal churches, starting with St. John's Lateran. Franzini repeats many sentences found in the older printed books and manuscripts, e.g. (concerning St. John's Lateran): "Vi sono ancora infinite indulgentie, le qual chi le sapesse particolarmente non sarebbe bisogno andare al santo sepolcro di Cristo, o a San Giacomo di Galitia." After discussing the seven churches, Franzini takes up others (ff. 11b-28a). Then follows a full list of stations and another of special indulgences. A guide to Rome, arranged for three days, and a list of popes, emperors, and other monarchs conclude Franzini's work.

In 1600, appeared M. Attilii Serrani: *De Septem Vrbis Romae ecclesiis una cum earum Reliquiis, Stationibus & Indulgentiis*. This in its arrangement is more like the English *Stacyons* than Franzini's work, for it starts with St. Peter's and then proceeds to St. Paul's, Anastasius', Maria Annunciata's, Sebastian's, Quo Vadis', St. John's Lateran, Santa Croce's, St. Lawrence's, and Maria Maggiore's.

Meanwhile, books of a more personal kind, but appealing to the same interest, began to appear. Of these, the most elaborate is *Ye Solace of Pilgrimes*, which seems to have been written by John Capgrave about 1450.<sup>2</sup> This gives, first, a general survey of Rome, based on the *Mirabilia*, and then an account of the main churches, their relics and indulgences. Capgrave joins a traveler's interest and information with a compiler's knowledge and makes a readable book. At about the same time, Niklaus Muffel, of Nürnberg, wrote an account of his visit to Rome,<sup>3</sup> and Giovanni Rucellai, a Florentine, wrote about what he saw at the Jubilee in 1450.<sup>4</sup> Later, Ritter A. von Harff wrote his *Pilgerfahrt in den Jahren 1496-99*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> My count is based on the catalogue used in the reading-room of the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by C. A. Mills, Oxford, 1911.

<sup>3</sup> Published in *Litterarischer Verein*, CXXVIII (Stuttgart, 1875-76).

<sup>4</sup> *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, IV (1881), fasc. IV, 563 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cöln, 1860.

The multiplication and continuous production of these accounts of the relics and indulgences of Rome indicate that they appealed to a very large audience. From the fourteenth century to the present day, they have been produced constantly. Of the more recent forms, I need hardly write. They have utilized the devices of the modern guidebook, retaining, however, the old type of information as to relics and indulgences not to be found in the Murrays and Baedekers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Such a book as A. de Waal's *Der Rompilger*, in one of its late editions, is really a splendid and interesting work.

## II. THE JOURNEY TO ROME

In the manuscripts which contain *libri indulgentiarum*, there are frequently other texts of associated interest, such as lists of the stations at Rome, itineraries of the routes from England to Rome, and lists of the indulgences to be gained at other pilgrimage places. Thus in Harley 2321, we find a short *mirabilia*, a list of the stations at Rome, a detailed book of indulgences at Rome, and then an itinerary from England to Rome. This gives the number of leagues or miles between each city and the next. This itinerary (with omission of some minor towns and others which I have not been able to identify) runs as follows: Calais, Gravelines, Dunkirk, Bruges, Ghent, Dendermonde, Malines, Diest,<sup>1</sup> Hasselt, Bilsen, Maastricht, Aix la Chapelle, Cologne, Bacharach, Bingen, Spires, Bruchsal, Esslingen (?), Ulm, Memmingen, Kempten, Meran, S. Michele, Trient, Verona, Ferrara, Bologna, Firenzuola, Florence, Siena, Radicofani, Acquapendente, Bolsena, Viterbo, Rome.

This is followed by a reverse route headed "Regrediendo de Roma," which exactly reverses the preceding route but stops at Bologna.

Immediately following this fragment is another "Iter ab Anglia." This differs from the preceding principally in that it proceeds through Switzerland. The itinerary is in places expanded with brief comments on the cities en route. In outline it is as follows: Dover, Calais, Gravelines, Dunkirk, Bruges, Ghent, Dendermonde, Malines, Diest, Bilsen, Maastricht, Aix la Chapelle (in the chief church is a shirt of

<sup>1</sup> An alternative route—Bruges, Antwerp, Lierre, Diest—is given.

the blessed virgin), Cologne (here are relics of the magi, the eleven thousand virgins, and other saints), Bonn, Rheinbach,<sup>1</sup> Andernach, Coblenz, Bingen, Worms, Spire, Lauterberg, Hagenau, Strassburg, Basel, Luzern, "hospitale" (not named), Chapel of St. Gotthard, Bellinzona, Lugano, Como, Milan, Cremona, Bologna, Firenzuola, Florence, Siena, Radicofani, Acquapendente, Bolsena, Viterbo, Rome.

The Italian part of these itineraries is quite different from that of the routes studied by Bedier in his *Les légendes épiques*.<sup>2</sup> Nor are these routes similar to the first given in *Informacion for Pylgrymes vnto The Holy Londe*: but they resemble the "duche waye" given later.<sup>3</sup>

Following the last-mentioned itinerary, come a series of instructions to pilgrims as to paying of tribute and complying with the laws affecting travelers in various places, as to the money needed, as to exchange, and the various kinds of money used in different cities en route.

### III. INDULGENCES AT OTHER PILGRIMAGE PLACES

Much rarer than the *libri indulgentiarum Romae* are tracts which itemize the indulgences of other pilgrimage places. The British Museum, however, contains copies of such lists for Jerusalem, Compostella, Bamberg, and Syon Monastery in England. In Harley 1770, the reverse of the last folio (numbered 241) contains a hastily written list of indulgences to be gained at Jerusalem. It is written in a different hand from the rest of the manuscript, and the first six lines have been half erased. A much fuller text is in German (Arundel 6 ff. 44b-48a). This describes the various holy places in some detail, and constantly reiterates "wer do hin kumpt der ist ledig vnd loss aller seyner sunde," or indulgence of seven years and as many lents. In the same manuscript is a German text of the indulgences of Bamberg (f. 48b. ff.). This itemizes indulgences and relics in the monastery at that place.

In Harley 955 (ff. 73b-76b) is a list of the indulgences of Compostella. It states first the relics found there, e.g., the bodies of

<sup>1</sup> A shorter route from Aix to Rheinbach is mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> II, 139 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Roxburghe Club*, Vol. XXXVIII (1824). As this book is not paginated, I cannot give more exact references.

St. James, St. Athanasius, St. Theodore, St. Silvester, and in the chapel of the savior, "quamplurime reliquie quorum nomina vix possunt numerari." Then follows a statement of the indulgences: remission of a third of all sins, of all sins if the pilgrim dies there or en route, and some indulgences for special days and circumstances.

The list of indulgences for Syon Monastery is in English and is as follows:

To alle veraye contrite and confessid that comen by cause of deuocioun to this cherche or monasterye and there knelyng saye a pater noster and aue or what other deuoute prayer hit be, or in the same monasterye praye hertli for the pees tranquillite and stabulnes of this reme or for the vnite of holy church or for the encirce of charite charite as well in homself as in all cristen peple or for synners that they be conuerted or for ryghtwes that they be confermed. To hem all also that at euene at knylyng of the belle say thre auys or help lye handis to the makyng or conseruacion of the sayde monasterye as often as they doo any of these thynges deuoutly so often iiij Cardynalles trustyng in the mercy of all myghty god and in the mercy of the gloriouse uirgynne Mary, and of the holy apostels Petir and Paule by auctorite of the pope comited unto hem in that party relesen mercyfully in owre lorde eche of thes seyde Cardinales an C dayes of pardon of penaunce enioyned that is iiij C dayes for doying deuoutly ony of these thynges aboue sayde. Also to all ueraye repentaunt and schryuen that are present with deuocyon when the worde of god is preched by the bretheryn of this ordure so often the pope Boniface the XX releseth mercyfully an C dayes of penaunce enioyned whyche all other popes sethen haue confermed and the archebischop of Caunturbyry hathe graunted<sup>1</sup> unto the same xl dayes of pardon and the archebischop of zorke also xl daies and the bischop of london xl daies and the bischop of duram xl daies. Also to all uerrey contrite and schryuen that deuoutly visiten the churche from the furst bygynnyng of the furst euensonge of the feste of seynt petre ad uincula vnto the ende of the euensonge in the last daie of vtas euery daie with ynne these viij daies is graunted playner remission of alle synnes. Also euery daie in the yere is graunted remission of the thridde partye of all synnes and an Mille yere and xl yere and as mony lentes and in aduente and lenten all is doubled. Also the iiij sondaie of lente is graunted playner indulgence of alle synnes frome the begynnyng of the furst euensong vnto the ende of the laste euensonge. Also the furst mondaie of lente and the mondaie in penticoste woke either daie the same indulgence that is at the stacions of rome whiche is holden playner forzeuenes of all synnes. Also from the fridaie aftur the thridde sonday of lente vnto the vtas of esterne is

<sup>1</sup> At the bottom of the page is scribbled: "Penance enioyned is Prayer, fasting and Almes. These are all good and godly deedes. Ergo to pardon the doing of these, is to pardon the doing of good and godly deedes. But so to do is not good. Therefore such pardons are not good."



eueryday at the leste ij M and xxxiij yere of pardon and as mony lentes be side alle other indulgences to fore saide. Also in alle the grete festes of the yere there is an viij M yere of pardon and as many lentes. Also there is graunted all the pardon that is to ony place of seynt austyns ordure thorw oute alle the worlde.

There follow a series of indulgences for various prayers.

#### IV. THE GENUINENESS OF THESE INDULGENCES AND THE INTERPRETATION OF THEM

How authentic the indulgences at Rome and elsewhere were, is an uncertain matter. Lepicier says: "The grant of Indulgences in connection with the Stations is so ancient, that the church in times gone by strictly forbade any catalogues of the same to be published as it was not possible to check them by the original documents."<sup>1</sup> Beringer states that all indulgences of a thousand or more years are "unecht oder gegenwärtig gänzlich zurückgenommen." Such indulgences, he says, are not in keeping with the practice of the church before the fourteenth century. In the thirteenth and even in the fourteenth centuries, indulgences are for a few days, a year, and seldom over five or seven years.<sup>2</sup> Yet not only were extravagant indulgences promised in the *libri indulgentiarum*; they were also announced in monuments at pilgrimage places. Von Hoensbroech says that in 1775 Pope Pius VI removed from the entrance of St. Praxed's two stones which promised daily indulgence of twelve thousand years.<sup>3</sup> The indulgence books frequently cite the grants of various popes; and at least one of those begins as though it were copying such a grant:

[P]apa gregorius vniuersis & singulis peregrinantibus quocunque tempore anni venientibus ad ecclesiam sancti petri apostoli ad ecclesiam sancti pauli apostoli ad ecclesiam sancti Iohannis Lateranensis ad ecclesiam sancte marie maioris, et ad ecclesiam sancti Laurencii extra muros causa deuocionis orationis & peregrinationis ei sine mortali peccato uota fracta peccata oblita offensiones patrum et matrum sine manuum iniectioe . . . . relaxat.<sup>4</sup>

Among the grants of this text are seven thousand years of indulgence on the anniversary of the dedication of St. Peter's.

<sup>1</sup> *Indulgences*, pp. 197-98.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Ablass*, p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> *Das Papsttum in seiner sozial-kulturellen Wirksamkeit*, I, 284-85.

<sup>4</sup> Corpus Christi College, Cambridge manuscript 246.

Undoubtedly there was much gross exaggeration of the extent and the value of the indulgences gained by visits to shrines as well as of those sold by the pardoners. It is refreshing to note that occasionally, however, the correct interpretation of indulgences was given to the people. In a sermon on the indulgences at Syon Monastery, appears a very clear and systematic exposition of indulgences.<sup>1</sup> There are two elements in deadly sin, it tells us: the offense to God and the pain which the sinner must suffer in hell on account of his sin. When a sinner is contrite and has confessed, however, God forgives the sin and substitutes for pain in hell, temporal pain to be suffered in purgatory or on earth. Pardon (or indulgence) can take the place of this temporal pain. But one must understand that neither by confession nor by pardon alone is a man assoiled *a pena et a culpa*. By confession, one gets forgiveness of sin and is assoiled *a culpa*, but the debt of the pain remains. By pardon, he is released from this debt. By a hundred days or a hundred years of indulgence is meant not release from that many days or years in purgatory, but as much shortening of punishment as a hundred days or a hundred years of penance performed on earth would accomplish. The sermon is long and detailed: and it seems to be quite sound in its doctrine.

#### V. NOTES ON "THE STACIONS OF ROME"

W. M. Rossetti's "Notes" in the two editions of the English poem<sup>2</sup> explain nearly all allusions and identify most of the churches. Since their appearance, however, the important works of Armellini<sup>3</sup> and Marucchi<sup>4</sup> have made available much more information about the churches of Rome. In what follows I aim merely to supplement Rossetti's "Notes."

In none of the texts have I found any statement about the chapel in which Peter said his first mass (see Rossetti, A. p. xxiii); but a German blockbook (British Museum I A. 28) makes the following statement about a chapel in St. Peter's: "Item da is ayn capel da hat Sand Peter messe in gelesen ofte."

<sup>1</sup> Harley 2321, f. 17 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Political, Religious and Love Poems*, EETS. 15, pp. xxi ff. (referred to as A). *The Stacions of Rome*, etc., EETS. 25, pp. xi ff. (B).

<sup>3</sup> *Le chiese di Roma*, 2d ed., Rome, 1891.

<sup>4</sup> *Éléments d'Archéologie chrétienne, III. Basiliques et Églises de Rome*, Paris, 1902.

Rossetti, A. page xi, note to lines 55-56, reaches a wrong conclusion. The Latin texts repeatedly say that St. Peter's was consecrated on the octave of St. Martin, and they make the same statement about St. Paul's.

Cotton 188. Rossetti seems to have misunderstood "yn þe way." The story of our lady's appearing to a brother applies to this convent, not to a church of Santa Maria in Via; the Latin texts make the story apply to a brother of this monastery.

Vernon 126. Tibian is probably just a medieval transformation of Tiberius. Titus A XIX reads: "Sub cuius altari requiescant 10,000 martires occisi tempore tiberiani cesaris."

Cotton 183. Mills in Capgrave's *Solace of Pilgrimes*, page 160, note 2, says: "There used to be an old pilgrim's road from Tre Fontane to this church (S. Maria Annunciata), and thence on to S. Sebastiano."

Cotton 199. This church is frequently called the church of SS. Fabian and Sebastian, e.g., Harley 2321, f. 107a: "In ecclesia sanctorum ffabiani et sebastiani." Muffel (*op. cit.*) uses the same name. He says that St. Fabian's remains are under the high altar (so also Harley 2321). The story of Gregory and the angel is repeated in practically all sources (see for example Capgrave, *op. cit.*, p. 68).

Cotton 278. Rossetti's identification of the church of St. Thomas of Inde is probably incorrect. Because of its location it would seem to be the church of St. Thomas in Formis (see Armellini, p. 504; Marucchi, p. 215). Titus A XIX says this church is dedicated in honor of SS. Michael and Thomas—a statement that agrees with one by Armellini about the church of St. Thomas in Formis.

Cotton 536: "At seynt sympyll, fawstyne & betrys." This church is very rarely mentioned. Armellini tells of the discovery of ruins in a garden near St. Bibiana's and an inscription: "Anno domini . . . mense octobris Dedicationem hvivs ecclesie sanctorum martyrum Simplicii Favstini et Beatricis" (p. 806). Titus A XIX says: "In ecclesia sanctorum Simplicij faustini et beatricis 5000 anni."

Cotton 548. As noted above, Lambeth is right in naming this church as that of St. Vivian. It is not frequently mentioned in the *libri* but appears in a text of the *Mirabilia Romae* (1375) (see Nichols' *Marvels*, p. 144), and in a fourteenth-century list of Roman churches

(Armellini, p. 55). Titus A XIX says: "*In ecclesia sancti Viviani sunt 3000 anni. Ibi requiescunt 3000 martires, sicut scribitur ibidem in petra.*" Harley 2321 calls this church St. Bibian's, so also Armellini, page 804; Marucchi, page 344.

Vernon 437. Rossetti is certainly right in supposing this to refer to a church of St. Eusebius (see Armellini, p. 807; Marucchi, p. 342). Lepicier quotes an inscription on a wall of this church granting an indulgence of a thousand years and a hundred and twenty days (*Indulgences*, p. 300). Titus A XIX reads: "*In ecclesia sancti Eusebij et Vincencij, 300 anni.*"

Lambeth 566. Rossetti's note should be canceled. On St. Julian's see Armellini, page 810; Muffel, page 54. Titus A XIX says:

*In ecclesia sancti Iuliani 100 anni. Ibique scribitur quod si quis Pater noster et aue Maria deuote dixerit pro animabus patris et matris sancti Iuliani bonum habebit hospicium et iocundum sine aliqua aduersitate. Reliquie sunt ibi videlicet de lacte beate marie, mentum cum dentibus sancti Iuliani, de cinere sancti Iohannis baptiste, de spinea corona Christi, dens Sancte Appolonie Virginis.*

Vernon 463-64. Rossetti points out that these are "new in the Vernon manuscript." They were probably in the source of all extant versions, for Titus A XIX at this point reads: "*In ecclesia Sancti Mathei est brachium Sancti Christofori in quo portauit Christum et est indulgencia 1000 annorum et 7 pars remissionis*" (see Armellini, p. 244).

Vernon 473. Because of its location this church of St. Anthony is doubtless the first of those mentioned in Rossetti's note. For further information, see Armellini, page 813; Marucchi, page 337. Titus A XIX reads: "*In ecclesia sancti Antonij est remissio 7 partis peccatorum.*"

Lambeth 655 ff. Cotton Julius D viii f. 19b says that SS. Peter and Paul were "hospitati" in the church of St. Pudencian, that three thousand martyrs are buried there and that there are three thousand years and forty days of indulgence and the third part remission of sins. Marucchi mentions the "*titulus pastoris*," page 365.

Lambeth 823. Titus A XIX calls this church "*ecclesia Sancti Iacobi prope flumen.*"

Lambeth 828 f. Titus A XIX reads: "*Ibi est fons que influebat oleo illa nocte in qua Christus natus fuit.*"

Lambeth 856 ff. Rossetti was wrong in supposing that the Salvator was in the church of St. Eustace. Titus A XIX reads: "*In ecclesia sanctorum Eustachij et theophiste vxoris sue duorumque filiorum suorum Agapis et Theophisti quorum corpora sub maiori altare requiescunt sunt 2000 anni a papa celestino concessi. In ecclesia sancti saluatoris prope, 1530 anni.*" Because of its location near St. Eustace it is evidently the church of St. Salvatore in Thermis (see Armellini, p. 438).

Lambeth 866. Vernon 664. Add. 35, 298 states that a foot of Mary Magdalen was in St. Cecelia's.

Lambeth 868. Vernon 570. At this point in Titus A XIX, we read: "*In ecclesia sancti saluatoris de lucia, 1000 anni.*" As Lambeth says that this church is near St. Peter ad Vincula, it is probably St. Salvatore alle tre imagine (Armellini, p. 223).

Lambeth 892. f. Vernon 663 f. Vernon mentions no Mary Merle. From this point to the end the versions in Titus A XIX and Vernon agree in their general order, but Titus has many more items than Vernon.

Just what is meant by Mary Merle is difficult to decide. It can hardly have been S. Maria dei Miracoli (as Rossetti supposed) because the latter was not occupied by Dominicans. In 1216, Pope Honorius granted the church of St. Sabina, on the Aventine, to the Dominican Order. In his account of the church, Armellini refers to its walls as "*merlate*," a remark that intrigues one by the similarity of the word to Merle (p. 583). But I have not been able to find that the church is ever called by any other name than that of St. Sabina. Hence the reference in Lambeth is probably to S. Maria sopra Minerva, which in 1370 was granted to the Dominicans, who desired a more central location than their church on the Aventine (Armellini, p. 485). If the reference is to this church, it was evidently inserted at a late period (after 1370) into Lambeth's version. This judgment is confirmed by the fact that there is no correspondent to it in Titus A XIX.

Vernon 681. The reference is doubtless to the church of SS. Cirus and John. Titus A XIX inserts this after St. Bartholomew and before St. Lawrence in Damasco: "*In ecclesia sanctorum Ciri et Johannis extra portas tyberium est remissio quarte partis omnium peccatorum et ibi iacent corpora eorum.*" It is mentioned in the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century lists published by Armellini (*op. cit.*, pp. 53, 63. See his discussion p. 179).

Vernon 693. Rossetti is probably wrong as to the identification of this church; for Titus A XIX, after mentioning St. Clement's and St. Michael's near St. John Lateran, says: "*Iste sunt peregrinationes de sancto Iohanne lateranensi versus sanctum paulum*"; first "*porte quattuor coronatorum,*" and then, "*In ecclesia Sancti Angeli in cimiterio eius unum annum.*" This does not seem to be any of the S. Angelos mentioned by Armellini (see references in his index).

Vernon 705. The next entry in Titus A XIX is: "*In ecclesia Sancti Stephani in celio monte, 1000 anni et tot quadragesime.*" This confirms Rossetti's identification.

Vernon 707. This St. Savior's is probably a different church from that mentioned in l. 570. In Titus A XIX just before St. Alexis' is this statement: "*In capella sancti Saluatoris extra portas versus sanctum paulum, remissio tercie partis omnium peccatorum.*" This is undoubtedly S. Salvatore della Porta (Armellini, p. 925).

Vernon 720. Titus A XIX reads: "*In ecclesia sancti Urbani, 3384.*"

Vernon 717-18. Capgrave makes this statement about the church of St. Mary iuxta scolam grecorum, but the name of Thomas of Canterbury is struck through in the manuscript (*Ye Solace of Pilgrimes*, p. 167 and note 3; quotes Digby 196 fol. 10, which makes the same statement).

J. R. HULBERT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

FOLK-LORE FROM SPAIN<sup>1</sup>  
THE FIESTA DEL GALLO IN BARBADILLO

Among the many traditional customs that yet survive in Old Castile is that of establishing the so-called *reinados* or kingdoms on the part of the young men and women of a village or town for the purpose of conducting in an appropriate and orderly manner its various festivals, amusements, games, and dances. The *reinados* are established yearly by vote and *reyes*, *reinas*, *alcaldes*, *alcaldesas*, *jueces*, etc., are elected to hold office for one year. These rulers or officers have powers that may even encroach upon the ordinary rights and duties of the *ayuntamientos*. The *mozos* have their *reinado* and have charge of all the functions that concern the young men of the locality, and the *mozas* have their separate *reinado* and have charge of all matters that concern the young women. On special occasions such as *Navidad*, *Día de Reyes*, etc., the two *reinados* work together and arrange amusements and games that differ widely from one locality to another.

In his interesting and important work, *Cancionero Popular de Burgos* (Sevilla, 1903, pp. 68-69) Federico Olmeda gives us a brief account of one of these Castilian *reinados* and the principal function thereof:

En Villanueva de Carazo, entre otros pueblos, hay la costumbre inmemorial de establecer en Navidad una junta de mozos que llaman *Reinado de Navidad*. Esta institución tiene por objeto recaudar fondos para sufragar gastos de gaita y por otro lado proporcionar algún género especial de diversiones. Para recaudar fondos, además de pedir por todas las casas aguinaldos, incluso la del señor cura, a quien llaman *arcediano*, rifan la bandera, que adornada por un vistoso pañuelo de seda, es la enseña del Reinado. Para diversión tienen establecida una cierta lucha entre casados y solteros, y

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XXXIV (1921), 127-42, "A Folk-Lore Expedition to Spain." This is an account of my folk-lore expedition to Spain in 1920 under the auspices of the American Folk-Lore Society and the Junta para Ampliación de Estudios, Madrid. The folk-tales (some 300 in number) will be published by Leland Stanford Junior University (*University Publications*) in four volumes. Volume I is now in press. I also collected about 200 traditional ballads and these we have presented to don Ramón Menéndez Pidal as our contribution to his future *Romancero Español*.

antes forman el Reinado nombrando Rey y Reina a los dos mozos de más ascendiente del pueblo.

In the foregoing account, Olmeda goes on to describe some of the diversions of the village of *Villanueva* conducted by the young men of the *Reinado*. Although he says that they name a *Rey* and a *Reina*, he does not mention anywhere the separate *reinados*. Since his book is written for a Spanish public, he probably took it for granted that his readers were aware of the fact that the two separate *reinados* exist wherever the old custom prevails. The existence of the two *reinados*, that of the *mozos* and that of the *mozas*, is attested for Barbadillo del Mercado near Salas de los Infantes, in the province of *Burgos*, by don León Abad, a school teacher of Barbadillo whose hospitality I enjoyed on a short visit to Salas de los Infantes and Barbadillo and to whom I owe some of the information here presented.

For many of the important festivals certain special functions of a prescribed character take place accompanied by song and dance or merely song. Of these festivals *la Navidad*, or Christmas, is the most important and both the *mozos* and the *mozas* take part. The ceremony in this case partakes of a religious character and the *reinados* not only work together but co-operate with the *curas* and other church dignitaries to make this festival the most important feast of the year. The two *reinados* attend mass in a body, dressed in their showy and gorgeous attire, according to the customs peculiar to each locality, and after mass the festivities of the day are entirely in their hands. Equally important may be said to be *el Día de Reyes*, and on this occasion also both *reinados* attend mass in a body, sing Christmas carols, make offerings to the Child Jesus, and then depart.

But in spite of the religious character of the majority of these festivals, customs prevail that have nothing to do with the day in question and which possibly have their origin in immemorial pagan traditions. One of these is *La Fiesta del Gallo* as it is conducted in Barbadillo del Mercado<sup>1</sup> by the *reinado de las mozas* or young women's kingdom. This strange diversion is conducted in the main

<sup>1</sup> Village in Old Castile near Salas de los Infantes, famous in the legendary history of Spain on account of its having been the home of doña Lambra after her marriage to Ruy Velázquez in the legend of the Infantes de Lara. Cf. the old ballad *Yo me estaba en Barbadillo, Primavera 19*.



by the *mozas*, but the *mozos* also have a part, and takes place on *el Día de la Candelaria* or *las Candelas*, or Candlemas, the second day of February, immediately after mass. The ceremony is as follows: The *mozas* all dressed in white leave the church in a body, headed by their *reina* to the plaza where the *alcalde* of the village awaits their coming. They bring with them a live rooster. The queen salutes the *alcalde* and asks permission to conduct in the plaza the ceremony of the killing of the rooster. The permission given, the ceremony begins. The *mozos*, who have also appeared in a body, help to hang the rooster by the legs with a long string. They also tie strings from different directions in order to move the rooster up and down and to and fro, when the *reina* attacks it to kill it. The ceremony ends with the death of the rooster and a supper attended by the *mozos* and *mozas*, and the supper, as a rule, is followed by a *baile* in the open plaza. Inasmuch as one rooster does not suffice for the supper, the *reina* who has killed it marches through the village with the dead rooster's head on the end of her sword. She is followed by her *compañeras* and sometimes also by the *rey* and his *compañeros*. All demand food for the rooster. In this way a good supper is provided.<sup>1</sup>

The account above gives a brief summary of this strange ceremony. Before the *reina* actually begins the attempt to kill the rooster, the part of the ceremony that provokes the most fun for the *mozos*, she recites or sings (usually sings in *Barbadillo*) a long series of verses in assonated octosyllabic quatrains. These verses are for us the most interesting part of this ceremony and I was fortunate enough to obtain a manuscript copy of them, through the kindness of don León Abad., as they were sung in *Barbadillo* in 1918. These verses are given below exactly as they appear in the manuscript of *María Cruz*, sixteen years of age. It will be noted that errors in spelling are almost totally absent. *Real* is spelled *rial* in one place, but this is a popular pronunciation prevalent in all parts of Spain. We are in a part of Spain, in Old Castile, where the language is spelled practically as it is pronounced. I have supplied, of course, the proper punctuation and capitalization when necessary.

<sup>1</sup> This part of the *Fiesta del Gallo* is also described well by Olmeda, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73. Olmeda states that the *mozas* kill the *gallo* but does not speak of the *reinado* or *reina*. He gives five quatrains which the *mozas* sing and which we quote later.

*Reina:* Yo soy la reina, señores,  
que me encuentro tan valiente;  
no he de esconder la cara  
aunque me encuentre con siete.

Y ahora voy a pelear  
con todos los mis vasallos;  
hagan enchura,<sup>1</sup> señores,  
que voy a matar el gallo.

Yo soy la reina, señores,  
la reina de este lugar.  
A este gallo, por traidor,<sup>2</sup>  
le tenemos que matar.

Cuento con mis compañeras  
que aquí presentes están.  
Compañeras, ¿qué decís?  
¿qué tenéis que declarar?

*Compañeras:* ¡Viva su rial majestad!  
¡Vivan la reina y el rey!  
que si este pícaro muere  
todas comeremos de él.

*Reina:* Atención, que va la historia,  
y a referirla me atrevo,  
de este desdichado gallo  
que se ha corrido en el pueblo.

Ya le han vendado los ojos,  
ya han armao traición en ello;  
ya le han rodeado de galas  
pa que no hagan sentimiento.

Le han rodeado de oro y plata  
y para mayor afrenta  
hemos de entregarle al pueblo  
sin ojos pa que no vea.

¡Terribles modos de andar!  
¡Duros campos de pelea!  
Al inocente sin culpa  
en un evangel<sup>3</sup> le llevan.

<sup>1</sup> Anchura.

<sup>2</sup> Just why the cock is called traitor is not clear, but it could be explained as a popular tradition inspired in the passage from the New Testament where Peter denies he knows the Lord as the cock crows. Cf. St. Matthew, XXVI, 69-75.

<sup>3</sup> Sic, in manuscript and probably an error.

No hubiera un embajador  
que a su rey le diera cuenta  
bajara un águila real,  
dos mil aviespas con ella,  
dando al diablo el tamboril,  
al cojo y a la su suegra,  
que la flauta de las masas  
ha costado mucho hacerla.

Y las señoras mujeres,  
sientesen<sup>1</sup> adonde puedan.  
Ya se han sentado al sol  
cuatro, cinco, media docena.

No dejan cura ni fraile,  
ni casada ni soltera,  
ni estudiantes ni ermitaños,  
que a todos no les den vuelta.

Traemos gallo y gallina,  
almangún y banderilla;  
venimos moros y moras  
todos juntos en cuadrillas.

Si el gallo traía listones,  
las doncellitas amores;  
si el gallo traía corales,  
las doncellitas galanes.

Gallo, que estabas ayer  
corriendo por las esquinas,  
yo te juro por mi nombre  
no has de prender más gallinas.

¿Quién te diría a ti, gallo,  
cuando andabas con gallinas,  
las harías arrecoclés,  
las echabas entradillas?

Gallo, que estabas ayer  
corriendo por esas tapias,  
ahora te ves aquí  
entre tan buenas muchachas.

Este gallo pinto y rojo  
tiene las plumas doradas.  
Aquí has de morir, traidor,  
a la punta de esta espada.

<sup>1</sup> Siéntense. The metathesis is not phonetic but analogical, since a final -n is the characteristic ending of the third person of the plural. The form is found in New Mexico and other localities. See my *Studies in New Mexican Spanish*. I, *Phonology*, §214.

Este gallo escarbador,  
que escarba trigas y avenas,  
aquí has de morir, traidor,  
a manos de esta doncella.

Este gallo escarbador,  
que escarba trigo y centeno,  
aquí has de morir, traidor,  
a la punta de este acero.

Este gallo escarbador,  
que escarba trigo y cebada,  
aquí has de morir, traidor,  
a la punta de esta espada.

Este gallo escarbador,  
que escarba centeno y trigo,  
aquí has de morir, traidor,  
en la plaza e<sup>1</sup> Barbadillo.

Este gallo pinto y rojo,  
pinto y rojo y muy galán,  
le tengo<sup>2</sup> cortar la cresta  
y la tengo<sup>2</sup> regalar

a don Eustacio . . . .  
médico de este lugar,  
para cuando caiga enferma  
que me venga a visitar.

El cuerpo es pa el señor cura  
que es del gallo lo mejor,  
revuelto con chorizos;  
mejor será con arroz.

Las tripas mando se guarden,  
que suelen ser estimadas,  
pa dárselas a las viejas  
para que morcillas hagan.

Las plumas mando a las mozas  
que las suelen menester,  
para que barran la artesa  
cuando vayan a cocer.

Las uñas mando a los gatos  
que las llevan de contino,  
que con ellas muchas veces  
suelen rapar el tocino.

<sup>1</sup> de. The silent *d* makes synalepha possible and this is necessary for metrical reasons.

<sup>2</sup> *tengo que* or *tengo de*. With silent *d* and synalepha the construction *tengo e* would make the meter regular. See note above.

El testamento ya está hecho,  
y el cargo te dejo a ti.  
El pico mando al Tío Quico  
pa que toque el tamboril.

Yo soy la reina, señores,  
la reina de este lugar;  
con licencia del Alcalde  
el gallo vengo a matar.

Yo soy la reina, señores,  
que María Cruz me llamo;  
con licencia del Alcalde  
vengo a matar este gallo.

Reina soy, quiero reinar;  
la causa yo bien la sé;  
ha de haber guerra sangrienta  
antes del anochecer.

Soy hija del señor Vicente  
y yo me llamo María.  
Voy a matar este gallo  
pa que no ronde a mis<sup>1</sup> gallinas.

## NOTES

The verses beginning *El cuerpo es pa el señor cura* and ending with *pa que toque el tamboril* seem to be the words of the rooster making his last will and testament, and the words *El testamento ya está hecho y el cargo lo dejo a ti* seem addressed to the *reina* herself. In the manuscript, however, all the strophes are put under *la reina* with the exception of the strophe of the *compañeras*.

The verse *Traemos gallo y gallina* is interesting since it seems to indicate that not only a *gallo* but also a *gallina* is brought to the ceremony. In none of the accounts that I have is there any justification for the words of the verse. The verse *venimos moros y moras* refers to the young men and young women respectively of the two *reinados* and is a good example of the fact that even today the memories of the Moorish days are still alive in the minds of the Spanish people.

Curiously enough the cock is the victim of many a Spanish amusement from the cock fight to the game described by Olmeda, *op. cit.*, page 73, where he states:

En otras partes que se celebra esta fiesta, en lugar de ser colgado el gallo, lo entierran, dejándole la cabeza fuera. Al muchacho que quiere probar su

<sup>1</sup> Metrically and logically a *mis* is superfluous.

tino se le vendan los ojos, y a un número determinado de pasos, suelta el golpe, que a lo mejor va a parar contra una esquina porque con facilidad, por las vueltas que antes le dan, le hacen perder la dirección de la pista que debía seguir para ir derecho al gallo.

Here then we have the *mozos* and not the *mozas* killing or attempting to kill the rooster, and apparently in a somewhat brutal way, for the *mozo* may not only happen to hit *una esquina* but the body of the rooster and simply torture him before killing him.

This last torture of the rooster buried in the ground recalls at once another very brutal ceremony which I saw many times in southern Colorado when a boy, evidently another Spanish sport, called *el Gallo*, *jugar al Gallo*, to play rooster, or with the rooster. A rooster was buried alive in the ground with its head sticking out. Men and boys on horseback would then take their turn, and, running by the rooster at great speed, would attempt to seize it by the head. The successful one would then escape with his prey, and the rest would pursue him in the attempt to pull the cock away from him. Being hit in the face with the rooster and tearing the poor rooster to pieces, were only some of the milder occurrences of these brutal games. In Colorado and New Mexico this sport was a regular game which up to some twenty-five years ago was hardly ever omitted on St. John's day or any other great religious festival. This was the national sport, one might say, in place of the bullfight, which does not seem to have been popular in these old Spanish regions.

I do not find in any of the publications which I possess any information about the New Mexican game of *el gallo* above described, but the connection with the ceremony of the killing of the rooster at *Barbadillo* is not remote. In both cases the cock is the victim and in the case described by Olmeda the cock is buried as in the New Mexican game. The *Fiesta del Gallo* of *Barbadillo* is evidently a less cruel and more modern ceremony. The New Mexican game may be one of the older Spanish forms of the game. To my knowledge the Indians of the regions in question do not and never did have such a game, and I therefore believe it to be a Spanish institution.

Although the cock is killed in a gentle manner by the *mozas*, even in this case we have a survival of the cruelty exercised on the victim in the ceremony of the strings which in the control of the

*mozos* prolong the rooster's agony. The elements of song probably had no counterpart in the old custom. When the song was once introduced the idea of the animal to be sacrificed making a last will and testament was added. This element is common in literary tradition and a Latin version of the "Last Will and Testament of a Little Pig" is at least as old as the fourth century, since it is mentioned by St. Jerome, the famous *Testamentum Porcelli*.<sup>1</sup> I am even inclined to believe that the fragmentary version of what might have been a complete will and testament of the *gallo* of Barbadillo is modeled after some old Spanish version of the *Testamentum Porcelli* or a similar *Testamentum*. It would be very interesting and important to have several long versions of the *cantos al gallo* from various Castilian localities. We could then make out a primitive version of the whole story. Olmeda gives a very brief version of the *cantos al gallo* on page 73; but it is clear that there also the last will and testament idea is not lost. The *cantos* consist of the five following octosyllabic quatrains:

Con licencia de Dios<sup>2</sup>  
 Y la del Señor Alcalde  
 Hemos de matar el gallo  
 Y en sin meternos con nadie.  
 Gallito, que estás colgado,  
 Tienes las plumas de seda  
 Y has de venir a morir  
 en manos de estas doncellas.  
 Este gallo es de Alcocero,  
 Vecino de Virumbrales.  
 Y el que no lo quia creer  
 Pregúntelo a Moncales.  
 También vamos a mandar  
 Las plumas de junto al rabo  
 Para que pueda escribir  
 El fiel de fechos de ogaño.  
 Ya te se ha acabado, toh gallo!  
 El dormir con las gallinas;  
 Y el cantar por la mañana  
 Saludando al nuevo día.

<sup>1</sup> *Comment. in Is.* XII, introduction.

<sup>2</sup> Probably an error for Con la licencia de Dios, which is better for grammatical and metrical reasons.

*La Fiesta del Gallo* as celebrated in Barbadillo del Mercado is a festival of a type similar to the Old Roman *Lupercalia*. There are a few close parallels between the two in the actual details. Furthermore the Christian festival of the 2d of February, the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, when the *Fiesta del Gallo* takes place, symbolizes the renewal of life through sacrifice in the same way as the old Roman *Lupercalia*. The old Roman festival was celebrated on the 15th of February, the last month of the old Roman Calendar, and the feast of the Purification of the Virgin was formerly celebrated on the 14th of the same month. The change to the 2d of February was instituted by Pope Gelasius I in the year 494.<sup>1</sup>

A direct relation between these two festivals, however, is not certain, and less certain is a direct relation between any of the ceremonies of the Roman *Lupercalia* and the *Fiesta del Gallo* of Barbadillo. Indeed festivals of a type very similar to the Castilian *Fiesta del Gallo* are found among many peoples of modern Europe and belong to a more general type of vegetation cults. The vestiges of a primitive human sacrifice persist in the animal sacrifice of the modern festivals and the sacrifice of a cock is not uncommon.<sup>2</sup> The study of these apparently old and traditional festivals is not the subject-matter of the present article.

AURELIO M. ESPINOSA

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

<sup>1</sup> See W. Warde Fowler, *The Roman Festivals*, London, 1899, pp. 310-31, and C. F. Unger, *Die Lupercalien*, 1880.

<sup>2</sup> See especially J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, London, 1894, Vol. II, chap. III, *The Corn Spirit as a Cock*. The ceremonies of the sacrifice of the cock in Transylvania and Westphalia as described by Frazer are very similar to those of the Castilian *Fiesta del Gallo*.



## REVIEWS AND NOTICES

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*An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English.* By ERNEST WEEKLEY, M.A. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1921. Pp. xx+830.

Those reviews of Professor Weekley's *Dictionary* which have emphasized the whimsical or humorous remarks in it, have given an entirely erroneous impression of the character of the book. To an American, at least, those remarks seem rather feeble as jokes, but they occur so rarely that they in no way impair the value of the work. Professor Weekley's book is, in fact, the first important effort at an English etymological dictionary since Skeat's. It is inspired by a real enthusiasm for words, by scholarship and by painstaking industry. For his derivations the author has used the latest etymological works (his bibliography, however, does not include Webster's *New International Dictionary*) and to them he has added new theories and explanations. Moreover for some words he has been able to give quotations earlier than the first in the *Oxford Dictionary*. In this connection he has made telling use of surnames, showing earlier occurrence of such words as *countinghouse* and *green* (in sense of "village green") in that capacity. He omits entirely the ultimate "roots" found in Skeat, a commendable practice as such abstractions are in themselves more or less dubious and must have little meaning for general readers.

Perhaps the most valuable features of Professor Weekley's *Dictionary*, however, are the definiteness of indication of meaning developments and analogical changes, and the thoroughness of his etymologies of Romance words. When a word has undergone some alteration in meaning, there is usually an indication of the kind of change, with references to other examples of the same process. Frequently in noting special meanings and idioms, the author cites idioms and semantic developments of words of the same meaning in other languages, especially French. Thus by a brief search in the book, a person can collect many good examples of any sort of semantic development. Similar explicit information is given about analogical alterations in the forms of words. Professor Weekley's etymologies of Romance words usually cite cognates and ultimate sources, indicating even hypothetical Vulgar Latin forms. In verbs derived from Latin past participles, however, the author always gives the infinitive as source. Why he should make the exact method of formation of such words obscure, is a curious problem.

In words of Germanic origin, though not many positive errors appear, the information given is less complete than that for Romance words. Hypo-

thetical forms are rarely given, and the ways by which words are derived from their sources are not indicated. In so simple a case as the derivation of weak verbs (like *feed*) from nouns or strong verbs, the method of derivation is not shown. Indeed it may be said that the author gives much less attention to the phonetic aspect of words than to the semantic.

For many reasons such an effort as Professor Weekley made to include slang words in a general etymological dictionary seems inadvisable: even an approach to completeness is impossible; and if the author must trust to books, as Professor Weekley evidently does for American slang, ludicrous misunderstandings will occur. An American is surprised to learn that *dinky* means "dainty, spruce," that *do oneself well* is "U.S." that *absquatulate* is in any general American use. Many other classes of words are included which are more or less out of place in such a dictionary: nonce-words like *balkanize*, Latin abbreviations used as signatures by English bishops (e.g. *Ebor*), names of famous persons or things (such as *Augsburg Confession*, *Janus*, *Autolycus*, *Damocles*, *Galahad*, "Added by Walter Map to the Arthurian legends"! dialect words (like *layscale*) and extremely rare and learned words (*nictitate*, *Krantz*, *Krait*.) Had such words, and perhaps also the learned names of plants and animals, been omitted, the book could have been reduced by a third, its price could have been lessened, and hence it could have been made available to a wider public.

J. R. H.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

***Beowulf*: An Introduction to the Study of the Poem with a Discussion of the Stories of Offa and Finn.** By R. W. CHAMBERS. Cambridge: University Press, 1921. Pp. xii+417.

The ground covered by this book may be indicated best by the chapter headings: The Historical Elements; The Non-historical Elements; Theories as to the Origin, Date and Structure of the Poem; Documents Illustrating the Stories in *Beowulf*, and the *Offa*-Saga; The Fight at Finnsburg; Appendix and Bibliography of *Beowulf* and *Finnsburg*.

It is evident from the foregoing list that the book considers the most important aspects of *Beowulf*. With his usual industry, Professor Chambers has read widely in Beowulfian criticism; and now, having all the data at his disposal, he attempts to settle the problems connected with the poems. Such a plan has obvious disadvantages: in the first place, it seems presumptuous in any man who has little or no new evidence, to attempt the solution of a mass of problems, on which a large number of able investigators have been unable to reach agreement; and secondly, the plan naturally causes a proportioning of material which is hardly fair to those who do not agree with the writer. It would seem that a book which would survey impartially the views about *Beowulf* somewhat as Wülker did in his *Grundriss der angel-*

*sächsischen Litteratur*—would have been a more satisfactory “Introduction to the Study of the Poem.” Professor Chambers, however, feels it necessary to reach positive conclusions. For example, as to the relation between *Beowulf* and the *Grettis*-story, he says: “This is one of the questions which the student cannot leave open, because our view of the origin of the *Grendel*-story will have to depend largely upon the view we take as to its connection with the episode in the *Grettis* saga” (p. 50). Certainly some scholars feel that it is not worth while to resolve on making a decision when the evidence for any hypothesis is so ambiguous as it is in this case.

Readers will differ in their opinion of the validity of Professor Chambers' conclusions. In general his reasoning seems to me cogent when it leads to a negative result, feeble when it leads to a positive conclusion. In particular the acceptance of relations between *Beowulf* and the Story of Bothvar Bjarki seems extremely weak. At times he reaches a positive conclusion with almost no evidence. For instance, after pointing out the facts of the dialect of *Beowulf* (late West Saxon with sporadic non-West Saxon forms), and even admitting the scantiness of our knowledge of Old English dialects, he writes: “We may accept the view that the poem was in all probability originally written in some non-West-Saxon dialect, and most probably in an Anglian dialect, since this is confirmed by the way in which the Anglian hero Offa is dragged into the story” (p. 105). The use of Offa is, in fact, the only evidence in favor of the view, and of course, that is explainable in many other ways.

Throughout the book, however, Professor Chambers is obviously animated by a desire to reach the truth, and his work is the most comprehensive consideration of *Beowulf* now available. It may be noted, finally, that his reconstruction of the story of Finn, though complicated and built in large part on slender inference, is the best yet offered.

J. R. H.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Gil Vicente*. BY AUBREY F. G. BELL. Oxford University Press.

Hispanic Notes and Monographs, Portuguese Series, No. 1, 1921.

*The Play of the Sibyl Cassandra*. BY GEORGIANA GODDARD KING.

Bryn Mawr Notes and Monographs, No. 2. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1921.

Mr. Bell is favorably known to students of the Peninsular literatures as the author of a history of Portuguese literature, as the editor and translator of various plays of Gil Vicente and as a writer of many critical articles on the literature of Portugal. We may safely assume that, at least among the older writers, Gil Vicente is Mr. Bell's favorite, and that this new study has been written *con amore*.

The size of the book—seventy pages—rendered it impossible for the author to consider in detail the many troublesome questions which present themselves to the student of Vicente's plays, and which are still unsolved in spite of the considerable number of critical studies devoted to them in the last twenty-five years, as recorded in Mr. Bell's very useful bibliography. In fact, some of the most vexatious problems are not even mentioned. The author limits himself to the briefest possible account of the poet's life, to a casual mention of the plays with a detailed analysis in the case of only a few of them, and to rather superficial statements concerning the influence exercised by Vicente upon contemporaneous and later dramatists in Portugal, Spain, and other countries.

Even making allowance for the limited scope of the book, it is regrettable, in my opinion, that it is lacking in plan and logical arrangement of material. There is no continuity, so far as I can discover, between the various chapters. The reader who seeks here a study of the development of Vicente's dramatic technique from the crude Monologue of the year 1502 to the finished plays of his mature years will be disappointed. No attempt has been made to arrange the material either chronologically or by *genre*, and there is a noteworthy lack of proportion in the amount of space accorded to the various plays.

Mr. Bell is most successful in his picture of Vicente's social background, and he is least successful in discussing Vicente's antecedents and his relations with Spanish literature. The fascinating problem of the mingling of medieval and humanistic elements in his plays receives scant attention. His debt to the liturgy or liturgical drama, to popular songs, to folk lore and popular superstitions, is scarcely mentioned. We still need an authoritative statement regarding the scope of his reading and his literary interests.

With respect to Vicente's relations with Spanish literature, Mr. Bell mentions the influence of Encina upon the earliest plays and then contents himself with stating that "he soon went further afield and found in Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita, in *El Conde Lucanor*, in Gómez Manrique, Torres Naharro, Lucas Fernández, *La Celestina*, and other prose-writers and poets much matter to digest." This is very vague. One wonders what Vicente could have found to digest among the works of Gómez Manrique. As for Torres Naharro, he might have recalled the statement made long ago by Menéndez y Pelayo that the combination of the dodesyllabic verse with its hemistich, made by Torres Naharro in his *Diálogo del Nacimiento*, is also found in Vicente's *Auto da Feira* and *Auto da Historia de Deos*, and that there is an unexplained resemblance between the figure of the noble lover disguised as a gardener in the *Comedia do viuvo* and the *Comedia Aquilana*. If the former play was composed in 1514—and this is not certain—the priority belongs to Vicente. The problem is further complicated by the fact that the same situation is found in the *Libro segundo de Palmerin* and in Vicente's *Dom Duardos*. There are also other points of contact between the two

dramatists. There is a close similarity between the Annunciation scene in the *Diálogo del Nacimiento* and *Auto da Mofina Mendes*, and also a resemblance between the figure of Fama in the *Comedia Trofaea* and *Auto da Fama*.

Mr. Bell tells us (p. 60) that the influence of Vicente "is seen in the *pasos* of Lope de Rueda, in the plays of Micael de Carvajal, who continued Luis Hurtado's *Las Cortes de la Muerte* (1557), based partly on Vicente's *Barcas*, and in many other more or less obscure *autos* as well as in the work of the great dramatists." I do not believe there is a scrap of evidence that Rueda was influenced by Vicente. Independent comic scenes which were *pasos* in all but in name are found in the works of Torres Naharro, which antedate by a number of years the first appearance of such scenes in Vicente's plays. As for Carvajal, there is not a trace of Vicente in the *Tragedia Josephina*. Mr. Bell reverses the rôles of Carvajal and Hurtado de Toledo in his mention of *Las Cortes de la Muerte*, and I doubt whether the latter was inspired by Vicente's *Barcas*, in spite of the similarity in subject. There is good reason to believe that Lope de Vega owed something to Vicente in his composition of *El viaje del Alma*, and there is undoubtedly considerable resemblance between Vicente's *Auto da Historia de Deos* and Palau's *Victoria de Christo*. It might also have been mentioned that the circle of unhappy lovers in the *Auto pastoril portuguez* was taken over into the *Diana* by Montemayor, and occurs in several later Spanish plays.

With respect to the influence of Vicente upon the creation of Falstaff (p. 58), I must admit that I should prefer the negative side if I were obliged to debate it.

While Mr. Bell's essay offers little that is absolutely new for students of Portuguese literature, it will doubtless make more generally known the work of the most delightful dramatist in Europe in the first half of the sixteenth century.

The purpose of Miss King's essay is to explain the appearance of the sibyls and Solomon in Vicente's Christmas play entitled *Auto da Sibilla Cassandra*, which was probably performed in 1509 or 1513, according to A. Braamcamp Freire, and not in 1503, as has generally been accepted. It is a well-known fact that the prophecy of the Erythraean Sibyl, with the awe-inspiring Fifteen Signs of Doomsday, formed a part of the pseudo-Augustinian sermon *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos*, which was read in many churches at Christmas, and that the Middle Ages knew not only one, but a dozen sibyls, possessed of prophetic powers. Miss King has made a careful study of early liturgical pieces that contain references to the sibyls, and from her wide acquaintance with medieval art, she has been able to cite many examples of their use in plastic and pictorial representation.

It is by no means certain that the text described by Fernando de Vallejo, cited by Cafete, which is supposed to contain the earliest reference to the introduction of the scene of the sibyl, actually belongs to the eleventh or even to the thirteenth century (p. 16). Neither Cafete nor Vallejo can be

regarded as an authority on this point. It is still less certain that this scene constituted a real play (p. 17). There is no question, however, that the sibyl was known in Spain, for aside from the reference in the *Valencian Breviary* mentioned by Miss King, Francisco Asenjo Barbieri<sup>1</sup> describes a ceremony which took place at Toledo during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in which the sibyl's prophecy played an important part.

The identification of a sibyl who comes to speak with Solomon in the *Cursor Mundi* as the Queen of Sheba leads Miss King to affirm that Solomon was represented as a prophet in Vicente's play because of his association with the Queen of Sheba, who was regarded as a sibyl, and therefore as a prophetess. While it is true that Solomon was often represented in company with the Queen of Sheba in painting and sculpture, and occasionally in literary texts, it seems more probable to me that Solomon was introduced as a prophet in the *Auto da Sibilla Cassandra* because, according to the common interpretation of the time, he was supposed to have alluded to the Virgin when singing the praises of his Beloved in the *Song of Songs*. This is the interpretation given by Vicente himself in one of the early scenes of the *Auto da Mofina Mendes*.

Miss King's essay will enable us to read with better understanding the charming *Auto da Sibilla Cassandra*, and gives further evidence of the interesting relationship that existed in the Middle Ages between drama and the pictorial and plastic arts.

J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

*Horace and His Influence.* By GRANT SHOWERMAN, Professor of Classics, University of Wisconsin. Boston, Mass.: Marshall Jones Company, 1922. 8vo, pp. xvii+176.

The volume is the fourteenth in the series "Our Debt to Greece and Rome," edited by George Depue Hadzsits, of the University of Pennsylvania, and David Moore Robinson, of Johns Hopkins University. The general circular of the series announces "authoritative but non-technical books written for the general reader of cultivated taste."

Mr. Showerman divides his material into three main sections: Horace Interpreted, Horace through the Ages, and Horace the Dynamic. The first is a pleasant *causerie* in flowing style, setting before the reader the poet as he appears in his works. The last presents an estimate of the influence exerted upon present-day or almost-present-day literature by Horace's precept in the *Ars Poetica* and by his example in the lyrics. The second division professes to trace through history the fortunes of Horace both as critic and as poet; and it is here that the author is most likely to disappoint

<sup>1</sup> *Cancionero musical de los siglos xv y xvi*, p. 134.

the cultured reader for whom the series is designed. Suppose that reader interested to some degree in the effect exerted upon French literature by the rediscovery of Horace; he will learn from the page and a quarter assigned to France that the Pleiad used the *Ars Poetica* to buttress its innovations in poetic theory. But he will have no idea of what it was that the rising school supplanted, nor of what contributions Horatianism made to the spirit of that new age. The author cites editions and translations, but leaves the reader for his pains no more than a bald list of "great authors inspired by Horace." Altogether, the first section could best be written by a classicist, and the last by a sympathetic spectator of modern life and literature—and Mr. Showerman combines the two qualifications to a somewhat unusual degree; but the historical division degenerates toward a list of references and generalities because the author appears to have drawn for it more upon manuals and journals than upon any wide purposive reading of his own in that part of the field. This division should have been written by a modernist with the same discernment and delicate touch which Mr. Showerman shows in his familiar material.

For, after all, the task set to the author has been carried out with insight and feeling; its insufficiencies, from the point of view of the reader interested for example in Romance literature, are to be laid at the door of the editorial policy of the series. To them must be ascribed the defects of Mr. Showerman's book; its merits are his own.

ROBERT V. MERRILL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*Norske Folkeviser: I; Folkeutgave ved KNUT LIESTOL og MOLTKE MOE.* Kristiania: Jacob Dybwads Forlag, 1920. Pp. 250.

Not since the publication of Landstad's *Norske Folkeviser*, in 1853, and of Bugge's *Gamle Norske Folkeviser*, in 1858, has so important a collection of Norwegian ballads appeared as this edition by Liestol and Moe. Various smaller and larger books, it is true, have come from the press, notably in the past decades, such as *Lammers's Norske Folkeviser I-II*, *Berge's Norsk Vise-fugg* and his *Norske Folkeviser*, drawn from the material left by Sophus Bugge, *Hulda Garborg's Norske Folkeviser I-II*, and her *Norske Dansensur*, and *Liestol and Moe's Norske Folkeviser fra Middelalderen*. Yet the present collection is most significant among the later publications both in its performance and in its promise. The plan is somewhat comprehensive; upon this first volume are expected to follow two similar volumes at intervals of a year. The contents, too, are fairly representative. There are forty numbers, the first of which is the splendid vision-poem "Draumkvaedet"; the remainder are legendary, historical, and romantic pieces of the traditional type that has become familiar to students of the English, Scottish, and Scandinavian

popular ballads. Some are distinctly Northern in origin and character; others are of more general currency. This is a popular edition, intended to supply a growing need especially among the younger people of Norway. The editors have therefore presented the material in such shape as to appeal to the average reader; to this end they have annotated each number with useful details as to the history of the ballad, with brief explanations of the more difficult passages, and with such lexicographical information as is required by reason of the fact that the texts appear, with a few exceptions, in a somewhat normalized form of the dialect of Telemarken. An Introduction of some twenty pages discusses the subject-matter, style, and language of the poems, not so fully as does the Introduction to Olrik's smaller edition of the Danish ballads, but sufficiently for the purpose in view. Although much curious lore of interest primarily to the specialist has consequently been excluded, the scholar will nevertheless find here a book to be reckoned with. It should be added that the editorial language of the collection is "landsmaal."

The name of the late Moltke Moe appears upon the title-page because he had for many years before his death been at work on the materials from which the selection has been made. In the case of this particular volume he was responsible for the accepted redaction of thirteen of the texts and had collaborated with Mr. Liestol in four others; the remaining numbers Mr. Liestol himself has prepared for publication. Upon him will fall the further labor of providing—at not too remote a date, it is to be hoped—the definitive critical edition of the corpus of Norwegian ballads which is expected to find a place beside the monuments of Grundtvig and of Child.

One of the ballads in this volume (No. 21: "Dei tri vilkori") will be of some interest to students of Shakespeare. As pointed out by the editors, this ballad deriving immediately from a Scandinavian adaptation of an immigrant romance, forms a striking parallel to the main plot of "All's Well That Ends Well."

S. B. HUSTVEDT

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA



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Modern Languages and Literatures

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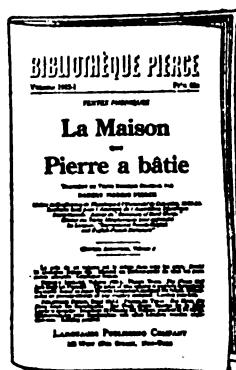
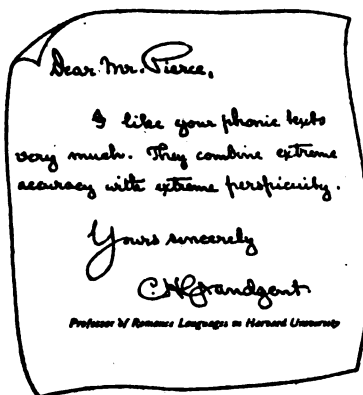
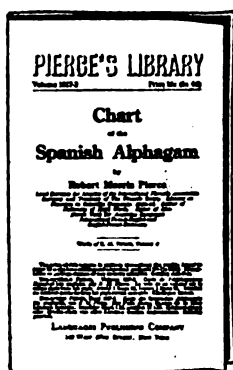
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